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Authority Revisited: Towards Thomas More and Erasmus in 1516

edited by
Wim FRANÇOIS
Violet SOEN
Anthony DUPONT
Andrea Aldo ROBIGLIO



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Wim FRANÇOIS	
<i>Authority Revisited: Leuven's 500th Year Commemoration of Erasmus' Nouum Instrumentum and More's Utopia</i>	9
Uwe BAUMANN	
<i>Thomas More, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Humanist Erudition, Bible Philology and the Authority of the Classical Tradition</i>	21

PART I

Serena MASOLINI	
<i>How to Order Four into One: Harmonizing the Gospels at the Dawn of Biblical Humanism</i>	75
Jakub KORYL	
<i>Authority, Does It Displace the Judgment? Lorenzo Valla, Desiderius Erasmus, and the Rise of the Modern Homo Grammaticus</i>	123
Henk Jan DE JONGE	
<i>Traditional Features in Erasmus' Nouum Instrumentum and the Order of the Writings of the New Testament</i>	159
Christian HOUTH VRANGBÆK	
<i>Patristic Concepts of Original Sin in Erasmus' Annotationes in Epistolam ad Romanos</i>	193
Hélène RABAEY	
<i>Dette des traductions espagnoles des évangiles envers le Nouum Testamentum d'Érasme et ses Annotationes</i>	219

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Hyun-Ah KIM <i>Erasmus on I ad Corinthios 14. 15-19: The Erasmian Theology of Music and Its Legacy in Reformation England</i>	261
Nicholas THOMPSON <i>Seruare uirginem suam: Martin Bucer and Stephen Gardiner on I Cor. 7. 36-38 and the Prohibition of Clerical Marriage</i>	305
Antonio GERACE <i>The Reception of Erasmus' New Testament in the Louvain Franciscan Study House: The Case of Nicholas Tacitus Zegers and Adam Sasbout</i>	335
Daniel James (fr. Benedict) FISCHER <i>The Impact of Erasmus on the 1614 Pauline Commentary of Cornelius a Lapide, S.J.</i>	371

PART II

Renaud ADAM <i>The First Edition of Thomas More's Utopia in Louvain, Its Printer Dirk Martens and the Erasmian Network in Early Modern Europe: Exploring the Role of a Humanist Network in a Printing House in the Low Countries</i>	415
Gillian CLARK <i>The Traveller Returns: Utopia and the City of God</i>	453
Jacob LANGELOH <i>Waging War for Justice: Utopian Wars and the Roman Expansion</i>	479
Alissa MACMILLAN <i>Utopian Curiosity: Thomas More on the Desire to Know</i>	515
Eiléan Ní CHUILLEANÁIN <i>Travels with a Monkey: Raphael Hythlodaye's Books</i>	537
Grantley McDONALD <i>John Clement and the Heritage of More and Erasmus</i>	561
BIBLICAL INDEX	587
GENERAL INDEX	591

WIM FRANÇOIS

AUTHORITY REVISITED
LEUVEN'S 500TH YEAR COMMEMORATION
OF ERASMUS' *NOVUM INSTRUMENTUM*
AND MORE'S *UTOPIA**

With the benefit of hindsight, we can say that 1516 was a wonderful year. The two most important European humanists each published a major work: Erasmus's *Nouum Instrumentum* in Basel and Thomas More's *Utopia* in Leuven (henceforth also Louvain). Both humanists engaged in a candid way with the authoritative sources of western culture, using them as a standard by which to critique the Christian society in which they lived, while at the same time believing in humanity's natural capacity to change themselves and the society for the better. In spite of John Wyclif, Jan Hus, Girolamo Savonarola, and others, 'religious and social pressures had not yet been canalized into firm points of doctrinal dissidence. In 1516, there was not yet any single purely doctrinal issue which imminently threatened to divide western Christendom', as Anthony Levy – somewhat categorically – wrote in the still inspirational chapter 'The New Century to 1516: *Utopia* and the *Nouum Instrumentum*' of his acclaimed monograph *Renaissance and Reformation: The Intellectual Genesis*.¹ In other words, as long as western Christendom had not been fundamentally challenged in its doctrinal views, reflection and even criticism on the basis of its authoritative sources was still tolerated.

* I thank my co-editors Anthony Dupont, Andrea Robiglio, and Violet Soen for their most valuable remarks and suggestions to an earlier draft of this introduction.

¹ Levy 2002, 230-256 and 420-423, here p. 233.

In March 1516, Desiderius Erasmus published his *Nouum Instrumentum* with Johannes Froben in Basel; the work presented a new Latin translation of the New Testament – a departure from the received and long-appreciated Latin Vulgate – accompanied by the Greek as a control text. For Erasmus, this project, on which he had worked since his time in Louvain (1502-1504), was not a mere philological exercise, but an attempt to come as close as possible to the Word of God. In one of the prefatory letters, the *Paraclesis* or *Exhortation to the Pious Reader*, the humanist advocated the *Philosophia Christi*, which appealed to a life of love and charity, humility, patience, purity, peacefulness, etc. that all people, including the uneducated laity, could easily derive from the New Testament. Erasmus found the term *Philosophia Christi* in the writings of the Greek Church fathers, such as Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, and John Chrysostom, who used it to profile the teaching of the Gospel vis-à-vis pagan philosophy. The Cistercian master Bernard of Clairvaux had also spoken of the *Philosophia Christi*. Even so, Erasmus borrowed the polemical character of the term from the Greek Fathers and positioned this *euangelica philosophia* vis-à-vis the intricate theology of the scholastics, whilst also using it as a critical standard for a presumed Christian life that was characterized by observing ceremonies or rituals, pilgrimages, and the veneration of saints and their relics.²

That all Christians and not just monks or professional theologians should have access to the *Philosophia Christi* as laid down in Scripture was, according to Erasmus, an idea contained in the sacrament of baptism that united Christian believers. At that precise moment, all Christians indiscriminately were bound to live according to the moral way of life advocated by Christ, as the *Philosophia Christi* may be described. Alluding to the words in Ioh. 3. 5, Erasmus called this commitment to the *Philosophia Christi* a ‘rebirth’ – interestingly, he used the term *renascentia*. Although this word had already been used with a religious connotation in Italian trecento and especially quattrocento literature, it is not difficult to see how Erasmus considered the fresh

² On the term *Philosophia Christi*, see, e.g. Monfasani 2012.

rediscovery of the *Philosophia Christi* to go hand in glove with the ‘rebirth’ of the *bonae literae* and its implications for the restoration of the sacred texts. For Erasmus the *Philosophia Christi*, that is, the adoption of a moral lifestyle or a life according to the virtues, was a return to the original state of human nature, which God had instilled in humankind and which, though affected by the fall, was fundamentally good.³

Erasmus and some other humanists even conceded that various moral values and natural virtues were also to be found among the pagan philosophers – which relativized the consequences of the fall – though Jesus had formulated the relevant moral precepts more clearly and more effectively.⁴ Christ’s superiority was reason enough for theologians to concentrate on Scripture and not on pagan Aristotelian philosophy.⁵ As Anthony Levy observes, according to the Erasmian *Philosophia Christi* ‘... religious perfection actually is intrinsic to what is achievable in accordance with the moral aspirations of human nature as it exists. The effects of original sin have here been attenuated...’. And further on Levy describes the *Philosophia Christi* as ‘... a loud rhetorical plea to associate Christian teaching, as discoverable from the New Testament, with natural human moral development, such as was favoured by the new learning, with its new attitudes and its new personal and social values’.⁶

³ CWE 41 (2019), p. 415: ‘Now whatever is in complete accord with nature sinks readily into the minds of all. And what else is the philosophy of Christ, which he himself calls a “rebirth” (*renascentiam*), than the restoration of nature, which was created whole and sound?; *Paraclesis*, in Holborn ²1964, p. 145, l. 3-7: *Iam facile descendit in animos omnium, quod maxime secundum naturam est. Quid autem aliud est Christi philosophia, quam ipse renascentiam vocat, quam instauratio bene conditae naturae?* It was ultimately Giorgio Vasari who through his *Lives of the Artists* (c. 1550) may be credited with a certain acceptance of the term ‘la rinascita’ as we use it today.

⁴ In this regard, see IJsewijn 1969; Marenbon 2015.

⁵ *Paraclesis*, in Holborn ²1964, p. 145, l. 7-28: *Proinde quamquam nemo tradidit haec absolutius, nemo efficacius quam Christus, tamen permulta reperire licet in ethnicorum libris, quae cum huius doctrina consentiant... Quid, quod magnam huius doctrinae partem praestitere non pauci, praecipue Socrates, Diogenes, et Epictetus? At eadem cum tanto plenius et docuerit et praestiterit Christus...*

⁶ Levy 2002, p. 252-253.

Some months after Erasmus' publication of the *Nouum Instrumentum*, in December 1516, Thomas More published the *editio princeps* of his *Utopia* from the presses of the humanist sympathizer Dirk Martens in Louvain, and Erasmus was the one who made this Louvain connection possible. The book sketches an ideal society that nearly perfectly corresponds to the natural law God has imprinted in humankind, and that can be discovered with the help of reason. Underlying More's *Utopia* is another authoritative text of western culture, viz., Plato's *Republic* and similar sources from Greco-Roman antiquity. The *Utopia* may also be understood as frank criticism of the Christian society; in fact, the work sounds like a recalibration of that society, on the basis of a standard that is said to be more clearly present in 'pagan' culture. A sketch of this society is given by Raphaël Hythlodæus, who acts as a sort of persona for Thomas More (though it is unclear which of the opinions voiced by Hythlodæus are actually shared by the author). *Utopia*'s first book, the section which was the last to be written, is actually a dialogue between Hythlodæus and (the fictional) More, as well as Peter Gillis of Antwerp, concerning whether Hythlodæus, who had received a good philosophical education and had during his travels over land and sea sojourned in Utopia, should join the Council of Princes. This part of the book undoubtedly draws on the inner reflections entertained by (the historical) More when he was approached to join the Council of Henry VIII. Against the *Realpolitiek* defended by (the fictional) More, Hythlodæus adopts a more principled position, arguing that counsellors usually, out of flattery, give the king the counsel he wants to hear, in order to safeguard their own chances for promotion, and that they are only seldom concerned to change the kingdom for the better. The main point of Hythlodæus is that as long as the first law is not fulfilled, viz., common ownership of human wealth and the suppression of private property, nothing will change and joining the king's council would be completely useless.⁷

⁷ '... in 1515 [Erasmus'] *Adagia* opened with a discussion of the provocatively Platonist consideration of the common ownership of human wealth, "Amicorum omnia communia", transmitted to the sixteenth century from Plato through Augustine by Gratian' (Levy 2002, p. 237); 'The subject of the community

In the second book of the *Utopia*, written first in time, Hythlodæus conducts a monologue praising the institutions of Utopia, where everybody works six hours a day and where the proceeds of that labour are received by the community and distributed among the people according to their needs. This communality extends to taking meals together and playing edifying games. In Utopia there is education for boys and girls alike, as well as healthcare for everybody. There is neither monetary exchange nor private property, and gold has no particular value. Hythlodæus also points to Utopia's strict rules in the field of marriage and sexuality, to its political system as a mix of democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy, as well as to its approach to palliative care, not excluding euthanasia. The Utopians do not engage in aggressive wars against foreign people but nevertheless keep open the option of colonizing other people's under-utilized land if it seems necessary. The Utopians do not recoil from subjecting to forced labour those who have been taken as prisoners of war or those at home who have been convicted of transgressing Utopia's rules; the death penalty is enforced for prisoners who dare to revolt or who commit other grave offenses. In the second book, we also find a long discussion of the moral philosophy underlying Utopia's institutions, which as a default position holds that human happiness consists in pursuing a pleasant, virtuous life, both for one's own sake and for that of one's fellow citizens. This picture allows Anthony Levy to conclude that '*Utopia* is a fantasy exploring the consequences of massively restored confidence in the moral potential of human nature'.⁸

On an even deeper level, we read about the foundation that underlies the whole of Utopian society and supports the 'moral potential of human nature': a kind of natural religion that can be

of wealth again links Utopia to the 1515 *Adagia* and both to Plato's Republic ... Plato's community of wealth is condemned by Christians, "though nothing was ever said by a pagan philosopher which was more akin to the mind of Christ" ... but he was later forced to admit the impracticality of community of ownership...' (Levy 2002, p. 242); 'Hythlodæus has here rejoined the opinion of Plato with which Erasmus had just opened the *Adagia*, saying, "I am fully persuaded that no just and even distribution of goods can be made and that no happiness can be found in human affairs unless private property is utterly abolished"'. (Levy 2002, p. 244).

⁸ Levy 2002, p. 248.

discovered within through the help of one's reason. This natural religion includes belief in a God who created the world and who providentially sustains it, who has endowed each person with an immortal soul, and who rewards each person with heavenly bliss for virtuous behaviour, but who punishes those who act wickedly. Apart from these fundamental beliefs, there is religious pluralism and toleration. Belief in God is celebrated in religious ceremonies, solemnly but not too frequently celebrated in Utopia's temple – a somewhat more positive view of the ritual aspect of religion than is found in Erasmus' work.

In short, both the *Nouum Instrumentum* and More's *Utopia* deal rather freely and originally, with the authoritative sources of western civilization, both Christian and Classic, in the firm belief that these sources can fuel the natural potential of humankind to change itself and society for the better.

These two texts (and in the case of the *Nouum Instrumentum* the accompanying paratextual material) breathe the trust that Erasmus and More have in the natural capacities of human intellect and will. This trust implies a rupture with the Augustinian paradigm and its presupposition that nature and reason are both thoroughly damaged by original sin, with Augustine himself even doubting that pagans were capable of authentic virtue. According to Erasmus and More, in reading and critically dealing with the authoritative sources of western civilization, people could find the inspiration, instruction, and the power to learn and to improve both themselves and the world around them. In this sense Erasmus and More have contributed to the rise of modern western thought. As long as Latin Christianity was not fundamentally challenged, there was room for critically re-thinking society's foundational sources.

As soon as it became clear that criticism led to the establishment of competing confessional systems, which happened as the Reformation Era advanced, contortion occurred, not only in the Catholic Church, but increasingly also in the various Protestant Churches. Each Church's doctrine was ever more petrified in dogma; borders with the 'confessional other' were sharply demarcated. New members were socialized and disciplined into each confessional Church. Later in the sixteenth century, this pro-

cess led to religious wars, after which political entities with particular and often sharply-delineated religious policies came into being. The humanist belief in the Christian moral capacity to deal in a free way with the authoritative sources in an effort to better self and society was eventually barred. Guido Van Heeswijck has contended that the first phase of modernity brought forth a stillborn child.⁹ This evolution from humanist aspiration to sectarian violence was even incarnated in the life of Thomas More himself. Not only was he a humanist and a source of inspiration for modernity, critical thought, and even religious tolerance; he later turned out to be a notorious heretic-hunter, who personally signed death sentences when Reformation ideas, which had proven to be a serious threat to socio-religious order in Germany, popped up in England. That Thomas More eventually died as a martyr for the Catholic faith renders the picture still more complex.

Lovaniensia

The essays in this volume were selected and peer reviewed in connection with the conference ‘Authority Revisited. Towards Thomas More and Erasmus in 1516’, which took place in KU Leuven’s Irish College from 29 November to 2 December 2016. This was the sixth international conference of *Lectio, the Leuven Institute for the Study of the Transmission of Texts, Ideas and Images in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, and it was organized in collaboration with the Europäische Melanchthon Akademie Bretten (a RefoRC-member) as well as other partners. The university city of Louvain was a most appropriate place for the conference, since it was intimately involved in the genesis and history of both *Nouum Instrumentum* and *Utopia*.

By way of conclusion, we would like to draw attention to several ongoing digitization priorities at the KU Leuven libraries. The digitized works of Erasmus and his contemporaries teaching in Louvain are now available through Lovaniensia.be. This new

⁹ Vanheeswijck 2008, p. 10, 36-37, 40-43, and 48.

platform aims to identify and digitize all titles published by, or related to, members of the Old University of Louvain, from its foundation in 1425 to its abolition by the French revolutionary government in 1797. The platform is a collaboration between the KU Leuven Libraries and the *Bibliothèques de l'Université catholique de Louvain*; since the split between the universities in the 1970s, each holds a part of the former *Collectio academica antiqua* (Caa). Reuniting these works on a common digital platform makes this collection once again accessible as a whole.¹⁰ This project, however, is only the first step. The ultimate goal is the complete digitization of the old academic collection, with an eye towards the university's 600th anniversary celebration in 2025.

The first digitization phase included the books written by Erasmus or by a select group of 22 authors, who were (mostly) contemporaries of the humanist. At the moment of writing (i.e., August 2020), 437 digitized copies from both library collections have been uploaded to Lovaniensia.be, of which 166 are copies of editions by Erasmus as an author; there are also 89 copies of works to which Erasmus was a contributor. All the editions of Erasmus published before his death in 1536 have been digitized. It is important to point out that not all the copies of the books by these 23 authors were digitized: full digitization was only completed for rare books till 1540, i.e., incunabula and post-incunabula. For copies published in later years, preference was given to monographs by Erasmus and the other authors, rather than to their editions of classical and patristic authors. If a copy from another collection was already digitized and accessible online, a link to that digitized copy has been provided in the database, without digitizing copies of the same editions held

¹⁰ In 2017, KU Leuven Libraries and the *Bibliothèques de l'Université catholique de Louvain* launched Lovaniensia.be with financial support provided in the context of the cultural cooperation agreement between the Flemish and the French communities. Thanks to recognition as an international cultural heritage project by the Flemish Community's Department of Culture, Youth and Media, the platform underwent further development in 2018 and 2019 and now is one of the priorities within the KU Leuven Libraries digitization efforts. The editors thank An Smets for providing the data and information reported in this section, which may also be found at: <https://pwr.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/looking-for-digitized-works-by-erasmus-and-his-contemporaries-go-to-lovaniensia-be/>.

in Leuven or Louvain-la-Neuve. Consequently the digitisations made public through this project, at least for the books printed from 1541 onwards, are new digitisations, which were not previously available elsewhere.

The largest group of authors whose books have been digitized were closely linked to the *Collegium Trilingue*, of which Erasmus can be seen as the founding father. Among them are the first professors of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, namely, Adrianus Barlandus (1486-1538), Rutger Rescius (1495-1545), and Mattheus Adrianus (1475-1530). Another professor, Johannes Campensis (1491-1538), taught Hebrew from 1520 till 1531.¹¹ Also linked to the *Collegium Trilingue*, but as a student, was Nicolaus Clenardus (1493-1542); the author of several handbooks on Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Clenardus is mainly known for his profound interest in Arabic. Joannes Despauterius (1480-1520) is another philologist whose books are part of this digitization project. Though never a teacher at the *Collegium Trilingue*, Guilielmus Nesen (1493-1525) should also be mentioned as belonging to the intellectual environment of this institution and hence is included in the project. From the Faculty of Law, we have the two professors Nicolaus Everardus (1462-1532) and Gabriel Mudaus (1500-1560), the first of whom was a close friend of Erasmus.

Erasmus also had contact with members of the Faculty of Theology, some of whom shared (in part) his ideas about Church reform based on the Bible, and others of whom opposed him vehemently and mostly followed their own agenda for reform of the Church. Books authored by Adrianus Florentius (1459-1523), the later Pope Adrian VI, who had been Erasmus' teacher, were also digitized in this first phase. Johannes Briardus († 1520), Adrian's successor as the *primus inter pares* of the theologians, had difficulty in staking out a position vis-à-vis the humanist, whilst Martinus Dorpius (1485-1525) at times showed sympathy for Erasmus' biblical-humanist program but had difficulty accepting his revised Latin translation of the New Testament. The experienced theologian Jacobus Latomus (1475-1544) advo-

¹¹ A short biographical notice for these scholars is available at <http://www.lovaniensia.be/lovaniensia/scholars>.

cated reform of the Church by reinforcing what he considered valuable in the tradition, while denouncing the recipes of both Erasmians and Lutherans. His pupil Franciscus Titelmannus (1498-1537), who worked at the study house of the Franciscans in Louvain, had a good knowledge of biblical languages and was a skillful Bible commentator yet denounced the project of the *Nouum Instrumentum*. Animosity towards Erasmus faded away in less than a generation, as can be seen from Godeschalc Rosemondts (1483-1526), Ruardus Tapperus (1487-1559), and especially Joannes Driedo (1480-1535), whose views on the emendation of the Vulgate and the role of the biblical languages in that process were read with interest at the Council of Trent. Johannes Hentenius (1499-1566), who was critical of Erasmus' translation but familiar with the three classical languages, realized the emendation of the Vulgate that Driedo and the Council had anticipated.¹² Works by professors of theology and law are now in the process of being digitized. These copies will be added to the platform in the second half of 2020 or the beginning of 2021.

Created by scholars in language, law, and theology, the books uploaded to Lovaniensia.be give a good picture of the humanistic atmosphere that prevailed in Louvain at the beginning of the sixteenth century. These works are a testament to the growth of humanism, but they also show that this intellectual movement did not meet with universal approval. Hence, Lovaniensia.be presents a new goldmine for anyone interested in the intellectual history of the early modern period, both in the Low Countries and beyond. The perspectives gathered in the highly interdisciplinary 2016 conference in Louvain and in the present conference volume hopefully yield new insights into the important debates of five hundred years ago and today.

¹² Even more skillful biblical scholars were Cornelius Jansenius 'of Ghent' (1510-1576) and, in a later generation, Franciscus Lucas Brugensis (1549-1619), who had taken intensive language courses at the *Collegium Trilingue*. Franciscus Lucas and Joannes Lensaeus (1541-1593) were not yet born when Erasmus died but have been included in the second, ongoing phase of the *Lovaniensia* project.

Acknowledgements

The editors wish to express their gratitude to all the authors who contributed to the conference and were willing to rework their papers into scholarly articles. The quality of their essays has also profited from the thorough but positive feedback offered by a group of reviewers. The conference could be organized in a fruitful collaboration with the RefoRC-partners the Johannes a Lasco Library Emden and the Europäische Melanchthon Akademie Bretten. The editors' warmest thanks extend further to *Lectio: KU Leuven Institute for the Study of the Transmission of Texts, Ideas and Images in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, its director Prof. Wim Decock and the (former) managing director Dr Erika Gielen, as well as to the editorial board of the book series *Lectio: Studies in the Transmission of Texts & Ideas* and Brepols Publishers in Turnhout. Last but not least, they are especially grateful to Ms. Rita Corstjens for her invaluable help in copy editing this volume.

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UWE BAUMANN

THOMAS MORE,
ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM,
HUMANIST ERUDITION,
BIBLE PHILOLOGY
AND THE AUTHORITY
OF THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

1. *Prologue*

In 1516, when Erasmus of Rotterdam organised the printing of Thomas More's *Utopia* and some months previously had published his own *Nouum Instrumentum*,¹ the close friendship between Thomas More and Erasmus had lasted for some sixteen years.² They got to know and grew to like each other in 1499 with Erasmus's first visit to England. Roughly a ten-year-gap existed between the two and both moved in different spheres: Erasmus in the world of literature³ and More in that of jurisprudence and politics.⁴ Despite these differences they developed a lifelong friendship, a friendship which many contemporaries regarded as a 'twin-existence'. Erasmus owed his acquaintance with the eight-year old prince Henry to the 'young More'. And Erasmus owed an intensification of his philological and scholarly interests in Holy Scripture to his sojourns in England, especially to his encounter with John Colet.

¹ Cf. Allen 1963; Aretoulakis 2014; Bishop 2005; Cave 2008; Elliott 2016; Freeman 2007; Ghita 2006; Nink 1993; Phillips 2001; Schoeck 1993, esp. p. 165-193; Schulte Herbrüggen 1997; Weiner 1975; H. Yoran 2005.

² Cf. Levin 2006; Mann-Phillips 1980; Mansfield 2009; Marc'hadour 1986; 1987; Miller 2009; Murphy 2014; Oppel 1971; Pineas 1960; Rummel 2006; Savage 1922; Schoeck 1986; 1987; 1990, esp. p. 223-234; 1993, esp. p. 51-193 (cf. also p. 390-392: 'An Erasmian Chronology: Life and Writings'); Schulte Herbrüggen 1983b; 1988; Sowards 1989; White 1987; Wojciehowski 2011; cf. also Campbell, Mann Phillips, Schulte Herbrüggen & Trapp 1978.

³ Cf. e.g. Schoeck 1990; 1993; cf. also Buck 1988; Enenkel 2013; Ryle 2014; Weiland & Frijhoff 1988.

⁴ Cf. the short summary by Curtis 2011; cf. also Guy 1980; Marius 1984.

Erasmus himself gives evidence of the profound impression England and his English humanist friends left on him in a letter to Robert Fisher on 5 December 1499:⁵

Coletum meum cum audio, Platonem ipsum mihi uideor audire. In Grocino quis illum absolutum disciplinarum orbem non miretur? Linacri iudicio quid acutius, quid altius, quid emunctius? Thomae Mori ingenio quid unquam finxit natura uel mollius, uel dulcius, uel felicius?

When I listen to Colet it seems to me that I am listening to Plato himself. Who could fail to be astonished at the universal scope of Grocin's accomplishments? Could anything be more clever or profound or sophisticated than Linacre's mind? Did Nature ever create anything kinder, sweeter, or more harmonious than the character of Thomas More?

In 1505 Erasmus came to visit the island a second time and stayed as a guest with the newly wedded Thomas More in his house in Bucklersbury. This stay was essentially characterised by shared Greek studies; the two friends worked together to translate dialogues of Lucian and composed responses to Lucian's *Declamatio pro tyrannicida* in amicable competitiveness.⁶ Although there is no explicit evidence to prove this, it is possible that some of the Latin epigrams of Thomas More, which he translated and adapted from the Greek anthology, were actually created during the intensive time he spent together with Erasmus (1505/1506).⁷ More and Erasmus can be regarded as congenial, eloquent and exceedingly conscientious translators of the Greek language with a never waning diligence and exceptional aptitude.⁸ This reputa-

⁵ Allen I (1906), ep. 118, l. 21-25 (CWE 1, ep. 118, p. 235-236).

⁶ Cf. CW 3/1, p. xxvii-xli; cf. also Baumann 1986a; Rummel 1985, esp. p. 49-69 and 147-153 ('notes'). In his dedicatory letter to Thomas Ruthall More explains the choice of Lucian (CW 3/1, 2/5-7): *Si quisquam fuit unquam uir doctissime, qui Horatianum praeceptum impleuerit, uoluptatemque cum utilitate coniunxerit, hoc ego certe Lucianum in primis puto praestitisse* ('If, most learned Sir, there was ever anyone who fulfilled the Horatian maxim and combined delight with instruction, I think Lucian certainly ranked among the foremost in this respect').

⁷ Cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 23-27; 1986b; Cameron 1987.

⁸ Cf. Rummel 1985, p. 64: 'The two men's levels of proficiency in Greek and their skills in Latin composition are fairly balanced. Both present a clear, faithful, and idiomatically correct version of the original, but the reader quickly notices

tion was substantiated in the *res publica litterarum* of the European humanists by the *editio princeps* of the Lucian translations (Paris: Badius Ascensius, 1506) with 28 translations by Erasmus and 4 by Thomas More as well as one *declamatio* each. Richard Pace (1517), for instance, stated about Thomas More:⁹

[...] *neminem unquam extitisse, qui non ex uerbis collegerit omnes sententias, excepto uno Thoma Moro nostro. Nam is e contrario, ex sententiis colligit uerba, & praecipue in graecis intelligendis, & transferendis.*

[...] that there's never been anyone who didn't arrive at all his sentences from words, except one person, our Thomas More. For he, on the contrary, arrives at words from sentences, especially in understanding and translating Greek.

While in England, Erasmus was able to conclude his translation of *Iphigenia in Aulide*.¹⁰ At the same time (1505/1506), so a somewhat refutable hypothesis of older scholarship,¹¹ he might have started with his first translations of the *New Testament*, which by some scholars were believed to be later used for the *Nouum Testamentum* (1519).¹²

Since Henry VIII was the great and universal hope for a new golden era of art, science and scholarship, his accession to the throne (1509)¹³ was a motivation for Erasmus to move to England, once more, and to stay for five years this time round. On his journey from Naples via the Alps Erasmus conceived the idea

stylistic peculiarities setting the translators apart. Thomas More generally offers a plain and simple translation, following the original in structure and phrasing as far as Latin idiom permits; Erasmus likes to wax eloquent, to elaborate and expand on the original text'.

⁹ Pace 1967, p. 102. Cf. also Baumann 1986a, esp. p. 50-54.

¹⁰ Cf. Rummel 1985, esp. p. 21-47; 2006; cf. also Waszink 1970. In 1506, when he was brought by William Grocyn to Lambeth Palace, Erasmus presented William Warham (c. 1450-1532) with his translation of Euripides's *Hecuba* (cf. Schoeck 1993, p. 54). Cf. on Erasmus's 'everlasting' appreciation of Greek studies e.g. Bateman 1969; 1973; Dillon 2001; Rummel 1981; 1985, esp. p. 3-19.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. Holeczek 1975, esp. p. 101-113.

¹² Cf. the really convincing corrections of these older theories by Brown 1984; de Jonge 1984b; 1988a; 2016.

¹³ Cf. Baumann 2006, esp. p. 10-35; cf. also Thomas More's epigrams on the coronation of Henry VIII, CW 3/2, nos 19-23 (100/1-116/14); cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 49-54; Lüsse 1992; Rundle 1995.

for his renowned *Morias Enkomion, In Praise of Folly*,¹⁴ which he concluded under Thomas More's roof and dedicated to his friend. Although it is difficult to find documented or hard evidence for it, the following years were certainly a time of reciprocal exchange of ideas and mutual inspiration for the two friends.¹⁵ This is firmly and undeniably attested by the *Epigrammata*¹⁶ and the *Utopia*.¹⁷ From 1511 to 1514 Erasmus taught Greek at Cambridge and worked on an edition of Jerome's letters on which he also gave lectures. At the same time, to a great extent, he was able to finish the annotations to, as well as his work on, the Greek text of his *Nouum Instrumentum*, which would be published in March 1516.¹⁸ And it must be considered as highly probable, although there is no hard documentary evidence for it, that Erasmus discussed this work and its progress with his friend Thomas More, or: It is hardly imaginable that the two friends did not exchange their views on the work's progress as well as on methodological and / or philological matters of detail concerning this pivotal project.

Moreover, the two friends were part of the far-reaching international network of the most preeminent members of the ecclesiastical and secular nobility of humanists, artists, theologians and princes. This is strikingly documented in their letters,¹⁹ and especially in the 'Parerga' to the *Utopia* of 1516 which was considerably inspired and accounted for by Erasmus.

This essay aims at generally (re-)constructing Thomas More's humanistic convictions, his humanistic erudition, which was inspired by his early passion for the classical tradition as well as the wisdom of the old and which he developed further dur-

¹⁴ Cf. Ball 1979; Geraldine 1964; Hammond 1983; Schoeck 1993, esp. p. 95-108; Stenger 1971.

¹⁵ Cf. Schoeck 1993, esp. p. 109-174.

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. Dust 1980; Miller 2009.

¹⁷ Cf. Allen 1963; Aretoulakis 2014; Freeman 2007; Ghita 2006; Phillips 2001; Wegemer 1986; Wojciehowski 2011; Yoran 2005.

¹⁸ Cf. the details in de Jonge 2016, esp. p. 29-34; cf. also 1988a.

¹⁹ Cf. esp. Schulte Herbrüggen 1983b and his German translation of the Erasmus-More Correspondence (Thomas Morus, *Briefe der Freundschaft mit Erasmus*). Unfortunately, however, the Complete Works Edition of St Thomas More does not include a critical edition of More's correspondence. Cf. also Schrenck 1983; Lakowski 1996.

ing the years of his close and inspiring friendship with Erasmus. The humanistic mindset of Thomas More essentially means that to him the antiquity, which was on the one hand shaped by scholarship, art and science and on the other hand by Christianity, became the ‘benchmark’ for conduct and a guideline for achievements of his own time.²⁰ These convictions will be the first focus of interest (part II) followed by an analysis of the question whether, and to what extent, Thomas More can also be regarded as a bible philologist (part III). The best insight into these similarities between the two friends – which decidedly concerned bible philology – is granted by an analysis of some epigrams and especially of the letters in which Thomas More defends Erasmus’s *Nouum Instrumentum* and *Nouum Testamentum*. It is far from coincidental that in the Complete Works Edition (CW 15) these letters are grouped under the modern but very fitting title *In Defense of Humanism* (esp. the letters to Martin Dorp and Edward Lee, as well as the letter to a Monk).

2. *Thomas More: Humanist Erudition*

Thomas More’s humanistic writings (*Epigrammata*, the Lucian translations, *The History of King Richard III* and *Utopia*) as well as his correspondence serve as a basis for the following study of More’s humanistic convictions, his philological interests and his classical scholarship.

To begin with, it should be noted that Thomas More was fascinated by the monumental heritage of classical antiquity. He describes Busleiden’s numismatic collection with utmost enthusiasm in one of his epigrams;²¹ another epigram indicates that he himself owned a (small) collection of antique coins.²²

²⁰ Cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 169-174. Cf. also O’Brien Weintraub 2000.

²¹ Cf. CW 3/2, no. 250 (262-263); cf. also Baumann 1984, p. 85.

²² Cf. CW 3/2, no. 265 (282-285), l. 18-19: *Inspicit antiquae selecta numismata formae / Claraque tam claris gaudet imaginibus* (‘She selected and examined some ancient coins, and famous herself, found pleasure in the famous portraits on them’); cf. also Baumann 1984, p. 85. Cf. also a letter by Cranevelt to Erasmus, in which he informs Erasmus that More had given him two classical imperial coins (Allen IV [1922], ep. 1145, l. 17-19): *Mihi uero uetusta nomismata dedit, aureum argentumque: in altero est Tiberii effigies, in altero diui Augusti*.

Between 1519 and 1525 More used a Renaissance *rifacimento* of a Roman coin by the emperor Titus (T. VESPASIANVS AVGVSTVS and IVDEA CAPTA) as his private seal.²³ Of his friend Budaeus he spoke in the highest terms: He praised Budaeus's work *De Asse* because with it the latter excelled in fulfilling the central Renaissance humanist task of bringing the antiquity back to life.²⁴

The significance Thomas More ascribed to books can hardly be overestimated; he was surrounded by works of literature nearly everywhere and once in his hands he was very reluctant to part with them. To him well-equipped libraries constituted a harmonic surrounding which promoted well-being, scholarship and virtue on the same scale.²⁵

Let us concentrate on concrete aspects of the antique literature and how this got a hold of and influenced Thomas More. His own assessment offers a good starting point: He points out that insights and discoveries concerning the free arts, philosophy

²³ Cf. Trapp & Schulte Herbrüggen 1977, p. 32, no. 30; cf. also p. 97, no. 190. Cf. Baumann 1984, p. 169.

²⁴ Cf. R. 65, l. 1-12 (R., SL, p. 108): *Cum omnia tuorum nihil obiter legam, sed inter solida et primaria collocem studia, Assem vero tuum sic attente perdisco, quomodo non quemlibet veterum. Nam ne transeunter intelligi possit, ipse delectis verbis, exquisitis sententiis, elaborata sermonis gravitate, postremo pondere et difficultate rerum tam alte petitarum peneque iam euanidarum vetustate prouidisti, quibus tamen si quis intendat oculos, contineatque atque infigat pressius, eam adfudisti lucem, sic propemodum deleta refecisti, ut tua verba dum versat, omnibus interea praeteritis seculis interuersari videatur, et omnium regum, tyrannorum, gentium collustrare, numerare, velutque manu contrectare diuitias, quod fere maius est, quam ut quibuslibet auaris contingat in suis* ('I never skim any of your works, but study them seriously as works of the first importance. To your treatise, however, on Roman Measures I gave a very special attention such as have given to no ancient author. For that it cannot be understood in any cursory way, you have provided by your careful choice of words, your well-balanced sentences, the studied gravity of your diction, and not least by the serious and difficult nature of the matters you treat of – matters almost lost in antiquity, and requiring the deepest research. But yet if anyone will turn his eyes to what you have written and give it careful and continued attention, he will find that the light you have thrown upon your subject brings the dead past to life again. Whilst he ponders your words, he will live in imagination through all the past ages, and will be able to gaze upon, to count and almost to take into his hands, the hoarded wealth of all kings, tyrants and nations, which is almost more than any misers have been able to do'). Cf. Baumann 1984, p. 158; cf. also Marc'hadour 1968.

²⁵ Cf. the sources in Baumann 1984, p. 170.

and theology are mostly owed to the Greeks.²⁶ If one neglects mythological motifs (after all, in the Renaissance they were considered as *per definitionem* nearly ubiquitous) that leaves Herodotus, Plato and Aristotle as the authors of the classic Greek era whom More knew really well. Herodotus' influence is especially visible in details of the description of the 'Polylerites' (*Utopia*);²⁷ beyond that further references to Herodotus in the *Utopia* can also not be ruled out. Scholars have repeatedly emphasized Plato's influence on *Utopia*;²⁸ the same applies to Aristotle whom More, according to his own words, held in high esteem.²⁹ The classic Greek logic (of Aristotle), particularly the Aristotelian and stoic syllogistic, was not only well-known to More, he was also able to use it most adroitly for his subtle argumentations.³⁰ From the later periods of Greek literature More knew Plutarch³¹ and especially the dialogues of Lucian of which he translated four into Latin. The subtle, ironically distanced narrative structure and concept of *Utopia* is grounded as much in the satirical style of Lucian³² as in the playful satirical humour of Thomas More and the Erasmian esprit of the *Morias Enkomion*.³³ Thomas More translated roughly 100 epigrams from the

²⁶ Cf. R. 60, l. 179-220 (R., SL, esp. p. 100-101). Cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 156-158; cf. also Baumann 2003; Carlson 1992; D'Alton 1997; Scott-Craig 1948.

²⁷ Cf. CW 4, esp. 74/17-80/7 and the commentary, p. 343-344. Cf. also Schoeck 1956.

²⁸ Cf. the exhaustive commentaries in CW 4, esp. p. 267-570. Cf. also Baker-Smith 2011; Baumann 1984, esp. p. 170-171; Baumann & Heinrich 1986b; Corrigan 1990; Doyle 1971; Neumann 1966; Perlette 1987; Schaeffer 1981; Starnes 1990; Steintrager 1969; Surtz 1957a; 1957b; Wegemer 1986; 2011; White 1974; 1982.

²⁹ Cf. R. 15, l. 1288sq. Cf. also Nelson 2006; Starnes 1990; White 1974; 1976; cf. also referring to Erasmus, Kraye 1990.

³⁰ Cf. e.g. Baumann 1982; 1984, esp. p. 110-118 (R. 15), p. 129-134 (R. 190); 1988; 2008a; 2008b; Kinney 1981a.

³¹ Cf. in general the commentaries in CW.

³² Cf. e.g. Ball 1979; Dorsch 1967; Wooden 1971; 1972.

³³ Cf. in general Ball 1979; Baumann & Heinrich 1986b; DeCook 2008; Gilman 2012; Hammond 1983; Stenger 1971; Yoran 2005. Cf. also on the importance of (other) classical texts, references and concepts for the 'shaping' of Thomas More's *Utopia*: Adams 1945; Aretoulakis 2014; Baumann 1997; Baumann & Heinrich 1986b; Bejczy 1995; Berkvall (1993-1994); Burlinson 2008; Cave 2008; Cook 2009; De Landtsheer 2013; Dunca 2012; Gerard & Sterling 2005; Geritz 1992; 1998; 2005; Lacombe 1971; Logan 1983; Lüsse 1998, esp. p. 35-75; McCutcheon 1985; Maczelka 2014; Meyer 2010, esp. p. 117-233;

Anthologia Graeca into Latin. Without doubt this collection inspired him to compose several of his own epigrams in which he creatively diversified motifs, bizarre situations and stereotypes of the Greek anthology.³⁴

Dealing with the *Anthologia Graeca*, especially with the translated epigrams which largely originated in the late period of the Greek epigram (a time in which the epigram began to change under Roman influence),³⁵ brings Latin literature into our focus. For instance, in the letters of Thomas More there are a lot of allusions to, and quotes from, Latin poets and historians. Apparently, he was especially familiar with Terence, Plautus, Cicero, Ovid and Virgil; quotations, references, allusions to statements, witticisms and declarations of these authors are evident in nearly all of Thomas More's writings.³⁶ The *Responsio ad Lutherum*, for instance, acquired essential lexical elements of its polemic style (a style which focuses on denigrating its opponents)³⁷ from the

Mitsi 2008; Mölk 1964; Morgan-Russell 2002; Nelson 2001; 2006; Prescott 2010; Raitiere 1973; Rebhorn 1976; Romm 1991; G. Schmidt 2009a, esp. p. 109-133 and p. 183-207; 2009b; Schmidt 1943; Sivefors 2014; Surtz 1957a; 1957b; Van der Stock 2016; Wegemer 1986; 1990; 1992; 2000; 2011; White 1974; 1976; 1982; Yates 2007.

³⁴ Cf. CW 3/2, esp. p. 3-37 and p. 57-63; cf. Baumann 1984, p. 17-96. Cf. in general on the epigrams and their poetic representations of serious political, public and / or private topics Baumann 1985; 1986b; 1997; 2012; 2013; Cameron 1987; Cousins 2004; Day 1977; Gilman 2005; Grace 1981; 1985; Kinney 1981b; Laureys 2013; Lavoie 1976; Miller 2009; Schmidt 2007; 2009a, esp. p. 85-108; Stone 1980.

³⁵ Cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 23-27.

³⁶ Cf. the commentaries to the respective CW editions; for the letters of Thomas More (cf. footnote 19) I have to rely on my own statistics (cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 97-168 and p. 174-179) rooted in Allen, R., R., SL and the subsequent additions to More's Correspondence: Schulte Herbrüggen 1964; 1965; 1967; 1983a; Miller 1994.

³⁷ One of my favourite examples that connects polemical rhetoric with the 'misuse' of logic might suffice (CW 5, vol. 1, 180/7-15): *Atque haec est domini doctoris posterioristice qui, quum sibi iam prius fas esse scripserit, coronam regiam conspergere et conspurcare stercoribus: an non nobis fas erit posterius, huius posterioristicae linguam stercoratam, pronunciare dignissimam: ut uel meientis mulae posteriora lingat suis prioribus: donec rectius ex prioribus, didicerit posteriores concludere, propositionibus* ('... that is, the posterioristic premise of the honored Doctor. Since he has written that he already has a prior right to bespatter and besmirch the royal crown with shit, will we not have the posterior right to proclaim the beshitted tongue of this practitioner of posterioristics most fit to lick with his

Roman comedy³⁸ and at the same time made use of distinguished (and partly very rare) swearwords from the polemically controversial literature of the Church Fathers.³⁹ More knew Horace's little poetics, *De Arte Poetica*, and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* very well.⁴⁰ He regarded both works as a guideline, as a mandatory 'benchmark' for his own time but particularly internalised Horace's demand that literature, especially poetry, should bring delight and be useful. This understanding of poetry constitutes the theoretical and representational background for the many references to antique fables one can find because the fable as a genre meets Horace's requirement very well. As the allusion to both Horace's poetic and Quintilian's far-reaching handbook of rhetoric demonstrates, Thomas More was also acquainted with antique literary and poetic theory; he knew the antique literary genres, their distinctions and modes of depiction (ranging from epigram to the *Declamatio*⁴¹ as well as from comedy to historiography). The classical genre of the dialogue was of particular

anterior the very posterior of a pissing she-mule until he shall have learned more correctly to infer posterior conclusions from prior premises?').

³⁸ Cf. Headley, in CW 5, vol. 2, esp. p. 816-817: 'In Roman comedy, however, More found a world where language, tone and characters were eminently suitable for his polemical needs. More's previous life and works demonstrate his profound appreciation of Plautus and Terence, whose plays met an answering note in the genuine *festiuitas* and earthiness of the Londoner. [...] But, judging by the number of direct quotations and recognizable appropriations in the *Responsio*, he appeals to the earlier dramatist much less frequently than he does to Terence, whose works are distinguished by apt and quotable phrases, which would here make his influence more immediately evident. Plautus' actual presence in the *Responsio* is perhaps just as considerable although less apparent'.

³⁹ Cf. CW 5, esp. vol. 2, p. 851-983; cf. in general (although a thorough analysis of the *Responsio*'s polemical language remains a *desideratum*): Appel 2016, esp. p. 115-134; Baumann 1988; 2008a; 2015a; 2015b; Fury 2005; Trevor 2001. Cf. also the somewhat isolated approach to More's *Responsio* in primarily highlighting the consensual theological aspects by Baumann 1993.

⁴⁰ Cf. the wealth of sources in Baumann 1984.

⁴¹ Cf. Baumann 2015a, esp. p. 83: 'While More concentrated exclusively on his role as attorney for the defence in his *Declamatio Lucianicae respondens* (the application was presented by way of the text of Lucian's declamation), he went a step further in his *dialogu[s]* [...] *in quo Platonis communitatem ad uxores usque defendit*, which is unfortunately lost and referred to only by Erasmus [Allen IV (1922), ep. 999, l. 251-256]. There he probably created characters who weighed up the pros and cons of Platonic communal life in a dialogue (*dialogus*), and the arguments as a whole were directed at Plato's defence (*defendit*)'.

importance and constitutes the standard, the model for More's own literary work. This is especially evident in the three justly praised great and famous dialogues *Utopia*, *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* and the *Dialogue of Comfort*.⁴² One could go as far as to unexceptionally call all humanistic and controversially theological arguments of Thomas More polemic dialogues that merely differ in the degree of the explicitness by which they orchestrate their dialogue status.⁴³

Apparently, More studied and analysed the Roman historians and biographers Sallust, Suetonius and Tacitus with great interest, appropriated their methods of depiction and chose them as suitable reading matter for his children.⁴⁴ The defining influence of this triad, Sallust, Suetonius and Tacitus, is very evident, especially in both the English and the Latin versions of the *History of King Richard III*.⁴⁵ A quantifying assessment of, in the commentary to the *History* or *Historia* collected parallels demonstrates that references to Suetonius and Tacitus are far more common than those to Sallust.⁴⁶ Moreover, the influence of Suetonius is also structurally evident particularly at the beginning of the *History / Historia*. The introduction of the ancestors is succeeded by a description of the protagonist, Richard III, whose birth, and the circumstances surrounding it, are presented as a collection of dismal portents. Thus the *History / Historia* follows the structural pattern of Suetonian biographies in which, respectively, forefathers are presented at the very beginning and omens are clustered in groups and mark important moments.⁴⁷ For the powerful and emphatic account of the atmosphere of distrust

⁴² Cf. CW 6; CW 12; cf. also Baumann 2015a; 2015b; Duffy 2011; Gilman 2003; Gordon 1978; Lakowski 1993; McCutcheon 1991; 1993; Maczelka 2014; Rebhorn 1976; Schoell 2004, esp. p. 28-63; Starnes 1990; Taylor 2011.

⁴³ Cf. the arguments in Baumann 2015a; 2015b.

⁴⁴ Cf. R. 63, l. 113-116. Cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 103-105.

⁴⁵ Cf. CW 2; CW 15, esp. p. 313-485. Cf. esp. Sylvester, in CW 2, p. lxxx-civ; Kinney, in CW 15, p. cxxxiii-cliv; cf. also Anderson 1984; Donno 1982; Fox 1989; Harris 1972; Heinrich 1986; 1987; Logan 2011b; Meyer 2010, esp. p. 117-171; Rubio 1971; Schmidt 2009a, esp. p. 274-279; Sullivan 1967; Yoran 2011.

⁴⁶ Cf. the respective commentaries CW 2, esp. p. 153-269 and CW 15, esp. p. 605-631 (my own statistics). Cf. also Chomarat 1985.

⁴⁷ Cf. the wealth of materials in Heinrich 1987, esp. p. 93-127. Cf. also Baumann 1984, esp. p. 172.

and peril surrounding Richard III More could draw on atmospheric and stylistic suggestions from the first two books of Tacitus's *Annals*.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the combination of decisive, partly quite piquant factual information with rhetorical catchphrases like 'it is for trouth reported' (e.g. CW 2, 7/23), 'as menne constantly say' (e.g. CW 2, 8/15-16) and '[s]omme wise menne also weene' (e.g. CW 2, 8/22) probably also originates from Tacitus, although references to oral sources are very common in Renaissance historiography.⁴⁹

Overall, Thomas More's knowledge of Latin classical literature cannot be overestimated. Time and again, by creatively and productively adapting this knowledge More demonstrates his ability to use the manifold, both argumentative and ornamental roles and functions of this literature.

There is a, for Thomas More, equally important area of traditional interest which merits a special appreciation: the Bible⁵⁰ and the written work of the Church Fathers. In his letters More quotes and refers to Holy Scripture more than 200 times.⁵¹ The respective multitude of quotations and references to the Bible in his controversially theological works and Tower-writings is self-evident and renders a precise statistic redundant.⁵²

Nicholas Harpsfield, Thomas More's biographer, recounts that as a young man (around 1501) More had already given well-attended lectures on St Augustine's *De Ciuitate Dei* in which he

⁴⁸ Cf. Sylvester, in CW 2, p. xci: 'As in the case of Sallust, it is the verbal similarities between More's narrative and those of Suetonius and Tacitus that hint at more profound relationships between them. More echoes the works of both writers in the Richard, not so persistently as to suggest that he was framing his verbal style on their model, but with a frequency sufficient to indicate that the *Lives of the Caesars* and the *Annals* were fresh in his mind as he wrote'.

⁴⁹ Cf. in general Heinrich 1987; Baumann 2015c.

⁵⁰ Cf. esp. Marc'hadour 1969; 1969-1972; 1972.

⁵¹ Cf. the commentaries to the respective CW editions; for the letters I have to rely on my own statistics (cf. n. 36).

⁵² Cf. the commentaries to the respective CW editions: CW 6, esp. vol. 2, p. 601-725 (cf. also G. Marc'hadour, in CW 6, vol. 2, p. 494-526: 'Scripture in the *Dialogue*'); CW 7, esp. p. 263-391; CW 8, esp. vol. 3, p. 1455-1711; CW 9, esp. p. 283-394; CW 10, esp. p. 237-316; CW 11, esp. p. 229-296; CW 12, esp. p. 323-443; CW 13, p. 237-315; CW 14, esp. vol. 2, p. 781-1066. Cf. also Bradshaw 1985; Curbet 2003; Dillon 1976; Duffy 2011; Ferguson 2012; Fury 2005; Gregory 2003; Holeczek 1975; O'Donnell 1991; Rex 2011; Rockett 1999; Rodgers 2011; Trevor 2001; Young 2003.

interpreted the work of this Church Father philosophically, historically and theologically.⁵³ Sadly, both the text of these lectures as well as a dialogue in which Thomas More defended Plato's state has been lost.⁵⁴ In his letters Thomas More refers to the Church Fathers more than 40 times. Not only does he acknowledge these men as theological authorities, he also continuously reverences them for their eloquence: To him the Church Fathers happily combined *sapientia* and *eloquentia*. More explicitly asked William Gonell, the tutor of his children, to study some works of the Church Fathers with them. He was convinced that such a reading would not only perfect the children's language competences but would also lead them to true virtue, i.e. virtue in the eyes of God:⁵⁵

[...] *quam prudens charitas sic praecipiet ut virtutem doceat libentius quam exprobrat vicia, et amorem bonae monitioni quam odium conciliet. Neque ad eam rem quicquam est cautius, quam veterum eis Patrum praecepta legere; quos neque iratos sibi intelligunt; et quum sanctimoniae gratia venerentur, necesse est vehementer eorum autoritate moueantur. Cuiusmodi quippiam si praeter Salustianam lectionem Margaretae meae et Elisabethae (nam hae maturiores videntur quam Ioannes et Caecilia) perlegeris, et me simul et illas, iam ante tibi multum addictos, multo adhuc magis obstrinxeris. Praeterea*

⁵³ Cf. Harpsfield 1932, p. 13-14: '[...] yet did Master More, being so yonge, being so distracted also and occupied in the studie of the common laws, openly reade in the Churche of S^t Laurence in London the books of the saide S^t Augustine *de Ciuitate Dei*, to his no small commendation, and to the great admiration of all his audience. His lesson was frequented and honoured with the presence and resort, as well of that well learned and / great cunning man, Master Grocin (with whom and with Master Thomas Lupsett he learned the greeke tonge) as also with the chiefe and best learned men of the Citie of London'. Cf. also Ro: Ba: 1950, who adds (p. 23): 'More in his reading proued him selfe a diuine, a philosopher [and] an historian; for he must be furnished with these arts that will read and expound these books of St Augustine as he did'.

⁵⁴ Cf. Allen IV (1922), ep. 999, l. 251-256; cf. Baumann 2015a, esp. p. 83; 2015b, esp. p. 116; cf. also n. 41. The lost lectures on St Augustine's *De Ciuitate Dei* as well as the lost dialogue on Plato's State also exemplarily demonstrate the enormous scope of Thomas More's philological, philosophical, historical and theological interests in classical literature and culture.

⁵⁵ R. 63, l. 107-119 (R., SL, p. 106-107); cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 103-105. Cf. in general on More's (and his debts to Erasmus's) concepts of education: Cousins 2004; De Landtsheer 2013; Herding 1966; 1988; Rebhorn 1972; Schmidt 2009a; Sowards 1988; 1989.

liberos meos, naturae primum iure charos, ac deinde literis et virtute chariores, efficies eo doctrinae ac bonorum incremento morum charissimos.

[...] and this your prudent charity will so enforce as to teach virtue rather than reprove vice, and make them love good advice instead of hating it. To this purpose nothing will more conduce than to read to them the lessons of the ancient Fathers, who, they know, cannot be angry with them; and, as they honor them for their sanctity, they must needs be much moved by their authority. If you will read something of this sort, besides their reading of Sallust – to Margaret and Elizabeth, who are more mature than John and Cecily – you will bind me and them, already in your debt, still more to you. And besides you will make my children who are dear to me first by the law of nature, and then dearer by learning and virtue, most dear by such advancement in knowledge and good character.

This conviction and the general relationship of the Church Fathers to the pagan antiquity constitute the most important reasons for More's particular fascination with the writings of the Church Fathers. Augustine and Jerome, whom More held in very high esteem, theoretically and allegorically had justified scholarly attention to pagan erudition and offered argumentative clarity and works of rhetorically stylistic beauty.⁵⁶ Thus, these two, especially, fulfilled a central demand which, time and again, played an important role in the Renaissance: They offered criteria and models for a harmonisation of Christianity and pagan antiquity, for a targeted synthesis of pagan scholarship and Christian revelation.

In the same way as Jerome and Augustine had the literature of the pagan antiquity at their disposal, Thomas More had the run of antique literature in all its abundance. In his personal views and judgements, which are mostly documented in his family and humanist letters,⁵⁷ More continuously professed his accordance with antique ideals that were shared by the pagan and the Christian antiquity (mostly concerning language and moral education

⁵⁶ Cf. the sources in Baumann 1984, p. 173. Cf. in general the exemplary texts from the Church Fathers collected in Warkotsch 1973.

⁵⁷ Cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 100-105 and 105-164.

at home as well as the nurture of the free arts at the universities). Moreover, the *topoi* of antique letter culture that can be found in the letters of Thomas More also originate from both the pagan antique and the Christian antique tradition.⁵⁸

The humanist Thomas More can be distinguished for his conviction that the antiquity, which is on the one hand shaped by scholarship, art and science and on the other hand by Christianity,⁵⁹ becomes – as I argued before – a ‘benchmark’ for his actions and a guideline, or rather the standard according to which achievements of his own time are measured. The ultimate premise, however, is the enormous praise his contemporaries deserved if they were successful in approaching or even matching the achievements of the classical tradition.⁶⁰

3. *Thomas More: Defender of Erasmus*

a. Martin Dorp – Erasmus – Martin Dorp

Erasmus never made a secret of his plans, intentions and concrete work on what was at first called his *Nouum Instrumentum*. Thus, even before it was published it became subject to committed discussions, caveats, protests and partly even harsh critique. Already in September 1514, for instance, Martin Dorp (1485–May 31, 1525),⁶¹ who later became professor of theology in Leuven, sent Erasmus a letter in which the former opposed the derision of monks and clerics in the *Enkomion Moriae*.⁶² He also requested that Erasmus examine in earnest whether his version of the New Testament did not discredit the church significantly.

⁵⁸ Cf. the sources and literature in Baumann 1984, esp. p. 164–168 (‘Mores Briefe und die antike epistolographische Tradition’).

⁵⁹ Cf. in general on the roots and concepts of Christian Humanism Amos 2003; Bentley 1977; De Landtsheer 2013; Enenkel 2013; Hansen 1997; Jarrott 1970; Jenkins & Preston 2007; McConica 2011; McCutcheon 2011; Petersen 1988; Ryle 2014; Schmidt 2003; Schrenck 1983; Stewart 2002; Wegemer 2000; 2011; Weiland & Frijhoff 1988.

⁶⁰ Cf. the wealth of sources in Baumann 1984, esp. p. 162–164 (‘Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen *antiqui* und *moderni* in den Briefen Sir Thomas Mores’).

⁶¹ Cf. Baumann 1982; 1984, esp. p. 110–118; Cooper 1965; Heilen 1988; Holeczek 1975, esp. p. 138–165; Kinney, in CW 15, esp. p. xix–xxviii.

⁶² Cf. Allen II (1910), ep. 304.

Dorp feared that if flaws within the texts of the scripture became publicly known, its authority as a whole would be challenged.⁶³ Roughly midway through 1515 Erasmus responded to this letter by emphasising that the representation of the immoral and scandalous life of some clerics was put into *stultitia*'s mouth⁶⁴ and that the elaborate descriptions of vices of individual representatives were not meant as mockery of the whole clergy.⁶⁵ In his opinion, the same theologians who sneered at the *Enkomion Moriae* were now speaking up against his work on the New Testament.⁶⁶ This originated, essentially, from the ignorance of the scholastic theologians who indulged in debates and dialectic subtleties and thus neglected the study of the scripture and the commentaries of the Church Fathers.⁶⁷ As he unequivocally stated, Erasmus regarded the solid knowledge of the Latin as well as the Greek language as indispensable presuppositions to a theology which focused on the study of the scripture and the Church Fathers.⁶⁸ By not doing much more than repeating and reinforcing his old arguments, Dorp promptly responded to this letter of which only a later, revised version survived. One notion, however, was new: Dorp defended the theologians' practice of dealing with theological problems with the help of dialectic methods. To that end, Dorp emphasised the authority of the Church Fathers who had recognised dialectics and logic as essential expedients.⁶⁹

⁶³ Cf. Allen II (1910), ep. 304, esp. l. 135sqq.

⁶⁴ Cf. Allen II (1910), ep. 337, esp. l. 524sqq.

⁶⁵ Cf. Allen II (1910), ep. 337, esp. l. 348sqq.

⁶⁶ Cf. Allen II (1910), ep. 337, esp. l. 319sqq.

⁶⁷ Cf. Allen II (1910), ep. 337, esp. l. 385sqq.

⁶⁸ Cf. Allen II (1910), ep. 337, *passim* and esp. l. 801sqq. Cf. on the exemplary importance of the church fathers as a model for Erasmus e.g. Backus 1995; 1998; Barral-Baron 2013; den Boeft 1988; 1997; Olin 1986; 1988; Pabel 2002a; Rummel 1986a; 1991.

⁶⁹ Cf. Allen II (1910), ep. 347, esp. l. 238-264. Cf. Mesnard 1963, who poignantly sums up the opponents' opinions: Erasmus's (Allen II [1910], ep. 337) as 'Si vous ne savez pas le grec vous n'êtes pas de vrais théologiens' (p. 899) and Dorp's (Allen II [1910], ep. 347) as 'Si vous ne pratiquez pas la dialectique, vous n'êtes que des humanists incomplets!' (p. 900).

b. More's Letter to Dorp (R. 15)

While on his 'utopian' embassy to Flanders in the summer of 1515, Thomas More became acquainted with this (briefly outlined) correspondence,⁷⁰ immediately interceded and defended his friend against all accusations and objections in a detailed essay (in the form of a letter).⁷¹ Without going into detail as the *genius loci* might tempt me to do, concerning the bible-philological controversy between Dorp and Erasmus the following should be noted: Jerome, who had utilised analogous principles similarly to how Erasmus was appropriating them, was crucial to More as a model.⁷² However, by so invoking the authority of the Church Father Jerome, More got into argumentative trouble: This meant that Dorp's argument about the Church Fathers' use of dialectic and logic as a means was falling back on the same authority as More in his defence of Erasmus's bible philology. More's response to and rebuttal of Dorp's authority argument is the argumentative and rhetorical gem of the whole letter-essay. The letter thereby also turns into a plea for the return to the venerable educational concept of the *trivium* of the *septem artes liberales*.⁷³ This is a concept which provides space for grammar and rhetoric as well as for a dialectic that adapts itself to the common parlance and does not formulate rules which are adversary

⁷⁰ Cf. Hexter, in CW 4, p. xxvii-xli, esp. xxxiii: 'While he was still in the Netherlands More's attention had been sharply diverted from *Utopia* to one of the largest concerns of his age and his own most immediate intellectual concern – the direct defense of a new kind of learning and of a reoriented outlook on the proper priority of Christian imperatives. Of these views the pre-eminent exponent was More's comrade Erasmus, and for better or worse the views themselves have come to be called Christian humanism. When Erasmus' work elicited the vigorous attack of a former friend, Martin Dorp of Louvain, More wrote in answer a fierce polemic defending Erasmus on every point at issue. It was not More's last letter on the subject of the New Learning against the Old, but it was his longest, something like two thirds the length of *Utopia*; and he was still busy with it when at long last his recall summoned him home toward the end of October 1515'.

⁷¹ Cf. R. 15; R., SL, p. 6-64; CW 15, p. 1-127; cf. Baumann 1982; 1984, esp. p. 110-118; Holeczek 1975, esp. p. 138-165; Kinney 1981a; Kinney, in CW 15, p. xix-xxviii; Marc'hadour 1980; 1988.

⁷² Cf. R. 15, l. 1014sq. Cf. den Boeft 1988; 1997; Marc'hadour 1990; Rice 1985.

⁷³ Cf. the sources and their detailed discussions in Baumann 1982; 1984, p. 114-117; Kinney 1981a. Cf. also Verbeke 2013.

to common logic.⁷⁴ This new (but at the same time traditional) dialectic, conceptualised by More, was exclusively guided by the dialectic and logic of classical philosophy.⁷⁵

We can ignore the letters to Edward Lee (c. 1482-1544) in which Thomas More defended the principles of Erasmus's bible philology with virtually the same arguments he had used against Dorp.⁷⁶ It should however be noted that after being unsuccessful in preventing Lee from printing his critical objections to the *Nouum Testamentum*, More pointed out that all true scholars considered Erasmus's labours as extremely helpful for a better understanding of the scripture.⁷⁷

c. More's Epigrams (nos 255, 256 & 257)

In two of his epigrams More recommended Erasmus's *Nouum Instrumentum*, on the one hand to Thomas Wolsey (March 1473? - November 29, 1530), cardinal and Archbishop of York (CW 3/2, no. 256) and on the other hand to William Warham (c. 1450 - August 22, 1532), Archbishop of Canterbury (CW 3/2, no. 257). In these two comparatively conventional epigrams of recommendation Thomas More repeatedly emphasised the exceptional merits Erasmus had acquired with his work concerning the laws of Christ.⁷⁸ However, a third epigram which

⁷⁴ Cf. R. 15, esp. l. 325sq. Cf. the beautiful metaphor, rooted in the classical distinction by the Stoic Zenon (cf. Baumann 1984, p. 117, n. 61), that 'pinpoints' the relation between dialectics and rhetoric (R. 15, l. 192-197 [R., SL, p. 33]): *Siquidem recte senserunt non infimi Philosophorum, qui tantum censuerunt inter Dialecticam Rhetoricamque differre, quantum pugnus distat a palma, quod, quae Dialectice colligit astrictius, eadem omnia Rhetorice copiosius explicat, utque illa mucrone pungit, ita hec ipsa mole penitus prosternit obruitque* ('Not the lowliest of philosophers were correct when they maintained that dialectics and rhetoric were no more distinct than are the fist and the palm of the hand, because what dialectics holds together more tightly, rhetoric unfolds more freely, and just as the former strikes with the point of the blade, so the latter by its sheer force completely prostrates and destroys').

⁷⁵ Cf. Baumann 1982; 1984, esp. p. 114-118. Cf. esp. R. 15, l. 318-365.

⁷⁶ Cf. R. 75; CW 15, p. 151-195. But cf. also R. 48, 84, 85; cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 154-155; Coogan 1986; Kinney, in CW 15, p. xxxi-xli; Marc'hadour 1988.

⁷⁷ Cf. R. 85 (29 February [1520]), esp. l. 97-99: *Etenim qui malam ab illo stabilierit opinionem, hactenus nullum vidi, at cotidie video passim studiosos, qui se laboribus eius mire iam nunc fatentur adiutos in campo Scripturarum.*

⁷⁸ Cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 84.

decidedly addresses the reader of the *Nouum Testamentum* and concentrates on Erasmus's translation of it, holds even greater import (CW 3/2, no. 255):⁷⁹

*Ad Lectorem de Novo Testamento,
Verso ab Erasmo Roterodamo.*
*Sanctum opus, et docti labor immortalis ERASMI
Prodit, et O populis commoda quanta uehit!
Lex noua, nam ueteri primum est interprete laesa,
Scribentum uaria post uitata manu.
Sustulerat forsán mendas Hieronymus olim,
Sed periére pigro tam bona scripta situ.
Tota igitur demptis uersa est iam denuo mendis,
Atque noua CHRISTI lex noua luce nitet.
Nec tamen ambitiose singula uerba notauit,
Sanctum habuit quicquid uel mediocre fuit.
Quo fit ut haec celeri si quis praeteruolet ala,
Huic nihil hic magni forte putetur agi.
Idem si presso relegat uestigia gressu,
Censebit maius commodiusue nihil.*

To the reader, on the Translation of the New Testament by Erasmus of Rotterdam.

A holy work, an immortal achievement of the learned Erasmus is coming out; and how great are the advantages it brings to men! for the new law was first marred by the ancient translator and then further damaged by the inaccurate copying of scribes. Jerome long ago may have removed errors, but his readings, excellent as they were, have been lost by long neglect. That is why the whole work has been corrected and translated anew. And Christ's new law shines with new splendor. Erasmus has not ostentatiously disputed the text word by word; he has considered inviolable whatever is at least passable. And so it is that, if anyone skims over this version in rapid flight, he would perhaps think that nothing of importance is afoot, but, if he retraces his steps closely, he will decide that nothing could be finer or more helpful.

⁷⁹ Cf. the commentary in CW 3/2, esp. p. 408-409. Cf. esp. the commentary on the l. 5-10 of the Epigram: 'These lines were designated to be expunged in the *Index librorum expurgatorum* printed at Madrid in 1584 by the order of the Inquisitor Gaspar Quiroga [...]' (p. 408).

d. More's Letter to a Monk (R. 83)

Pope Leo X had explicitly welcomed Erasmus's *Nouum Testamentum*.⁸⁰ In his letter to a Monk More again defended this edition in detail.⁸¹ However, in contrast to the letter to Martin Dorp he does this in a much more aggressive and polemic way. As David Knowles convincingly identified, the addressee of this letter is most likely the Carthusian monk John Batmanson,⁸² a zealous (albeit not overly educated) author of conservatively traditional polemic treatises.⁸³

More begins by refuting the monk's accusations against Erasmus's character and life style.⁸⁴ He regards Erasmus concerning his personality, his moral conduct and the purity of his faith as beyond all possible doubt. Moreover, More emphasises that Erasmus made his complete knowledge and his erudition available to the church and the world of scholarship with the help of his writings:⁸⁵

Non potui (mihi crede) pro meo in te amore, sine graui dolore legere, quae nescio quo tu calore scripsisti, quum in hominem nihil male meritum de te, publice vero de omnibus meritum bene, conuicia velut e plaustro tam intemperanter euomeres. Dum eruditioni detrahis, debeccharis in vitam, vagabundum dicis et pseudotheologum, sycphantam clamitas, haereseos crimen impinges ac schismatis, eo usque progressus petulantiae, ut praeconem etiam voces Antichristi, etiam si eam rem videlicet perbelle permollias, quod quum id improbissime dixeris, dicas te nolle dicere.

Believe me, for the love that I bear you I was unable to read without profound sorrow your shockingly heated attack, in which you so intemperately vomit abuse by the wagonload onto a man who has done you no wrong and has publicly done all a service, whereas you belittle his learning, rave against

⁸⁰ Cf. Allen II (1910), ep. 519, Allen III (1915), ep. 864.

⁸¹ Cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 118-121; Holeczek 1975, esp. p. 166-185; Marc'hadour 1988; Murphy 1980. Cf. also Kinney, in CW 15, esp. p. xlvi-cxviii.

⁸² Cf. Knowles 1959, p. 469.

⁸³ Cf. Kinney, in CW 15, esp. p. xli-xlv.

⁸⁴ Cf. R. 83, esp. l. 56sq., 98sq., 459sq., 1024sq., 255sq., 668sq., 983sq.

⁸⁵ R. 83, l. 52-61; Kinney, in CW 15, p. 203.

his life-style, call him 'vagrant' and 'pseudoth theologian', cry 'slanderer' at him, and brand him with charges of heresy and schism, going so far in your scurrility that you even proclaim him a 'herald of Antichrist', even though you do hedge that insult very tactfully indeed: as you make such an outrageous accusation, you say you do not want to make it.

Against the general objection that Erasmus dismissed the views of the Church Fathers, who as such could not err, More responded with an abundance of examples in which he juxtaposed contrasting, mutually exclusive doctrines of the Church Fathers (mostly Augustine and Jerome). These demonstrated that the Church Fathers, each of whom should be respected as an authority,⁸⁶ were nevertheless not infallible.⁸⁷

The monk voiced the same objections as Dorp before him. He flatly rejected the usage of Greek scripts and writings as well as the study of the Greek language as such. To his mind, knowledge of Greek had a negative influence on writing in Latin. More largely replied with the same arguments he had used against Dorp. He decisively repudiated the monk's sentiment concerning damage being done to the Latin style by knowledge of Greek; in his opinion, those who were in command of Greek were exactly those vaunted for their Latin style.⁸⁸ Since the Church Fathers were especially held in high esteem for their eloquence, they provide the best evidence for the invalidity of Batmanson's statement: Ambrose, Cyprian and Jerome can be viewed as equal to the greatest orators of their time.⁸⁹ Moreover, Jerome explicitly regarded Greek as necessary and useful for the study of the Bible, the *artes liberales* and philosophy.⁹⁰

Subsequently, More turned to particulars the monk adduced against Erasmus. The first few examples were concerned with the diction of Erasmus's translation. For instance, Erasmus had substituted *sagena* of the Vulgate (Mt. 13. 47) with *uerriculum*. More vindicated this by emphasising that the latter is Latin while

⁸⁶ Cf. R. 83, esp. l. 789sqq.

⁸⁷ Cf. R. 83, esp. l. 203sqq.

⁸⁸ Cf. R. 83, l. 293sqq.

⁸⁹ Cf. R. 83, l. 311sqq., 323sqq.

⁹⁰ Cf. R. 83, l. 302sqq.

the first word originates from Greek. Moreover, there is no difference in meaning regarding the two words.⁹¹ Other examples concerned the construction of whole sentences. More's partly caustic responses demonstrate that the monk's objections were as a whole unwarranted and were, furthermore, testimony to his improbity and / or lack of knowledge. At the same time More thus illustrated that Batmanson was one of those theologians against whose ignorance Erasmus had preached (in form of the *stultitia*) in his *Enkomion Moriae*. Simultaneously, the monk's insufficient knowledge of grammar impressively corroborates the deficits of one-sidedly (dialectically oriented) theological studies, a fact which More had emphasised in his letter to Dorp.

More reacted to one example in more detail, probably because it had particularly incensed the Monk.⁹² Erasmus had regarded the phrase *dimitte nobis debita nostra* of the paternoster as ambiguous and replaced *dimitte* with *remitte* in his translation.⁹³ More justified this exchange firstly with the help of an elaborate, far-reaching lexical study and secondly by referring to the authority of the Church Father Cyprian who also favoured *remitte*.⁹⁴

So far, the monk's objections primarily concerned grammar and / or stylistics. One other alteration of Erasmus, however, pertained to theologic-exegetically important verses and thus as a consequence to its intellectual content. At the beginning of the Gospel of St John Erasmus had translated λόγος (Ioh. 1. 1), the designation for Son of God, as *sermo* in contrast to the Vulgate which uses *uerbum*. With the help of a plethora of quotations More was able to indicate that the Church Fathers indeed also utilised the lexeme *sermo* for the Son of God.⁹⁵ Thus, the monk's

⁹¹ Cf. R. 83, l. 459sqq.

⁹² Cf. Holeczek 1975, p. 176.

⁹³ Cf. R. 83, l. 501sqq. with the reference to Mt. 6. 12.

⁹⁴ Cf. R. 83, l. 501sqq. and esp. l. 523-525: *Et si nugatur Erasmus, certe hoc honestius nugatur, quod socium habet Cyprianum, tam sacrum sacrae Ecclesiae Doctorem, qui maluit dicere, 'remitte nobis debita' quam 'dimitte'* (Kinney, in CW 15, p. 235-237: 'And if Erasmus is trifling, he is certainly trifling in a more decent way since he does so in the company of Cyprian, one of the holiest doctors of the Church, who preferred to say "remitte nobis debita" instead of "dimitte"'). In *De Dominica Oratione* 7 Cyprian does not hesitate to write *dimitte nobis debita nostra*.

⁹⁵ Cf. R. 83, l. 526sqq. cf. also Jarrot 1964.

accusation against Erasmus supposedly flouting the language use of the Church Fathers became invalid.

More's responses to and refutation of the monk's dissent emphasised that the language skills of the latter were hardly remarkable, in truth not even sufficient. Furthermore, with relish More also highlighted the monk's grave shortcomings regarding professional theological and church historical qualifications. More pointed out that by reproaching Erasmus for using Greek expressions in his Latin writings the monk was also (probably inadvertently) criticising Jerome since the latter wrote many letters in which he used Greek expressions. More could also have referred to Cicero, the stylistic paragon for the Renaissance; likewise Augustine sometimes used Greek words in his Latin letters.⁹⁶ Moreover, the equivalence of expressions demanded by the monk in the context of λόγος (*uerbum* – *sermo*) demonstrates, once more, that he attacked the method and results of Erasmus largely without profound language skills.⁹⁷ After all, such a peremptory request can in principle and especially concerning translations from Greek to Latin only be answered with great difficulty, as More knew very well from his own experiences. Apparently, the monk took the Septuagint version of the Old Testament for a translation of the whole scripture.⁹⁸ This (thus unmasked) illiteracy was commented on by More with a whole range of ironical questions.

The culmination of More's demonstration of the monk's utter ignorance (linguistically, factually, historically) found its expression in another grave misunderstanding (or rather utter non-understanding) of the monk. In the introduction to the Pentateuch of Jerome the monk mistook a construction of the Church Father so grotesquely that its statement was reversed into its opposite and acquired a meaning which should raise the suspicion of anyone who possesses a rudimentary knowledge of Jerome's methods. For his work regarding the scripture this Church Father relied largely on Greek manuscripts and writings which he collated and on which his emendations within the Latin

⁹⁶ Cf. the sources in Baumann 1984, esp. p. 120.

⁹⁷ Cf. R. 83, l. 640sqq.

⁹⁸ Cf. R. 83, l. 450sqq.

texts were based. According to the monk's account Jerome supposedly favoured the Latin manuscripts and regarded them as the better and more dependable than the Greek. This assessment would have deprived the Church Father's method of its methodologically-theoretic bedrock.⁹⁹

All in all, Thomas More's letter to a Monk can be considered as a polemic defence of the critically bible-philological method propagated and applied by Erasmus as well as of the editorial insights and obvious progress which was thereby attained.¹⁰⁰ The letter refutes an opponent who had essentially voiced blanket judgements and personal assaults, the former of which were grounded on alarmingly little professional expertise as More was able to demonstrate repeatedly.¹⁰¹ Apart from the argument frequently raised concerning Erasmus's extraordinary grammatical and rhetorical competences and his exceptional and stupendous learning Thomas More also continuously stressed the authority of the classical tradition, especially the authority of the Church Fathers as the ultimate justification of the essentials of Erasmus's critical bible philology.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Cf. R. 83, l. 783-835.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Baumann 1984, esp. p. 110-118, 118-121, 127-134 (Letter to Bugenhagen [R. 143] & Letter to Frith [R. 190]); Baumann 2008a; 2008b; Crawford 1968-1970; Kinney, in CW 15, esp. p. xlv-xcii; Marc'hadour 1988; Murphy 1980.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Kinney, in CW 15, p. cxv: 'He [sc. More] addresses the monk in almost the same way he would address an especially shameless opponent in court: even though he is technically intent on convincing the monk to abandon his impudent charges, his main goal is to convince a jury of general readers that they should dismiss all such charges as impudent whether or not the monk actually withdraws them. The accessible style of the Letter to a Monk is a style of direct public persuasion: by addressing the letter to a correspondent who is neither learned nor particularly sympathetic to More's way of thinking, he neatly collapses epistolary decorum into that of a standard polemical pamphlet'. Cf. also Baumann 2015a; 2015b.

¹⁰² Cf. in general on the concepts and some exemplary details of Erasmus's critical bible philology Adkin 1997; Amos 2003; Backus 1995; 1998; Baker-Smith 2014; Barral-Baron 2013; Bentley 1976; 1977; Bludau 1902; Botley 2004; Brandt 1998; Brown 1984; Coogan 1986; de Jonge 1984a; 1984b; 1987; 1988a; 1988b; 2016; den Boeft 1988; 1997; den Haan 2014; 2015; Elliott 2016; Ferguson 2012; Finkelberg 2014; Fury 2005; Godin 1989; Gurney 2011; Häggglund 1988; Hoffmann 1991; Holeczek 1975; Hutchinson 1941; Jarrott 1964; 1970; Jenkins & Preston 2007; Joseph 1995; Krans 2006; Lloyd-Jones 2001; McCutcheon 1993; McDonald 2016; Marsalek 2004; O'Brien Weintraub 2000; Olin 1986;

4. *Conclusions and Epilogue*

I have reached my conclusions, which, naturally, will not repeat what has been said before. The poems of recommendation for Erasmus's *Nouum Instrumentum* speak a decisive language.¹⁰³ This is especially true for the detailed, philologically focussed way in which the principles and results of Erasmus's critical bible philology are defended in Thomas More's letter-essays: More unequivocally promotes Erasmus's critical bible philology which he regards as justified, owing to the model and authority of the classical tradition, of the Church Fathers and especially of Jerome. Thomas More himself refrained from publishing his own discussions of, for instance, questions concerning editions in the context of humanistic bible philology. More's own bible translations into English (which he authored as part of his controversially theological writings and his tower-works) were invariably close to the original, precise and linguistically adroit. The controversy with mostly English reformers concerning the translation / the conceptualization of individual biblical terms, a controversy which was not always caustically polemic, as well as particularly William Tyndale's bible translation would certainly justify a separate, self-contained essay, one which could judicially examine the argumentative scope of Erasmus's critical bible philology and its principles.

During Erasmus's visits to England, especially in the years 1511-1514 the two friends (I would imagine) engaged in elaborate discussions concerning Erasmus's translation of the New Testament and the theoretical and methodological principles of his critical bible philology.¹⁰⁴ Thomas More's unambiguous

1988; Pabel 2002a; 2002b; Panizza 2014; Payne 1990; Phillips 1988; 2014; Rummel 1986a; 1986b; 1987; 1989; 1991; Schmidt 2003; Schwarz 1955; Sider 1986; Summers 1991; Thomson 1988; Whitford 2015.

¹⁰³ Cf. CW 3/2, esp. no. 255.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. on the chronology of Erasmus's translation of the New Testament de Jonge 2016, esp. p. 30: 'Erasmus began works on his Latin translation of the New Testament in 1511, at any rate not later than 1512, that is, during his third stay in England (1511-1514) and his lectureship in Greek at the Cambridge, when he also worked on translations of the Hellenistic Greek authors Lucian and Plutarch and the Greek church father Basil, and on an edition of the letters of Jerome'. Cf. also de Jonge 1984b; 1988a.

positioning in debates and disputes as a defender of Erasmus's bible philology in the years 1515 to 1519/20 (letter to a Monk) might originate from that.

The *Nouum Instrumentum* was published in March 1516. The bulk of this much-anticipated but still hastily concluded volume consisted of its Greek own, most likely new Latin translation and the 'annotations'. As pointed out particularly by the bible philology of the early twentieth century this translation was 'something in between Vulgate and an autonomous translation'.¹⁰⁵ From the start Erasmus was keenly aware of the *Instrumentum*'s foibles resulting from the complexity of the task and the haste of its conclusion. As early as the summer of 1517, full of energy, Erasmus collated additional Greek manuscripts and began an intensive revision of all parts of the *Instrumentum*. Cuthbert Tunstall, who resided in the Netherlands on a diplomatic mission for Henry VIII between 1515 and 1517, was of great assistance to Erasmus in the first phase of this re-examination.¹⁰⁶ Primarily English humanist friends of Erasmus encouraged him to prove more philological and linguistic independence from the Vulgate in his translation of the Greek New Testament, his *Nouum Testamentum* of 1519. Erasmus states in the preface that this version is characterised by *sermo simplex, sed tamen latinus*.¹⁰⁷ However, as he further writes, ultimately he has changed the known text (of the Vulgate) only when necessitated by the *ueritas Graeca*, only when the Vulgate is grammatically insuf-

¹⁰⁵ Cf. esp. Bludau 1902, p. 33-34: 'ein Mittelding zwischen Vulgata und einer ganz selbständigen Übersetzung'. Cf. de Jonge 2016, esp. p. 33: 'Erasmus continued to refer to his translation as a *castigatio*, that is, a correction of the traditional Latin translation, the Vulgate, or also as *recognitio*, a revised edition, or an *emendatio*, an improved edition, again by comparison with the current Latin translation, the Vulgate. And it is true that Erasmus began his translation of the New Testament as a modest revision of the Vulgate. Although the changes grew more numerous in each following edition (1519, 1522, 1527, 1535), the final result in 1535 was still a revised Vulgate. Even in the last edition of Erasmus's work, about 60 percent of the words of the Vulgate remained in place, although some books and chapters of the New Testament were revised more thoroughly than others'.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Holeczek 1975, esp. p. 116-137.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. LB VI, f. *3v: *ut totus Noui Testamenti sermo simplex quidem, sed tamen Latinus esset*.

ficient or the reader's comprehension is inhibited by ambiguity and / or 'obscurity' of the language.¹⁰⁸

The basic relation between grammar and theology is imperative for understanding Erasmus's critical bible philology. Early on (in the elaborate dedicatory letter to his Valla-Edition, 1505) Erasmus had already reformulated this with recourse to the well-known idea of theology as the queen of sciences. Queen 'Theologia' had no need to be ashamed for making use of services offered and owed by its '*pedissequa grammatica*'.¹⁰⁹ Erasmus explicitly reminded the theology that, despite being queen, she needed the services of grammar for any and all achievements. The implicit and revolutionary argument is that the servant grammar does really know and can offer what the Queen needs. This belief, though innocently formulated, marks an important step for scholarship, a step which somehow led to an analogously phrased statement by Immanuel Kant some 290 years later: Concerning philosophy he claimed that as the servant of theology it was not only supposed to carry madam's train but also to be the beacon walking ahead.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Cf. the wealth of sources in Holeczek 1975, esp. p. 122-137. Cf. also de Jonge 2016, p. 30-31: 'What Erasmus had in view in his new translation was that in the future the language of the New Testament should be entirely genuine Latin: simple, but correct. [...] Erasmus believed that the new age of renaissance and humanism demanded a new translation of the Bible in which the language must be adapted to the new culture. The concomitant advantage of such linguistic elegance was that it would be simple and natural, because it was univocal and unambiguous, with each word being precisely the right word in the right place, and therefore easily intelligible, while bad use of language could lead to countless uncontrolled variable forms and meanings, admitting of various interpretations and, therefore, was all too liable to be misunderstood (LB VI, f. **4r)'.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Allen I (1906), ep. 182, esp. l. 130sq.; cf. also the English translation of the whole letter CE 2, no. 182, p. 89-97. Cf. also Holeczek 1975, p. 90-99.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Kant (2005), esp. p. 27-28: 'Auch kann man allenfalls der theologischen Fakultät den stolzen Anspruch, dass die philosophische ihre Magd sei, einräumen (wobei doch noch immer die Frage bleibt: ob diese ihrer gnädigen Frau die Fackel vorträgt oder die Schleppe nachträgt), [...]'.
 46

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Abstract

In 1516 the friendship between Thomas More and Erasmus had already lasted for about sixteen years. Erasmus had spent several years in England during which he mostly stayed with his friend. The two friends used one of these long visits (1505/1506) to perfect their Greek language skills, translate Lucian and compose responses to Lucian's *Declamatio pro tyrannicida* in amicable competitiveness.

This paper aims at generally (re-)constructing Thomas More's humanistic convictions, his humanistic erudition, which was inspired by his early love for the classical tradition and which he developed further during the years of his close and inspiring friendship with Erasmus. The humanistic mindset of Thomas More essentially means that to him the antiquity, which was on the one hand shaped by scholarship, art and science and on the other hand by Christianity, became the 'benchmark' for conduct and a guideline for achievements of his own time.

Thomas More and Erasmus did not only share a rather natural accordance concerning their religious beliefs but also an outstanding

erudition, a not necessarily always explicit fundamental agreement on the general authority of the classical tradition, a really extraordinary linguistic sensibility as well as the enjoyment of unusual and particular language games and literary experiments. The best insight into these similarities (which also include the central aspects of biblical philology) is granted by an analysis of the letters (esp. the letter to Dorp [R. 15] and the letter to a Monk [R. 83]) in which Thomas More vigorously defends Erasmus's *Nouum Instrumentum* and *Nouum Testamentum*, or: the humanist critical bible philology shaped and designed by Erasmus.

PART I

SERENA MASOLINI

HOW TO ORDER FOUR INTO ONE: HARMONIZING THE GOSPELS AT THE DAWN OF BIBLICAL HUMANISM *

From the second century until the Modern period, establishing the correct (or most probably correct) chronological sequence of the life and teaching of Christ has been a major concern for Christian theologians and biblical scholars. In order to defend the historical truth of the Gospel message and the reliability of its propagators, they have felt the need to reconcile the divergent accounts found in the four Gospels, clarifying textual inconsistencies and presenting them in a coherent narrative. The literary genre of Gospel harmonies – i.e., retellings that collated the reports of the four evangelists into one consecutive history – is the most evident outcome of this longstanding endeavor.¹

From the forefather of the genre, Tatian's *Diatesseron*, to its eighteenth-century descendants, Gospel harmonies played a sig-

* This article is a result of the research I conducted in 2017 in the framework of my postdoctoral mandate financed by the Internal Funds KU Leuven ('*Unum ex quatuor conflatum*: The *Monotessaron* with commentary by Petrus de Rivo [1420ca-1500]'). The sections on Jean Gerson benefited from my current research on the reception of Augustine at the Council of Constance, as part of the project '*Magnum opus et arduum*. Towards a History of the Reception of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*'. I thank Matthew Champion, Philipp Nothhaft and the two anonymous reviewers of the volume for their careful and constructive comments; all remaining shortcomings are mine. Throughout the article the quotations from manuscripts are reported in the original orthography (using, however, -u- for -u/v- and -i- instead of -j-). For early prints and modern editions, I abided by the orthography as used in that particular edition (using, however, -u- for -u/v-).

¹ For an introduction to the literary genre of Gospel harmonies, see at least Wünsch 1983; De Lang 1993a; Hörner 2000; Burger, den Hollander & Schmid 2004; Hartmann 2010; Krans & Verheyden 2012.

nificant role as aids for apologetics, catechism, and preaching, as well as instruments for religious education and personal devotion. The *Monotessaron* by Jean Gerson (1363-1429), probably composed around 1420, proposed a further aim: providing a unified and coherent text, conflating the ‘concordantly dissonant’ words of the Gospels in good order, for the use of those who wished to study theology.²

The short *Monitum* introducing Louis Ellies du Pin’s edition of Gerson’s *Monotessaron* opens with a resolute statement on the place this work occupied within the late medieval and early modern tradition of Gospel harmonies. Jean Gerson, the *Monitum* declares, was the first author, after the *ueteres scriptores*, who reassembled the *historia* narrated in the Gospels by combining and harmonizing the words of the four evangelists. This *opus arduum et difficile*, conducted by following in the footsteps of Ammonius of Alexandria,³ resulted in quite an unprecedented enterprise, which eased the labor of those who, after him, would decide to write harmonies or concordances of the Gospels, by adding, changing, clarifying, or giving a better order to the material that Gerson had already arranged before them.⁴

² The text is edited in du Pin IV, c. 83-202, and in Glorieux IX (1973), p. 245-373. I will mainly rely on Glorieux’s edition, referring to du Pin only when considering those paratexts accompanying the *Monotessaron* that have not been edited by Glorieux. For literature on this work, see Wünsch 1983, p. 15-20; Hörner 2000, p. 141-156; and, in particular, De Lang 1991; Vial 2004 and 2006 (esp. p. 100-102); and Hobbins 2009 *passim*. For studies on the manuscript tradition, see Derolez 1976 and van Bergen 2011, both dedicated to two witnesses coming from the library of Raphaël de Mercatellis (c. 1437-1508), i.e., Ghent, UB, HS 11 and HS 17. For the intellectual profile of Gerson see McGuire 2005. The majority of scholars affirm that Gerson composed the *Monotessaron* in 1420 while in Lyon, after the Council of Constance concluded (e.g. De Lang 1991, p. 37). According to Connolly (1928, p. 75), however, this work was instead completed around 1400, while Gerson was in Bruges. For a discussion of the arguments in favor of the latter hypothesis, see Vial 2004, esp. p. 65-68; for a counter-argument in favor of the first hypothesis, see Hobbins 2009, p. 150-151, n. 37.

³ The editor probably takes this reference from Gerson’s second preface to the *Monotessaron* (*incipit*: ‘*Euangelicos Canones composuit*’, not included in Glorieux’s edition), where Gerson mentions Ammonius, through the testimony of Jerome, as the author of a harmony of the Gospels entitled *Unum ex quatuor*, cf. du Pin IV, c. 87-88. For a discussion of this erroneous attribution, see Vial 2004, p. 48-49; Smith 2014, p. 177-179.

⁴ *Monitum* to Johannes Gersonis, *Monotessaron*, in du Pin IV, c. 83-84: *Post Veteres Scriptores primus Joannes de Gerson quatuor Euangelistarum historiam*

Three centuries have passed since du Pin's edition, and granting the Parisian Chancellor, without any reservation, the title of unique founder of a new generation of harmonies might appear to be an overstatement. It is true, however, that the *Monotessaron* was widely circulated in pre-modern and modern Europe and that it played an impressive role, either directly or indirectly, in the flourishing of this literary genre in the sixteenth century and beyond, within the framework of biblical humanism and Reformation.⁵ Indeed, some of the ideas at the basis of Gerson's harmonizing project – as well as some of the practical solutions in terms of layout and paratexts that he implemented in order to realize it – were explicitly taken as a model and further developed by later authors of harmonies or synopses.

This is not the place for a history of Gerson's impact on pre-modern or modern harmonies of the Gospels, nor for a general overview of the connection between writers of harmonies and biblical humanists. Instead, this article aims to introduce a somewhat neglected chapter of the legacy of Gerson's *Monotessaron* in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Brabant – namely, the homonymous work by the Louvain professor Petrus de Rivo (c. 1420–1499), to date unedited, and its reception in the *Concordia euangelica* by Cornelius Jansenius the Elder, first bishop of Ghent

ipsis eorum uerbis connectendum suscepit. Quod opus ad imitationem Ammonii 'Monotessaron' siue 'Unum ex quatuor Euangeliiis' inscripsit. Opus sane arduum et difficile, ei praesertim qui nullum huius generis opus praeuium haberet. Nam longe facilius fuit iis qui post ipsum Harmonias aut Concordantias Euangelistarum scripserunt, inuento et perfecto a Gersone operi quaedam addere, nonnulla immutare, ac demum quaedam illustrare et in commodiorem ordinem dirigere. At qui primus Euangelistarum uerba collegit, comparauit et in ordinem digessit; is Herculeo sane labore defunctus, maximaque debetur ipsi industriae suae laus.

⁵ To my knowledge, there exists no specific study on the influence of Gerson's *Monotessaron* on the many works composed during this 'new wave' of interest in harmonization. A first account can be traced, however, to the studies of Wünsch, Hörner and De Lang, and in a series of scattered articles concerning specific harmonies of the Modern Period (e.g., Ransome 2005). More recently, this perspective has been included by Yelena Mazour-Matusevich in her research on Gerson's legacy. I must thank her for sharing with me an earlier version of her work on the influence of the *Monotessaron* in England (especially on the work of Thomas More) and in Germany among Protestant authors, which can be now read in Mazour-Matusevich 2018. More generally, on the figure of Jean Gerson and the impact of his oeuvre in modern Europe, see Mazour-Matusevich 2004 and 2006.

(1519-1574). This case study provides an opportunity to present a curious philological anecdote at the crossroads between the tradition of late medieval Gospel harmonies and biblical humanism, in which Erasmus's Latin translation of the New Testament was summoned to determine the opportunity or not to elect Luke as the leading evangelist for a possible harmonization.

After a brief introduction on the cultural context of pre-modern Gospel harmonies, as well as on the general features and aims of Gerson's *Monotessaron* (1), I will give an overview of the manuscript tradition (2.a) and functioning (2.b) of the *Monotessaron* by Petrus de Rivo. Then, I will focus on Jansenius's critique of Rivo's decision to use the Gospel of Luke as the backbone of his reconstruction of Christ's life (3.a). In particular, I will present how Jansenius recalled Erasmus's translation of the dedication to Theophilus (Lc. 1. 4), and especially of the word *καθεξῆς*, in order to deny Rivo's belief that Luke was the evangelist who better reported the historical sequence of the events. Finally, I will briefly show how Erasmus changed his translation of Lc. 1. 4 from the first edition of his New Testament (*Nouum Instrumentum*, 1516) to the second edition and following editions (*Nouum Testamentum*, 1519, 1522, 1527, 1535), perhaps as a consequence of his conversations on this matter with the French humanist Guillaume Budé (1468-1540) (3.b).

1. *In the Footsteps of Jean Gerson's Monotessaron*

In an article from 1997, William L. Petersen summarized the motives that, according to scholarship, might have inspired Tatian's *Diatesseron*, as well as encouraged the perpetuation of this genre of Christian literature:⁶ (i) evangelization – Latin or, later, vernacular Gospel harmonies might have been useful tools for the education of the common folk; (ii) efficiency – 'copying a single, more compact text was more efficient than having four repetitious gospels prepared'; (iii) scientific interest in creating an accurate history of the events; (iv) ecclesiastical/liturgical and/or private/popular use; (v) polemic/apologetic purposes – against

⁶ Petersen 1997, repr. 2012, p. 296-299. Among the recent literature on Tatian's *Diatesseron*, see the works of Matthew Crawford (e.g. 2015 and 2016).

those who contested the truth of the Gospels due to the discrepancies between the four accounts; and (vi) a philosophical love of unity.

If we reconsider these motives in light of the cultural and spiritual climate of pre-modern Western Europe, it will not be a surprise that there was a proliferation of harmonized Gospels between the late-fifteenth and the seventeenth century. For instance, the missionary and polemical intents (i and v) – not directed against the pagans, but rather against adversaries within Christianity itself – might have been among the drives animating the authors of harmonies who operated either on the Catholic or Protestant sides during Reformation.⁷

With regard to the century preceding Reformation, the employment of these texts for either communal or private prayer (iv) could be related to the climate of spiritual renewal originating from the rise and spread of the Observant Reform and of the Modern Devotion.⁸ These movements – aimed at a self-improving inner spiritual journey, inspired by the ideals of the original evangelical message – promoted new forms of communal religious life, personal prayer, reading and meditation. In this context, harmonies might have found an attentive readership among both members of religious communities and lay devout.⁹

Furthermore, the scientific motivation for reconstructing a historically correct narrative of the life of Christ (iii) intersected, between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with two cultural phenomena. The first is the rise of a biblical scholarship pervaded by the principles of philological accuracy and of the return *ad fontes* in their original language, which applied to the Scripture the methods of textual analysis that humanists used for the study

⁷ This is the case, for instance, of Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent, who ‘considered the study of the Scriptures and a pastoral approach based upon them as the best means of defending the Catholic flock against the attacks of the Protestants’ (Gerace 2019, p. 132). The polemical intent and the focus on the religious controversy, however, might not have been a priority for the first generation of biblical scholars.

⁸ For scholarship on Modern Devotion until 1990, see van Engen 1992, p. 3-78, esp. p. 3, n. 1. In particular, see Post 1968. Among the most recent literature, see van Engen 2008 and Andersen, Lähnemann & Simon 2014. For Observant reform, see at least Mixson & Roest 2015.

⁹ This aspect is well illustrated in Champion 2017.

of classical authors.¹⁰ The second is the interest in chronology, which reached the status of as a full-fledged scientific discipline in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹¹

As for point (vi), the love of unity that was at the basis of the attempts to harmonize the Gospel accounts could be re-contextualized in light of the diffusion and transformation of the notions of *concordia* or *harmonia* in Renaissance humanism. The ideal of concord – intended as a kind of unity achieved through the resolution of a plurality of apparently contradictory or, at least, reconcilable terms – was indeed a wide-ranging *topos* in fifteenth-century culture, frequently referred to in discussions on politics, philosophy, and religion.¹²

The idea of concord and the principle of *reductio ad unum* are at the center of Jean Gerson's enterprise, which he explicitly intended as an elaboration of (and complement to) the *De consensu euangelistarum* by Augustine.¹³ The scope of Augustine's treatise was to explain the ultimate harmony of the *concors diuersitas*¹⁴ of the words of the four evangelists against those who pointed to the inconsistencies between them in order to deny

¹⁰ For a general overview on biblical humanism, see Rummel 2008 and 2016.

¹¹ See at least Nothaft 2012 and 2018.

¹² On the *topos* of *concordia*–*ὁμόνοια* in the Renaissance, especially with regards to its theological and political connotations, see the works by Francesco Borghesi (esp. 2010 and 2018). The concept of *harmonia* in the Renaissance has been moreover treated in Koenigsberger 1979. For the Greek and Roman world, see Momigliano 1942, for the Late Antiquity and the early medieval Platonism, see Gersch 1996.

¹³ Gerson, *Monotessaron*, in Glorieux IX (1973), p. 248: *Unum ex quatuor euangeliiis componere diuinus aperuit Augustinus qui in libro suo De consensu euangelistarum, subtilissimo quidem et operosissimo, compingit sub una serie narrationis euangelistarum uerba usque ad tempus quo praedicare et baptizare Joannes exorsus est; quatenus hoc exemplo siue ut a me factum est, inquit, siue alio modo commodius fieri possit, uideat unusquisque, et in ceteribus talibus locis fieri posse quod hic factum esse perspexerit. Tentauimus ergo continuare prout inchoauerat.* On Augustine's *De consensu euangelistarum*, see at least Vogels 1908; Merkel 1971; and, among the most recent contributions, Dunkle 2013. For a bibliography on its reception, see Roessli 2013.

¹⁴ Augustine, *De consensu euangelistarum* 2.66.128, in CSEL 43, p. 230-231: *Ergo et ipsi [Septuaginta] nonnulla in eloquio uariando et ab eadem uoluntate dei, cuius illa dicta erant et cui uerba seruire debebant, non recedendo nihil aliud demonstrare uoluerunt quam hoc ipsum quod nunc in euangelistarum quattuor concordis quadam diuersitate miramur, qua nobis ostenditur non esse mendacium, si quisquam ita diuerso modo aliquid narret, ut ab eius uoluntate, cui consonandum et consentiendum est, non recedat* (my emphasis).

their reliability.¹⁵ Following in his footsteps, Gerson aimed to resolve the *concordissima dissonantia* of the Gospels by combining the four reports, in their entirety, into one single account.

Gerson organized his work in three major sections that were subdivided in 150 chapters: (i) *De origine Christi et ingressu ejus* (ch. 1-11); (ii) *De praedicatione Joannis [et] De progressu praedicationis Christi* (ch. 12-136); (iii) *De egressu passionis et resurrectione Christi* (ch. 137-150).¹⁶ Taking the incipit of the Gospel of John as the starting point and following generally Matthew's lead, Gerson merged the words of the four Gospels into one narrative, introducing the single passages with letters indicating the evangelists responsible for them (M = Matthew, R = Mark, L = Luke, and J = John).¹⁷ Within this operation of *reductio* from multiplicity to simplicity, the apparent inconsistencies in the fourfold Gospel narration were considered in a fairly positive light. As Gerson explained in the third of the prefatory writings introducing his harmony,¹⁸ these variations were not an impediment to the acquisition of knowledge, but rather a pedagogic instrument inciting human beings to further apply themselves in the search for the truth.¹⁹

¹⁵ Augustine, *De consensu euangelistarum* 1.7.10, in CSEL 43, p. 11: *hoc opere demonstrare suscepimus errorem uel temeritatem eorum, qui contra euangelii quattuor libros, quos euangelistae quattuor singulos conscripserunt, satis argutas criminationes se proferre arbitrantur. Quod ut fiat, quam non sibi aduersentur idem scriptores quattuor, ostendendum est. Hoc enim solent quasi palmare suae uanitatis obicere, quod ipsi euangelistae inter se ipsos dissentiant.*

¹⁶ The edition by Glorieux divides the text into 151 chapters, since *De modo Christi in docendo* and *De obstinatione Iudaeorum* – which should be gathered together as ch. 135 – are presented separately, respectively numbered as ch. 135 and ch. 136. Du Pin maintains, in the text, the division in 150 chapters, although in the index table one reads 151 chapters (cf. du Pin IV, c. 97). On this point, see Hörner 2000, p. 141. According to Marc Vial (2004, p. 42-49), Gerson's threefold division applied to the life of Christ the Neoplatonic scheme of *exitus/reditus*.

¹⁷ Glorieux omitted to report in his edition the initials of the evangelists, which can instead be found in that by du Pin.

¹⁸ The harmony of the Gospels is introduced by four prefatory writings: (i) *Prohemium seu prologus 'Euangelium latum esse'*; (ii) *Prologus 'Euangelicos canones composuit'* (ed. in du Pin, not in Glorieux); (iii) *Prohemium 'Unum ex quattuor euangelis componere'*; (iv) *<Canones> 'Circa lecturam istarum concordantiarum'* (ed. in du Pin, not in Glorieux).

¹⁹ Gerson, *Monotessaron*, in Glorieux IX (1973), p. 248: *Quis enim nesciat Spiritum Christi potuisse sub uno eodemque penitus uerborum sententiarumque*

In the prologue *Euangelium latum esse*, one can read the wish for a further *reductio ad unum*, namely, the return to the simple text of the Gospel as the primary root for the study of theology as opposed to the endless extension of the traditional apparatus of glosses, commentaries, and postils that accompanied the Scripture. Indeed, Gerson writes, it is worthy and beneficial for Christians, and above all for those who are dedicated to theology, to undertake a reduction from a *uarietas* of things to one or to few things (*unum uel pauca*):

And what can one take as that one or few things, better than the Gospel? So it is narrated of the theologizing Cecilia, who always held the Gospel close to her chest. Is this example not useful to those who pursue wisdom, so that they direct the entirety of their study to the unity of the Gospel? This would be certainly useful to memory and convenient to piety, since it is in the Gospel that resides the primary worship of God.²⁰

Scholars have suggested that, emphasizing the importance of a personal and direct study of the Scripture as a basis for dogmatic theology, Gerson promoted, in retrospect, an ideal that would be endorsed by biblical humanism. In support of this idea, for instance, Marijke De Lang traced parallels between the intents expressed by Gerson in the forewords to his *Monotessaron* and Erasmus's *Methodus* and its enlarged later version published

contextu, tradidisse gestorum suorum uerborumque salutarem historiam? Sed cum magno sacramenti mysterio sibi placuit sub quadam concordissima, si ita dici possit, dissonantia, mentes fidelium commouere ad humiliorem uigilantioremque necnon multipliciorem inuestigationem ueritatis, palam fieret quatuor euangelistas non mutua conspiratione sed diuina inspiratione fuisse locutus (my emphasis).

²⁰ Gerson, *Monotessaron*, in Glorieux IX (1973), p. 246: *dignum est et salubre christianis, praesertim studiosis in theologia, [...] ut ponant sibi resolutionem et ordinem ad pauca, quoniam habet omnis uarietas ad unum uel pauca reduci. Quid erit illud unum uel paucum conuenientius accipiendum quam euangelium? Ita narratum est de theologizante Cecilia quod semper euangelium Christi gerebat in pectore suo; cuius exemplo numquid non est utile sapientiae sectatoribus ut suum omne studium ad euangelicam referant unitatem? Prorsus erit hoc ad memoriam utile et ad pietatem proficiens cum in eo reconditus sit cultus Dei praecipuus; cum sit praeterea in auctoritatis arce locatum [...] Quisquis igitur uoluerit euangelium uel legere uel studere quasi saluberrimum et solidissimum totius diuinae legis fundamentum ostensa est ibi uia latissima qua progredietur et omnia quae alibi uel audierit uel studuerit uelut in unum principium reducat, colligat et reponat.*

with the title of *Ratio uerae Theologiae*.²¹ As Daniel Hobbins further remarked, although Gerson did not know Greek, nor did he display a serious interest in textual criticism, nonetheless he shared with Erasmus the intent ‘to guide students past the layers of commentary to the most important original source of Christian doctrine and so to provide a solid foundation for modern theology’.²²

Leaving these considerations aside, which go beyond the scope of the present work, what might be interesting to remark with regard to Gerson’s wish for a reorientation *ad euangelicam unitatem* is that one can detect a twofold purpose behind Gerson’s project of harmonization. On the one hand, Gerson’s *Monotessaron* could have been a useful textbook for scholars, aimed at improving the study of theology itself. On the other hand, it could have represented a device apt to lead the reader in his devotional journey, that is, a guide for an individual meditation on the life of Christ aimed at a reform of the self. The memorization and intimate ‘rumination’ of the Gospel was indeed a helpful exercise to proceed in the path of *imitatio Christi*, which was also in line with the spiritual project of Modern Devotion.

One can also find evidence of this double purpose in the formal structure that Gerson imposed on his harmony, and in the apparatus of paratexts that he added to the text in order to render it more accessible to the reader as well as to facilitate its memorization. Gerson assigned a title to each of the 150 chapters which summarized its content (*rubrica*), and cross-referenced the original chapter of the four Gospels within which that textual passage could be found. In the manuscripts and early prints, the unified text of the Gospels was preceded by the list of the *rubricae par-*

²¹ De Lang 1991, esp. p. 46-49.

²² Hobbins 2009, p. 81. One should not overlook, however, the fact that Gerson envisioned his *Monotessaron* to stand in continuity with the scholastic tradition – the first preface refers, in this sense, to Bonaventure’s *Breviloquium*, Peter Auriol’s *Compendium litteralis sensus totius scripturae*, and Aquinas’s *Secunda Secundae* (cf. Glorieux IX [1973], p. 246). Quite reasonably, Hobbins makes the point that the structure and references of Gerson ‘does not feel humanist at all’: ‘though the *Monotessaron* looks ahead in some ways, Gerson seems to have thought of the work in the tradition of the greatest handbooks of scholastic theology’ (2009, p. 81-82).

titionum, in four cases further subdivided in *rubricellae*,²³ which are absent from Glorieux's edition.²⁴ In a letter from Gerson to Jean Bassand written in Lyon in the late 1428, Gerson wrote that he had inserted rubrics and tables in his *Monotessaron* 'so that a person could run through the entire course of the Gospel from memory when he wished, with perfect ease, even in a moment, resting or walking, and not imagining but grasping the meaning of the points'.²⁵ In order to further aid this process, Gerson accompanied his harmony with the *Carmina super Monotessaron*, a poem composed by words referring to the topic of each of the *rubricae* (25 lines) and *rubricellae* (11 lines), which could help the reader to learn by heart the basic plot of the Gospel.²⁶

²³ Gerson, *Monotessaron*, in du Pin IV, c. 91-92: *Denique superadduntur Rubricellae sub quatuor principalibus Rubricis; ne Lectoris memoriam sua magnitudine confunderet.*

²⁴ One should notice that Glorieux not only neglected to edit two of the four prefatory texts traditionally accompanying Gerson's *Monotessaron*, and the sigla indicating the evangelists responsible for the textual passages, but he also cut the list of rubrics. In this regard, du Pin's edition proves more thorough. To my knowledge, the study of the paratexts in the manuscript and early printed traditions of Gerson's *Monotessaron* is still quite under-investigated, and this constitutes a considerable gap in the scholarship on this matter. A harmony is indeed a piece of work that can function (or can fully express its possibilities) only if accompanied by some sort of paratextual elements. Since the text of a Gospel harmony is basically the text of the four Gospels, what is relevant is how that text is deconstructed and recomposed, and what the elements are that allow the reader to make a good use of it. Among the rare studies that paid some attention to this perspective, see Hobbins 2009, p. 170-172.

²⁵ Epistle 83, in Glorieux II (1960), p. 332: *Factae sunt insuper considerationes hujusmodi punctuales pro faciliiori tenaciorique memoria tum in diuersis libris et scientiis tum nominatim super totam bibliam et sigillatim super quatuor euangelia diuersimode per diuersos; inter quos nuper circa Unum ex quatuor compositae sunt rubricae centum quinquaginta cum aliquibus rubricellis et quotationibus accommodis; denique redacta sunt omnia sub paucis metris et terminis, ita ut cum omni facilitate uelut in momento poterit aliquis tutum euangelii decursum memoriter excurrere dum uolet, quiescens aut ambulans, non phantasticans sed intelligens punctorum sententiam.* In the text, I quote the English translation by Hobbins 2009, p. 170.

²⁶ For example, the first two lines of the *Carmina*, *Verbum mutus aue montanus puer liber ortus / Reges purificat in in Aegyptum reperitur*, summarize the first partition of Gerson's *Monotessaron* (chapters 1-11). The first word, 'uerbum', refers to the opening of the prologue of John (ch. 1/Io. 1); the second word, 'mutus', refers to the dumbness that struck Zechariah after that the angel announced to him that his wife would give birth to a son (ch. 2/Lc. 1); the third word, 'aue', refers to the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary (ch. 3/Lc. 1); and so on.

In the formal structure of Gerson's *Monotessaron* we can therefore isolate the following elements: (i) the text of the Gospel is reorganized in brand-new textual partitions, whose titles give a summary of the whole evangelical plot in its most probable historical order; (ii) each partition is accompanied by the cross-reference to its original position within the four Gospels, so that the reader can access the history of Christ's life both according to the chronological sequence of the events, and according to the original order reported by the evangelists; (iii) each partition is related to a mnemonic device through which the reader can memorize the outline of the Gospel and so remember the time-location of every event. As we will see, this basic system can be found, although reshaped and further developed, in the *Monotessaron* by Petrus de Rivo and in the two extant reworkings of this harmony.

2. *Ordering, Reading and Memorizing the Gospels: the Monotessaron by Petrus de Rivo*

Petrus de Rivo was one of the most renowned figures of the early University of Louvain. He was professor of philosophy and rhetoric at the Faculty of Arts (from 1443 and 1460, respectively), professor of theology (1477), and he served three times as rector of the University (1457, 1477, and 1478). He held a benefice as canon at the cathedral of St Rumbold in Mechelen, as well as the offices of canon and *plebanus* at the collegiate church of St Peter in Louvain.²⁷ In two works composed in old age, Rivo recounts that he had taken an interest in chronology since he was a young bachelor in theology.²⁸ When he was around forty years old, Rivo was involved in a decade long debate on future contingents and

The *Carmina* are absent in both Glorieux' and du Pin's edition, but can be found in the manuscript tradition (e.g., Hobbins 2009, p. 170-172 examines Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. lat. 4738, f. 18v; but they are also included in Ghent, UB, HS 11, f. 4r-4v, and HS 17, f. 40r-41v) and in early prints (e.g., Basel: Nicolaus Kessler, 1489, f. b2v-3v).

²⁷ For the biography of Petrus de Rivo and an updated bibliography, see Masolini 2016, and Masolini & Schabel 2018.

²⁸ Petrus de Rivo, *Opus responsium*, prolog., f. A3r-v; *Tertius tractatus*, f. E8.

God's foreknowledge of them, which eventually led him to receive a papal condemnation for heresy.²⁹ Even during this challenging circumstance, for which he is mostly known to modern scholarship, he found time to write on chronology – more specifically, he composed a dialogue on determining the day and hour of the birth and death of Christ.³⁰ Later in his life, he composed a short treatise on calendar reform,³¹ and at the very end of his academic career he engaged in a quarrel against Paul of Middelburg (1445-1533) – former student of theology and medicine in Louvain, then doctor of medicine and professor of astrology at the University of Padua – who had challenged the traditional opinion according to which Jesus died on Friday 25 March and resurrected on the following Sunday.³²

Somewhere in the last two decades of his life – after having obtained, at an old age, the chair of theology connected to the plebany of Saint Peter in Louvain – Rivo compiled a Gospel harmony echoing in the title (*Monotesseron*, usually spelled with an 'e') the work of Jean Gerson, whom Rivo mentioned, together with his former *praeceptor*, Johannes Varenacker, as his most recent predecessor among the writers of harmonies.³³ Like many other works by Rivo, the *Monotesseron* has remained unexplored by contemporary scholars until very recently, although it

²⁹ The main references for the so-called Louvain 'Quarrel' over future contingents are Baudry 1950; Schabel 1995, 1996 and 2000.

³⁰ Petrus de Rivo, *Dyalogus de temporibus Christi*, ed. in Champion, Masolini & Nothaft 2020.

³¹ Petrus de Rivo, *Reformatio Kalendarii*, ed. in Champion, Masolini & Nothaft 2020; see also Champion 2017, p. 158-164.

³² He composed the *Opus responsium* and *Tertius tractatus* on this occasion. For an account of the controversy, see Nothaft 2012, p. 222-240; Champion 2017, p. 149-158; and, more recently, Champion, Masolini & Nothaft 2020, ch. 3. See also North 1983, p. 94-97; Vanden Broecke 2003, p. 29-65.

³³ Johannes Varenacker (c. 1413-1475), professor of theology in Louvain and predecessor of Petrus de Rivo as *plebanus* of St Peter, wrote a Gospel harmony, also entitled *Monotessaron*, that was strongly dependent on Gerson's work (now lost); cf. Andreas 1643, repr. 1973, p. 574: *Ejusdem 'Monotessaron' adseruatur Louanii in Theologorum Collegio, absolutius quidem eo, quod Ioannes Gerson edidit, magna tamen ex parte illi simile*. Among the oldest authors of harmonies, Rivo mentions Theophilus of Antioch, Ammonius of Alexandria, Eusebius of Cesarea, and Zachary of Besançon (fl. c. 1157). Cf. Petrus de Rivo, *Monotesseron* dyalog., MS Brussels, KBR, Ms 129-130 (henceforth B₁), f. 11rb.

was known in the Low Countries at the time and later in the sixteenth century.³⁴

a. The Manuscript Tradition

The *Monotesseron euangelicum de Verbo Dei temporaliter incarnato* by Petrus de Rivo is preserved in three manuscripts:

B₁ = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms 129-130.³⁵

B₂ = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms 5570.³⁶

B₃ = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms 11750-11771.³⁷

Furthermore, two reworkings of this text have survived, transmitted with the title of *Monotesseron Luce cum tribus*:

P = Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 300.³⁸

W = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. n. 12890.³⁹

In each of the manuscripts, the layout and paratexts differ according to the intents and needs of the author himself, of the copyists, or of the readership. In at least two cases (B₃ and P), the readership can be closely connected with the *milieu* of Bra-

³⁴ This text has been studied by Champion in the wider framework of fifteenth-century perception and thinking about time (2015, 2017, esp. ch. 5, and 2018), and by myself, as part of my Ph.D. dissertation (Masolini 2016, esp. ch. 2.4).

³⁵ Cf. Van den Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, p. 164, no. 303. On the flyleaves, one reads that this volume had been in possession of the *Bibliotheca Societatis Iesu* of Louvain.

³⁶ Cf. Van den Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, p. 164, no. 304. This manuscript is written in the same hand and has the same format and binding as B₁.

³⁷ Cf. Van den Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, p. 165, no. 305. This manuscript comes from the Priory of Bethlehem in Herent. Originally, the codex contained other chronological works by Rivo, but was later divided into two parts and then dispersed. The second section has been recently found by Matthew Champion, assembled in Cambridge, University Library, Inc 3.F.2.9 [3294]. For the history of this manuscript, see Champion 2017, p. 134-136 and Champion, Masolini & Nothaft 2020, ch. 5.

³⁸ Originally from Saint Paul in the 'red valley' (Rooklooster) in Auderghem. Online catalogue at <<http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/mazarine.aspx#details?id=MAZA10565>> (last accessed 1 October 2020).

³⁹ Unterkircher 1962, p. 84, no. 137.

bantine religious communities influenced by Modern Devotion, as is also the case for Rivo's other writings on pastoral theology and chronology. Many of the manuscripts preserving his works were in fact copied by (or belonged to) priories of Augustinian canons affiliated with the Congregation of Windesheim, with which Rivo was in contact during his life – more specifically, St Martin's Valley in Louvain, Bethlehem in Herent, Saint Paul in the 'Red Valley' (Rooklooster) in Auderghem, and Groenendaal in the Forest of Soignes.⁴⁰

- (I) The version of the *Monotesseron* found in B₁, B₂, and B₃, most probably authored by Rivo himself, consists of a synopsis in which the pericopes of the four Gospels are presented in four parallel columns, the first on the left being the Gospel of Luke.⁴¹ B₁ is the witness that better presents Rivo's work as shaped according to his original plan. Together with the text of the *Monotesseron* (f. 19r-72v), the codex contains a preface explaining how the reader ought to approach that work (f. 1r), a prefatory dialogue introduced by a short *Prologus in dyalogum* (f. 10r-18r), as well as a set of tables and rubrics (f. 2r-9r) with cross-indices and references to the liturgical calendar of the diocese of Liège. B₂ contains only the *tertia centena* (i.e., the section starting from Mt. 26. 6//Mc. 14. 3//Lc. 7. 36//Ioh. 12. 1), which is accompanied by a commentary. B₃, originally from the Priory of Bethlehem, provides only Rivo's *Monotesseron*, without any additional table or prologue. It used to be part

⁴⁰ Rivo was also connected to the Charterhouse of Louvain, to which he donated his books on theology and law. Cf. Masolini 2016, esp. ch. 2.3 and passim, as well as Champion 2015 and 2017, ch. 5.

⁴¹ Scholarship has not yet reached agreement on the definition of 'Gospel harmony', nor on the list of the necessary traits for the inclusion or exclusion of a given work from the corpus of texts belonging to this genre (cf. Schmid 2004; Hartmann 2010). Synopses are often considered as a different literary genre from Gospel harmonies. Nevertheless, the fact that Rivo explicitly presented his synopsis as being the latest of many exemplars in a long-standing tradition also including Jean Gerson's harmony, might suggest that the boundaries between genres were not sharply delineated at the eyes of a fifteenth-century author. On the relationship between harmonies and synopses, especially from the sixteenth century onwards, in the framework of modern biblical criticism, see De Lang 1993b.

of a bigger volume including Rivo's works on chronology directed against Paul of Middelburg and his treatise on calendar reform.⁴²

- (II) P offers a version of Rivo's synopsis presented in a different layout (the texts of the four Gospels are displayed consecutively in only one column, instead of four parallel columns) and accompanied by an additional corpus of tables, rubrics, and explanatory writings.⁴³ The arrangement of this material was probably organized by the copyist, Theodoricus Bezudens, sub-prior and master of the novices at the Rooklooster, who adapted Rivo's work for the use of his religious community. In particular, the original system of references, reading keys and tools for memorization that in B₁ accompany the text of the *Monotesseron* is here extracted from the main text and reported, in an enriched manner, in a series of sections that either precede or follows the synopsis.
- (III) W contains an anonymous harmonized version of Rivo's *Monotesseron*, where the words of the four evangelists are combined into one consecutive narrative. Here the Gospel of Luke is taken as the leading text for the chronology and the other three are used to cover the passages which have no parallel account in Luke. The harmony is accompanied by canons and a preface presenting considerations on the value of the study of the Gospel and on Rivo's intentions.⁴⁴

⁴² See above, n. 37.

⁴³ It also includes, for example, an epistle in which the copyist explains the reasons for his departure from Rivo's scheme, a *quaestio* discussing the established order, a preface summarizing Rivo's prologue and a short text explaining the chronology of Peter's Denial (*De Petri negationibus*, edited in Masolini 2016, p. 105-109), which seems to be taken from Rivo's commentary. For a more accurate description of the mnemonic devices comprised in P, see Champion 2018.

⁴⁴ A first survey seems to indicate a similarity in the sequence followed by W with that found in P. Further research is needed in order to ascertain the provenance of this manuscript, which could be plausibly identified with one of the Windesheim priories of Brabant.

b. An Instrument for Scholars and a Guide for Devotion⁴⁵

It is interesting to notice that, both in B₃ and in P, Rivo's *Monotesserone* (or its reworking) was transmitted in the same manuscript as his writings against Paul of Middelburg and on calendar reform. This association might be revealing of the attention that the devout canons dedicated to chronology, and the role that reflection on time played in their daily liturgical and meditation practices. Furthermore, it might suggest that these texts partly belonged to one and the same scientific project in Rivo's eyes: establishing the correct sequence of Christ's life might have been, to a certain extent, functional or complementary to his inquiry on the dating of the Passion.

The *Monotesserone* is clearly connected to Rivo's interests in chronological matters. However, it might also relate to his duties in pastoral theology as professor in Louvain and *plebanus*.⁴⁶

Rivo explained the aim of his work in a prefatory dialogue, introduced by a brief prologue, preserved in B₁. This text represents the intersection between the different academic inclinations of Rivo: here, Rivo the theologian and biblical scholar meets with Rivo the chronologist, the rhetorician, and the philosopher. In the prologue, he presents the scope of his harmonization by recalling the Aristotelian leitmotif of the naturalness of human desire for knowledge. With knowledge, in this case, Rivo means the revelation offered to mankind by Christ through his speeches and deeds and reported in the four Gospels, which would be more easily accessible to the reader if collected in an orderly manner within only one volume.⁴⁷ In this respect, like in Gerson, the

⁴⁵ This section is very much in agreement with the argument run by Matthew Champion (2015; 2017; 2018).

⁴⁶ It is not certain whether Rivo's offices of canon and *plebanus* implied the execution of specific pastoral tasks. These offices were connected to the chairs he held as a professor of philosophy, rhetoric, and theology, and they were primarily a way to be provided with a salary for his academic work. This, however, does not signify that Rivo was uninterested in pastoral care. During the fifteenth century, as well as later, professors of theology at the University of Louvain were greatly interested in matters of moral and pastoral theology, since one of the purposes of the Faculty of Theology was to educate priests and preachers; cf. for instance van Eijl 1975, p. 225. For an overview of the few surviving documents attesting Rivo's interest in pastoral activity, see Masolini 2016, esp. ch. 2.3.

⁴⁷ Rivo, *Monotesserone* prolog. in dialog. B₁, f. 111ra: *Quoniam hominibus naturaliter inditum est sciendi desiderium, nec inter scientias ulla dignior est aut salubrior*

reduction of four into one is primarily considered as a way to provide a scholarly tool for those who devoted themselves to the study of theology, and in particular for priests and preachers.

The further scope and characteristics of his work are then displayed in a dialogue between two characters, both named after the prince of the apostles (as the author himself): on the one hand, Symon, the disciple who expresses his doubts about the utility and functionality of this brand-new harmony, and, on the other hand, Petrus, his friend and preceptor, who allays his suspicions by explaining the structure of this work and clarifying specific difficulties.⁴⁸ At the beginning of the dialogue, Rivo explains the two fundamental characteristics that, according to him, are the original marks of his '*Nouum*' *Monotesseron*: (i) the order of the sequence established on the basis of Luke, and (ii) the physical organization of the material on the page. Leaving aside, for the moment, the choice of Luke as the leading evangelist, which will be analyzed later (§ 3), as far as the structure and *mise-en-page* are concerned, the dialogue provides the reader with a detailed explanation of the general composition of the work, of the layout, and of the meaning of the tables inserted at the beginning of the volume.

Rivo's *Monotesseron* comprises three sections,⁴⁹ each consisting of one hundred *particulae* (*centenae*) gathered in five groups of twenty (*uigenae*). Every *particula*, introduced by a title summarizing its contents, presents the parallel passages of the evange-

quam que mortalibus ab eterna Dei Patris sapientia Ihesu Christo tam uerbo quam conuersationis exemplo reuelata est, decet profecto singulos (eos tamen potissimum qui fidem Christi professi sunt) eidem scientie totis uiribus summisque conatibus insudare. Quam saluberrimam scientiam quatuor euangeliste in totidem uoluminibus nobis conscriptam reliquerunt. Quia tamen pluribus forsitan gratius erit si totam uiderint euangelicam historiam in unico uolumine singulaque sub eo ordine quo probabiliter et dicta sunt et gesta horum uotis inseruire cupiens ex quatuor euangelis unum conflare conatus sum. Quod non inepte 'Monotesseron' dici poterit a 'monos' quod est 'unum' et 'tesseron' 'quatuor'; est enim unum ex quatuor conflatum.

⁴⁸ According to the prologue, the dialogue should be divided into four *conferentiae* discussing, respectively, (i) the introductory canons of his 'New Monotesseron'; (ii) the order found in the Gospel of Luke and that followed by Rivo; (iii) the *topographia locorum* and (iv) the *cronographia temporum* in which Christ operated. B₁ actually reports only the first two sections.

⁴⁹ The first section ends with the decapitation of John the Baptist; the second with the resurrection of Lazarus; the third with Christ's Ascension. This subdivision therefore differs from that established by Gerson.

lists in four columns. The text of the Gospels is then accompanied by further paratexts and rubrics serving as reading and mnemonic devices. The first elements are the *litterae punctatae* – i.e. a series of letters surrounded by dots, which introduce each clause (*clausula*) within the *particula*, and indicate the order in which those clauses should be read. The system of dots surrounding the *litterae* indicates how many evangelists (and whom of them) reported a particular sentence.⁵⁰ In this way the text of the Gospels is displayed in the correct chronological sequence while at the same time reporting the variants in the four columns, so that the reader could immediately see the amount of consonance and dissonance existing between the evangelists in each textual partition.⁵¹

The presence of *remissiones*, i.e., *signes de renvoie* placed at the end of each *particula*, indicates where in the *Monotesseron* one could find the following passage from a particular evangelist. Through the *remissiones* and a system of cross-referencing tables placed at the beginning of the manuscript, one can reconstitute the original order of each Gospel and read it from the top to the bottom, or viceversa.⁵² Moreover, an additional table intersects

⁵⁰ As Rivo explains in the dialogue, the position of the dots mirrors the disposition of the four mystical animals in the vision of Ezekiel. Thus, the dot on the top of the letter signifies John, on the bottom is Matthew, Luke is on the left, and Mark on the right – the disposition does not follow the perspective of the reader but that of the letters themselves.

⁵¹ In doing so, Rivo explicitly distances himself from those harmonies (including Gerson's) which are instead organized as a unified narrative. Rivo, *Monotesseron* dialog. I.1, B₁, f. 11rb-va: *PETRUS: Vetustiores patrum per te recitatorum multa solitudine collegerunt canones ex quibus de qualibet scitur euangelica sententia an ab uno tantum euangelista conscripta sit an a pluribus, et si a pluribus a quot et quibus in quibusque capitulis ipsorum sit conscripta. Posteriores uero conflarunt ex quatuor euangeliiis unum et in textu continuo singulis illius particulis annotantes a quot et quibus euangelistis et in quibus ipsorum capitulis conscripte sunt, ubi uero non satis eis constitit quis ordo seruandus esset in contextu particularum sic quisque eas contextuit sicut ordo rerum gestarum iuxta suum arbitrium exposcere uidebatur. [...] SYMON: Differtne igitur hoc nouum Monotesseron ab operibus aliorum? PETRUS: Differt plane; nam in ipso patet ad oculum de negocio quolibet euangelico quod a pluribus euangelistis conscribitur quanta uerborum consonantia, quanta uero dissonantia sit a singulis conscriptum quod nequaquam in aliorum operibus existimo posse reperiri. Sunt instrumenti et alie differentie perplures; habentur enim in hoc Monotesseron littere differenter punctate, remissiones etiam singulis particulis ascripte, item et uersus eis prenotati quorum nichil in aliis inuenitur.*

⁵² Rivo, *Monotesseron* dialog., I.3, B₁, f. 12rb-va: *PETRUS: Per remissiones ipsas, licet statim cognoscitur quid in quolibet euangelio continuo sequitur, non*

Rivo's referencing system with the table of the Gospel readings according to the Temporal and Sanctoral, allowing the reader to navigate the text also according to the liturgical calendar. Thanks to this complex apparatus of paratext, Rivo's *Monotesse-ron* is a book in which three different time-lines unite and can be individually retraced and followed in the reading: (i) the history of the events, reconstructed by Rivo; (ii) the original order of the four Gospels; and, finally, (iii) the time of liturgy established by the Church.

The final element is a series of three hundred hexameter verses, placed right before the *particula* to which they respectively refer, containing three notable letters, marked in red, which indicate the position of each *particula* within the entire volume.⁵³ By remembering these verses – which are also gathered together at the beginning of the volume (fols 2ra-3rb) as a single abecedarian poem – one would hypothetically be able to learn by heart the complete outline of the whole evangelical narration, and to locate with precision every single event of the life of Christ in the temporal line.

The presence of a paratextual apparatus aimed at organizing, cross-referencing, and memorizing the sequence of the Holy Writ within a Gospel harmony, is not a solely prerogative of the works by Jean Gerson, Petrus de Rivo, and Theodoricus Bezudens.⁵⁴ For instance, a synopsis preserved at the Newberry Library (MS Case, 161) which was composed in a similar context as Rivo's – it comes from the Priory of Groenendaal and probably dates to the second half of the fifteenth century – is accompanied by

tamen quod proxime precedit. Nec equaliter expedit nosse uerba que premittunt euangeliste et que subiungunt; legentes enim multo sepius progredi solent quam regrediantur. Actamen autor iste nouus edidit tabulam in qua, si quis exercitatus fuerit, eque poterit in illius Monotesseron quodlibet euangeliorum continue legere, uel a prima eius particula progrediens usque ad ultimam, uel ab ultima regrediens usque <ad> primam.

⁵³ The last vowel indicates the *centena* (I: *a* or *e*; II: *i* or *o*; III: *u*), the vowel that follows the second syllable of the third metrical foot indicates the *uigena* (I: *a*; II: *e*; III: *i*; IV: *o*; V: *u*), and the first letter indicates the place of the *particula* within the *uigena*.

⁵⁴ As mentioned above, Rivo's referencing system is reshaped in a more articulated form in manuscript P, compiled by Bezudens, see above, n. 43. On the use of mnemonic devices in medieval manuscripts, and especially in Gospels, see Carruthers & Ziolkowski 2002, esp. p. 255-293.

an analogous (albeit much more rudimental) paratextual apparatus.⁵⁵ One can indeed find in the codex a set of rubrics and tables, including references to the liturgical calendar,⁵⁶ as well as a collection of verses useful for memorizing the sequence of the Gospels and the Epistles. The verses, in this case, are *excerpta* from the *Roseum memoriale diuinorum eloquiorum*, a successful mnemonic poem on the Bible composed around 1423-1424 by the Benedictine monk Petrus de Rosenheim (1380-1433).⁵⁷

To conclude, in view of what Rivo writes in the dialogue introducing his synopsis, of the functioning of its apparatus of paratext, and of its fortune in the *milieu* of the reformed Brabantine priories of Augustinian canons, one might suggest that this work shared with its most renowned predecessor the same twofold scope: it was both an instrument for scholars and a guide for devotion. These two aims were, of course, interconnected. On the one hand, the *Monotesseron* seems to be intended as an aid in the theological-biblical education of future priests and preachers studying at the University or at the monastic centers. The careful examination and comparison of the four Gospel accounts offered by Rivo's synopsis responded, moreover, to a more specific scholarly project endorsed at the Windesheim priories: from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Augustinian canons were in fact involved in the revision of the text of the *Vulgata*.⁵⁸ On the other hand, the *Monotesseron* could have been instrumental to devotional practices linked to the liturgy or to personal meditation on the Scriptures, which constituted a fundamental part of the life the members of religious communities

⁵⁵ Matthew Champion mentions this manuscript in his Ph.D. dissertation (2014, p. 194).

⁵⁶ The codex includes a calendar of the main feasts and a set of tables indicating the readings from the of Gospel and Epistles according to the Temporal and Sanctoral: here one finds the name of the feast followed by an alphanumeric sigla, assigned by the compiler of the synopsis, referring to the reading prescribed for that day (e.g. '*Domenica prima aduentus ep. a.1. euang. k.1*'). These references are plainly displayed in four additional tables, containing lists of incipit/explicit and quotations of the readings.

⁵⁷ The *Roseum memoriale* consists of an abecedarian poem in elegiac couplets that summarize in two lines of verse each chapter of the Bible from the Genesis through the Apocalypse, omitting only the Psalms. See Tredje 2011.

⁵⁸ Cf. Greitemann 1937; Post 1968, p. 305-307; and Lourdaux 1974, esp. p. 287-291.

– especially those linked to the Modern Devotion, as witnessed both by the manuscript tradition of the *Monotesseron* and by the synopsis from Groenendaal preserved at the Newberry Library – as well as the life of students and professors of the Faculty of Theology.⁵⁹

3. *On the Prologue of Luke and the Translation of καθεξῆς*

a. Petrus de Rivo and Cornelius Jansenius ‘of Ghent’

Besides the practical and versatile organization of the layout, the other point of originality of this new *Monotesseron*, according to Rivo, was the election of Luke as the leading evangelist for establishing the presumably correct chronological order of the life and teachings of Christ. Although Rivo’s choice was indeed peculiar within the history of Gospel harmonies, the reason for his preference was rooted in a strong perception, commonly shared within the Christian tradition, of Luke as a reliable historian, which was supported by a statement found in the exordium of the Gospel of Luke itself (Lc. 1. 1-4). In the dedication to Theophilus, while defining the contents, method and aim of his work, the evangelist indeed seems to claim that, after having carefully investigated all of the issues involved, he decided to write a new orderly (καθεξῆς, rendered in the Vulgate as ‘ex ordine’) account of the events:⁶⁰

¹ Ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, ² καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου,

⁵⁹ On this point, see Champion 2018.

⁶⁰ Fitzmyer 1981, esp. p. 287-302, here 289: ‘Luke writes as a third-generation Christian, carefully marking his distance from the “events”, and the eyewitnesses and ministers of the word [...] on whom he depends. He clearly sets out his own proper contribution: He “has done his homework”, in investigating the story of Jesus and its sequel, with a claim that rivals the boast of any historian. Three qualities are claimed for his investigation, completeness, accuracy and thoroughness (“from the beginning”); and another for his composition, order (“systematically”). Within the broad literature on the prologue of Luke and the figure of Luke as a historian, see Barrett 1961; Schneider 1977, Marshall 1979, esp. p. 37-44; Dillon 1981; and more recently Leonardi & Trolese 2002-2004, in particular the contributions included in vol. 1 by Fabris 2002 and Giuriso 2002.

³ ἔδοξε καὶ μοι παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, κράτιστε Θεόφιλε, ⁴ ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. (Nestle-Aland NTG)

¹ *Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem quae in nobis completae sunt rerum, ² sicut tradiderunt nobis qui ab initio ipsi uiderunt et ministri fuerunt sermonis, ³ uisum est et mihi adsecuto omnia a principio diligenter ex ordine tibi scribere, optime Theophile, ⁴ ut cognoscas eorum uerborum de quibus eruditus es ueritatem.* (*Vulgata* according to B₁)

¹ Since many have undertaken to set down an orderly account of the events that have been fulfilled among us, ² just as they were handed on to us by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and servants of the word, ³ I too decided, after investigating everything carefully from the very first, to write an orderly account for you, most excellent Theophilus, ⁴ so that you may know the truth concerning the things about which you have been instructed. (NRSV)

Relying on this passage, as well as on the opening of the Acts of the Apostles (Act. 1. 1-2), Rivo held that Luke was the evangelist who explicitly intended to write his Gospel according to the historical sequence of the events (*res gestae*), while the other evangelists more often resorted to a different flow in the narration – sometimes anticipating what would occur later (*anticipatio*), and at other times recollecting what occurred earlier (*rememoratio*).⁶¹ Gerson had already used the argument of the three *ordines narrationis* to preserve the truth value of the four Gospels despite their de-synchronized narrations, ascribing the diverse

⁶¹ Petrus de Rivo, *Monotesseron* dialog. I.5, B₁, f. 13rb: *PETRUS: Cum idem dubium auctori proponere quid mihi responderit aduerte. Constat inquam Actus Apostolorum a Luca conscriptos esse et ad eundem puta Theophilum cui prius scripserat euangelium. In illis autem nullo contradicente (uelut historiographum decet) res eo narrat ordine quo geste sunt. Ipsum igitur probabile est, dum euangelium scriberet, eundem ordinem seruasse. Iheronimus etiam causas assignans cur Lucas scripsit euangelium in illius prologo dicit quod una <causa> fuit ordo euangelicae dispositionis, ut scilicet que spectant ad euangelicam historiam iuxta rerum exigenciam ordinaret. Quod et ipsemet Lucas innuere uidetur dum in prologo quem euangelio suo premitit Theophilo pollicetur illi se scripturum ex ordine. Ex hiis auctor [i.e. Rivo] se motum dixit cur potius Lucam in ducem ordinis prelegit.* On rare occasions, however, Rivo finds that Luke deviated from the *res gestae*; in those cases, Rivo abandons him to follow one of the other three evangelists. Some examples in this regard are provided by Champion 2017, p. 148-149.

arrangements of the material to the influence of the Holy Ghost who guided differently the recollection of each evangelist.⁶² Rivo, at first glance, seems to present these variations as a matter of different approaches to storytelling and writing styles. Showing his theoretical knowledge of rhetoric – a discipline that he taught in Louvain from 1460 to 1470 – Rivo further expanded this argument, by referring to examples taken from both the Gospel and classical literature, and by reducing the issue to a basic rhetorical difference: the *ordo naturalis*, which follows the sequence of the events; and the *ordo artificialis*, imposed at times by the writer according to his taste or to what facilitated a good narrative. According to Rivo, Luke's account usually follows the natural flow of events, and for this reason he appointed him as the general base-line for the chronology of his *Monotesseron*.⁶³

⁶² Gerson, *Monotessaron*, Glorieux IX (1973), p. 248: *Visus est protinus labor uix explebilis, maxime propter ordinis rerum gestarum incertitudinem. Marcus enim, teste Hieronymo, non ordine rerum gestarum, sed ueritatem* [du Pin IV, c. 89-90: *sed ordinem Leuiticae electionis*] *complexus est. Lucas similiter in multis. Joannes uero plurima seorsum posuit ab aliis, praetermissa pauca iterans quae traderant. Cum igitur sit ordo triplex narrationis litteralis, unus rei gestae, alter anticipationis, tertius rememorationis, prout Spiritus Sanctus uoluit nunc ad hunc, nunc ad illum ordinem movere scriptores – non enim refert, juxta traditionem Augustini, quibus uerbis uel ordine eadem sententia uel ueritas nota fiat – sufficiat probabilis collocatio facta sine praepudicio aliter uel sentientium uel scribentium; non etiam tali ausu temerario quin intemeratum uelimus manere quadruplicis euangelicae narrationis sacramentum* (my emphasis). In a gloss accompanying chapter 21 (Mt. 8. 2//Mc. 1. 40//Lc. 5. 12), Gerson suggests that Matthew was the evangelist that more often followed the order of the *res gestae*: *Colligitur ex hoc loco et aliis pluribus, quod Euangelistae non semper secuti sunt ordinem rei gestae: sed usi sunt regula de praecupatione et rememoratione: uidetur autem Matthaeus (!) saepius sequi ordinem rei gestae* (du Pin IV, c. 121). Cf. Augustine, *De consensu euangelistarum* 2.12.27-29, in CSEL 43, p. 127-130.

⁶³ Petrus de Rivo, *Monotesseron* dialog. I.5, B₁, f. 13va: *SYMON. In illius [i.e., Luce] euangelio res semper eo ordine scriptas esse quo geste sunt aut dicte. Frequenter enim apud historiographos etiam ordinati scribentes res que postea geste sunt narrantur prius anticipando, et que prius geste sunt narrantur postea rememorando. Unde distingui solet triplex ordo narrationis: unus rerum gestarum, alter anticipationis et tertius rememorationis. [...] PETRUS: [...] distinguitur enim duplex ordo narrationis: unus naturalis, cum res eo ordine narrantur quo geste sunt; alter artificialis, cum ratio suadet ut ordo naturalis immutetur. Ordine naturali communiter utuntur historiographi. Artificiali uero nonnumquam, puta cum exposcit ratio naturalem ordinem uel per anticipationem uel per rememorationem immutari. [...] Aliquos tibi modos ostendam quibus ordo naturalis non irrationabiliter immutatur...* (my emphasis).

Rivo's choice did not go unnoticed. In the mid-sixteenth century his approach was mentioned and harshly criticized by Cornelius Jansenius *Senior* in his own harmony of the Gospel, the *Concordia euangelica*, published for the first time in Louvain in 1549 by Bartholomaeus Gravius.⁶⁴

Born in Hulst in 1519, Jansenius can be defined as the most significant biblical scholar active in Louvain in the sixteenth century. He enrolled at the University of Louvain in 1526, studying arts and theology, as well as Greek and Hebrew at the *Collegium trilingue*. After obtaining his doctorate in 1562, he became ordinary professor of theology in Louvain and, together with Michael Baius and Jan Hessels, he was selected to represent the University at the Council of Trent (Summer 1563-Spring 1564). Later, he became first bishop of Ghent (operatively, from 1568).

Jansenius started working on his *Concordia* while he was lector of Holy Scriptures at the Premonstratensian Abbey of Tongerlo (1540-1547), and completed it while in Courtrai, where he became parish priest in 1547. This text consists of a harmony of the Gospels composed in 150 chapters. Herein, the attribution of the individual textual passages is indicated with the use of letters from *a* to *p*, indicating how many and which evangelists were responsible for it, while variants are at times reported in the margins – the system implemented is the same used by Andreas Osiander in his *Harmonia Euangelica* (1537). Also in the case of the *Concordia euangelica*, one finds tables creating cross-references between the structure of his harmony, the original order of the four Gospels, and the readings for the liturgical year, which allow the reader to access the story of Christ according to different timelines. Jansenius further provided his *Concordia* with epistles explaining the history of the literary tradition of Gospel harmonies, the purpose, and the functioning of the work, as well as a series of *Rationes* clarifying his choices for establishing the order of the chapters and combining the concordant passages.⁶⁵ Around twenty years later, he used his harmony as the

⁶⁴ On Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent, see Screech 1987 and 1990; Delville 1997; Roegiers 1997; François 2012, p. 250-255; Gerace 2019, esp. p. 129-149; François & Gerace 2017. On his *Concordia euangelica*, see also Wünsch 1983, p. 209-230.

⁶⁵ Jansenius 1549, f. X1r: *In hac praemissae euangelicae concordiae ratione, duo mihi uideo necessario ostendenda, capitulum scilicet aptam esse consequentiam, et*

basis for his commentary on the Gospels (1571-1572), in which he discussed what the correct reading of the Vulgate should have been, making use of his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, as well as of Erasmus's works – first of all, his *Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum*.⁶⁶ His harmony of the Gospel was therefore eventually instrumental to a study of the Bible inspired by the principles of biblical humanism, which at that time was flourishing in Louvain.⁶⁷

As Antonio Gerace recently remarked, Jansenius's exegetical work was strictly connected to his pastoral mission.⁶⁸ Among the reasons given by Jansenius to explain the purposes of his harmony – explained in the dedicatory epistles to Arnold Streeters and *ad lectorem* in his *Concordia*, as well as in the preface of the *Commentarii* – one is the desire to facilitate the study and the reading of the Gospels overcoming the tediousness that might result from the many repetitions found in the four accounts.⁶⁹ Using one of the categories identified by Paterson and mentioned above in § 1, the motives behind his work therefore include a principle of 'efficiency'. Another of the motives of his exegetical œuvre, falls instead under the polemical/missionary purpose: the defense of Catholicism against the attacks of the Protestants.⁷⁰

What is interesting, for the purpose of this work, is how Jansenius's care for philology determined the organization of his harmony of the Gospel. His critique of Petrus de Rivo's ordering principle is a prime example, in this regards.

eorum quae in eiusdem facti descriptione diuersi Euangelistae narrant diuersimode, nullam esse repugnantiam.

⁶⁶ Gerace 2019, p. 132 and followings, points out that, in his *Commentarii*, Jansenius made use also of Erasmus's *Paraphrasis in Lucam* and *Adagia*.

⁶⁷ On the so-called 'Golden' Age of biblical humanism in Louvain, see François 2012.

⁶⁸ Gerace 2019, esp. p. 132-133.

⁶⁹ Jansenius 1549, f. a3v: *Rursum perpendi praeter taedium etiam temporis nos facturos iacturam, si singulos Euangelistarum seorsum exponeremus, quod sic eadem nimis frequenter repetenda et inculcanda essent, ob earundem rerum apud diuersos repetitam narrationem. Operae praecium ergo uisum est, ut quatuor Euangelistarum seorsum conscriptos libros, ita in unum redigeremus.* Cf. Jansenius 1571, f. 2r.

⁷⁰ Jansenius 1571, f. 3r. I refer to Gerace 2019, esp. p. 132 for a further discussion on this point.

In the dedicatory epistle to Streeters, Cornelius Jansenius offers a brief history of this literary genre, listing the authors who, before him, had tried to undertake the task of harmonizing the Gospels. After the *ueteres scriptores* – Ammonius of Alexandria, and Zacharias of Besançon – the first three names of his most recent predecessors are those of Jean Gerson, in Paris, and, at the University of Louvain, Johannes Varenacker and Petrus de Rivo.⁷¹ Then, Jansenius reports how Rivo elected Luke as the leading evangelist for his *Monotesseron*, assuming, on the basis of what Luke wrote in the prologue of his Gospel, that he more consistently preserved the correct chronology.⁷² But Petrus de Rivo was wrong, Jansenius points out, since Luke was rather the evangelist who less faithfully followed the order of the *res gestae*. The reason for Rivo's mistake, according to Jansenius, resided in an incorrect understanding of the prologue of Luke, and in particular of Lc. 1. 3, due to an erroneous translation of the original Greek.

The Greek word *καθεξῆς*, which the Vulgate translates as 'ex ordine' ('orderly'), may have a different meaning, namely 'deinceps' ('afterwards'). The first sense of the word refers to the

⁷¹ After Petrus de Rivo's *Monotesseron*, Cornelius Jansenius mentions the works of Robert Goullet, Gabriel Dupuyherbaults, Simone du Corroy, and Andreas Osiander.

⁷² I report here the full passage. Jansenius 1549, f. a4v-a5r: *Post hunc eodem tempore et Petrus quidam de Riwo, titulo etiam professionis Theologicae clarissimus, Monotessaron confecit, noua quadam ratione Lucam assumens in ducem sui, quem in contextu seruauit, ordinis. Hunc enim existimat in sui euangelij descriptione, narrationis ordinem seruasse, hoc motus argumento, quod is in Proaemio dicat: Visum est et mihi assecuto omnia, a principio diligenter ex ordine tibi scribere, optime Theophile. Cum enim ex ordine se scripturum pollicetur, apparet eum iuxta suam pollicitationem ordinem etiam tenuisse. At ut procliuè est ostendere clarissime, Lucam omnium minime inter reliquos rerum a Christo gestarum ordinem obseruasse (ut ex adnexa nostrae Concordiae Ratione quisque facile assequi potest) ita debilis admodum est ratio, qua is potissimum nititur, Graecis enim est *καθεξῆς*, quod potius significat deinceps, quam ex ordine: unde significat Euangelista, se post diligentem inquisitionem dictorum factorumque Christi a se factam, tum deinceps scripsisse. Quare et in nostra lectione illud Ex ordine, accipiendum est pro Deinceps, ut nomine Ordinis non intelligatur hic significari ordo narrandorum, sed ordo ille ab historiographis seruandus, ut prius rerum gestarum diligentem exactamque faciant inquisitionem, ac deinde ad scribendum animum accommodent. Sensum Euangelistae pulchre expressit in sua uersione D. Erasmus, qui sic habet: Visum est et michi, ut cunctis ab initio exacta diligentia peruestigatis, deinceps tibi scribere, optime Theophile (my emphasis). Cf. Jansenius 1571, *Proaemium ex Luca, Circa Proaemium adnotationes, 'Ex ordine tibi etc.'*, p. 2.*

order in which things are narrated (*'ordo narrandorum'*), while the second sense conveys the idea that order should be applied to the method with which the story is reconstructed and then told (*'ordo ille ab historiographis seruandus'*). According to this second perspective, if one translates *καθεξῆς* as *'deinceps'*, Luke's claims would not sound as

I too decided, after investigating everything carefully from the very first, to write an *orderly account* for you, most excellent Theophilus.

but

I too decided, after investigating everything carefully from the very first, to write *afterwards an account* for you, most excellent Theophilus.

In this latter sense, which Jansenius supports, Luke in his prologue would have merely stated that he decided to write his account after having carefully investigated all the previous sources. In this sense, Luke's intention would not have been to write an account which reproduced the correct order of the *res gestae*, but rather to report the history of Incarnation and Passion of Christ by following, to a certain extent, a 'scientific' historical method: first he collected the evidence, then he wrote his Gospel. This very point, Jansenius adds, was beautifully expressed by Erasmus in his translation of the New Testament, where he rendered Lc. 1. 3 as

Visum est et michi, ut cunctis ab initio exacta diligentia peruestigatis, deinceps tibi scribere, optime Theophile. (see Table 1, below).

Jansenius repeats this argument almost verbatim some twenty years later while commenting on the preface of Luke in the *Commentarii in suam Concordiam*.⁷³ Here he interprets the prologue of Luke through Erasmus's translation, albeit maintaining the Vulgate – which on April 1546 the Council of Trent had declared to be the official version of the Catholic Church – as

⁷³ Cornelius Jansenius does not explicitly refer to Erasmus in this passage. As shown by Screech 1987, p. 303-304, at least in the later editions of his commentary, Jansenius replaced the name of Erasmus with the expression *quidam*: 'it may well be connected with the increasing distaste for Erasmus in orthodox Roman Catholic circles'.

the base-text for his *Concordia*. Although the Vulgate provided the base-text for his *Concordia*, Jansenius was, in fact, a biblical scholar involved in the humanistic milieu that was flourishing in Louvain at the time. Thus, he did not fail to recur, when the doctrinal interpretation was at stake, to the instruments that he had at his disposal: the philological study of the Greek text and the variants in the Latin tradition, as well as Erasmus' translations and *Annotationes* on the New Testament.

b. Desiderius Erasmus and Guillaume Budé

The process through which Erasmus rejected the Vulgate's version of the prologue of Luke, opting to translate *καθεξῆς* as 'deinceps' instead of 'ex ordine', is also a story that deserves to be told. It should be noted, first of all, that the translation praised by Cornelius Jansenius in his *Concordia* and *Commentarii* was not Erasmus' first choice (see Table 1, below).

As is well-known, Erasmus published his first translation of the New Testament, the *Nouum Instrumentum*, in Basel in 1516; three years later, in 1519, he released a new, heavily revised, version of his work, entitled the *Nouum Testamentum*, which was followed by another three editions (1522, 1527, 1535) – hence five editions during his lifetime.⁷⁴ As far as Lc. 1. 3 is concerned, in the 1516 *Nouum Instrumentum* Erasmus abided by the text of the Vulgate, rendering *καθεξῆς* as 'ex ordine'. Erasmus opted for 'deinceps' only after the first revision of his work, inserting this change in the *Nouum Testamentum* in 1519, as well as in the following editions. This was not the only change that Erasmus inserted in his new translation of the prologue of Luke. Indeed, Erasmus probably reconsidered the whole passage, at least in part, as a result of the discussion that he held on this matter with the French humanist Guillaume Budé after the publication of the *Nouum Instrumentum*.

⁷⁴ Among the many studies on Erasmus's translations of the New Testament, one should mention de Jonge 1984; Combs 1996; Dill 2016; Elliott 2016; and, most recently, the volume collecting the proceedings of the conference held in 2014 in Basel, in view of the 500th anniversary of the 1516 edition of Erasmus's *Nouum Instrumentum*, edited by Wallraff, Seidel Menchi & von Greyerz 2016 (see, in particular, the contribution by van Poll-van de Lisdonk).

The correct Latin translation of some words of the preface of Luke was one of the focal points of the first letter that has survived of the rich correspondence between Erasmus and Budé – namely, letter number 403 of Allen’s edition, dated 1st May 1516.⁷⁵ This letter – written by Budé in reply to an epistle by Erasmus, now lost – marked the beginning of a stimulating epistolary exchange that lasted twelve years, in which the two humanists repeatedly expressed their mutual admiration and discussed their philological and intellectual divergences.

The occasion of that first letter by Budé was the fact that, in his *Annotationes* to the Gospel of Luke, Erasmus had mentioned the work of the French humanist with great enthusiasm.⁷⁶ In particular, Erasmus wrote that, at the time of printing, Beatus Rhenanus pointed out to him a translation of the opening verses of Luke given by Budé in his *Annotationes in Pandectas*, which had been published in Paris in 1508 (see Table 1, below). After discussing this point, Erasmus inserted a long eulogy of Budé that certainly caught his attention and sympathies. This eulogy was reprinted, and extended, in the following three editions of the *Nouum Testamentum*, but was removed from the 1535 edition, possibly because Erasmus’s friendship with Budé went cold after 1427.

In letter number 403, Budé discussed the problematic translation of the entire prologue of Luke, including that of the third verse. He expressed his feeling of perplexity regarding the ‘order’ to which Luke was referring – namely, whether the point at stake was the correct order of the things narrated, or rather (as he was inclined to believe) the order of procedure followed while writing a narrative. Budé seemed furthermore to suggest that Erasmus himself was not particularly satisfied with how he rendered that passage.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Allen II (1910), ep. 403, p. 227. For a study and French translation of the correspondence between Erasmus and Budé, see Garanderie 1967.

⁷⁶ Erasmus, *Annotationes in Lucam* 1:4, ASD VI/5, p. 451, l. 238-241.

⁷⁷ Allen II (1910), ep. 403, p. 232: *Tu ad historiam texentis ordinem rettulisti. Quod si recte sentis, miror cur dixit καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι: oportuit enim primum ordine omnia didicisse, deinde γράψαι. Et tamen utraque sententia idem dicit; prosecui enim dixisti, non assequi. Id cum tu dicas, non tamen probas. Omnino locus δυσνόητός ἐστίν.* Budé also criticized Erasmus’ choice of rendering παρακολουθηκότι with *prosecutus*, instead than with *assecuto*, as in the Vulgata, or *assectatori*, as

In his answering letter (ep. 421, dated c. 19 June 1516), Erasmus admits his inability to give Budé a proper answer concerning the *uexata quaestio*, since he did not have the text at his disposal, and he needed to carefully check the passage before taking a position on the matter at hand. In any case, he affirms that he would not hesitate to retreat, if Budé – whose authority Erasmus professes to trust – was truly convinced of his ideas.⁷⁸

An interesting outcome of this philological anecdote resides in the information that Erasmus gave to Budé thereafter. In the lines that follow his discussion of the prologue of Luke, Erasmus offers a passionate first-hand insight into the composition of his *Nouum Instrumentum* itself; especially, the editorial troubles that he endured towards the end of his enterprise and brought to the composition of the second edition. Erasmus reveals to his friend that when his work was almost ready for publication, someone encouraged him to change the text of the Vulgate, either by correcting or explaining it, and to add further annotations. Thus, very soon ‘everything had to be done again’. At first, he thought that this additional burden would have been rather light, but it proved very soon to be ‘by far the heaviest part’.⁷⁹ Erasmus narrates how he found himself trapped within the labyrinth of difficulties that accompany the editorial process: copies that were supposed to be correct but actually were not; proof-readers who were incapable of undertaking their duties, so that he himself had to take care of the final check; the extenuating

in his own version. In her French translation of the letter, Garanderie 1967, p. 55-56, esp. n. 14, remarks that Budé’s critique is somewhat invalidated by the fact that *prosecutus* was a typographical mistake for *persecutus*.

⁷⁸ Allen II (1910), ep. 421, p. 253: *De his in quibus partim a me dissentis, partim assentiris, partim ἐπέχεις καὶ ἀμφισβητεῖς, non poteram in praesentia respondere, primum quod temporis angustia excludebar, deinde quod codex nullus adesset; nam erant responsuro relegenda loca aliquot. Fiet id alias, idque breui. Illud interim in genere dicam, tantum apud me ualere Budaei iudicium, ut si quid illi serio probari sensero, non dubitaturus sim quauis etiam in re καλινῶδεῖν.*

⁷⁹ Allen II (1910), ep. 421, p. 253: *Decreueram leui brachio rem peragere, ut in minutis quibusdam uersaturus, et locos dumtaxat ceu digitulo indicare. Porro cum iam aedendum esset opus, instigarunt quidam ut Vulgatam aeditionem mea uel correctione uel interpretatione mutarem. Eius sarcinulae accessionem cum oppido quam leuem esse ducerem, longe grauissimam esse ipsa re comperi. Deinde per pellebant ut annotationes adderem aliquanto locupletiores. Iam protinus, ut scis, retexenda omnia.* In the text, I quote the English translation provided in CWE 3, 1976, p. 305-306.

juggling between editing, printing and carrying on other projects at the same time; and, finally, even a mistake concerning the size of the volume.⁸⁰ As a consequence, Erasmus admits, he spent way too much time ‘on things that were not really *his* business or had been no part of the original plan; and *he* was already weary and well-nigh exhausted when *he* came to the annotations’. He did what he could – ‘as far as time and *his* state of health permitted’ – but he eventually overlooked many passages, often on purpose, and he changed his mind soon after publication.⁸¹ Therefore, he confesses to be already preparing a second edition, and he asks Budé, on the one hand, to give him assistance, and on the other, to not spread the news ‘or the copies of *the first* edition will not move from the printing-house’.⁸²

The prologue of Luke was probably one of those problematic passages about which Erasmus changed his mind either in the course of publication or right after, perhaps convinced by his friend. And, indeed, Erasmus corrected his translation of Lc. 1. 1-4 in the 1519 edition, modifying, among other things, ‘*ex ordine*’ in ‘*deinceps*’, as Budé had done in his *Annotationes in Pandectas*.

It must be pointed out, however, that Erasmus did not explain this change by dedicating a specific comment to it in his *Anno-*

⁸⁰ Allen II (1910), cp. 421, p. 253-254: *Accessit et illud oneris, arbitrabar Basileae haberi emendata exemplaria. Ea spes quoniam fefellit, coactus sum praecastigare codices quibus usuri erant τυπογράφοι. Ad haec conducti fuerant duo probe docti, alter iureconsultus, alter theologus etiam Hebraice peritus, qui formis castigandis praeessent; at hi quoniam huius laboris erant rudes, quod susceperant praestare non poterant: proinde necesse fuit extremam formarum, quas uocant, recognitionem in me recipere. Conficiebatur simul et excudebatur opus, absoluebatur singulis diebus ternio (sic enim nunc uocant); nec interim tamen licebat totum huic uacare negotio. Excudebatur eodem tempore Hieronymus, qui sibi bonam mei partem uindicabat; et stabat sententia aut immori laboribus aut ante Pasca ex eo pistrino memet explicare. Postremo fefellit nos uoluntinis modus. Affirmabat typographus fore ut ad triginta plus minus terniones accresceret; excessit autem octoginta tres, ni fallor.*

⁸¹ Allen II (1910), cp. 421, p. 254: *Itaque maxima temporis parte consumpta in his quae uel ad me proprie non pertinebant uel ante destinata non fuerant, delassatus iam ac pene fractus ad adnotationes perueni. Pro temporis modo proque uoletudine praestiti quod potui. Nonnulla prudens etiam preteriti, ad multa sciens conuiuebam, in quibus mox ab aeditione a meipso dissensi.*

⁸² Allen II (1910), cp. 421, p. 254: *Proinde τὴν δευτέραν παρασκευάζω ἔκδοσιν, in qua te magnopere rogo ut conantem adiutes. A tui similibus etiam obiurgari officii loco ducam. Vnum illud φυλάξεις βέλτιστε Βουδαίε, ne id suboleat τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἵνα μὴ τὰ βιβλία οἱκοί μένωσι τῷ ἐντυπωτῇ.*

tationes in Lucam. There, he did not mention the problem of the translation of *καθεξῆς*, nor his different interpretations. Instead, he seemed to support the traditional idea that Luke's intent was to give a chronological account of the events.⁸³ Moreover, commenting on the words 'ordinare narrationem' (Lc. 1. 1) – that he translated '*contexere*' – Erasmus included an extensive quote from Ambrose's *Exposition on Luke*, in which the Latin Father had exalted the historical character of Luke's narrative style as well as his way of maintaining the historical order.⁸⁴

One can find the same emphasis on the historical reliability of Luke in the opening of Erasmus's *Paraphrase* of Luke's Gospel, completed in August 1523.⁸⁵ As noticed by Reinier Leushuis, Erasmus's retelling of the dedication to Theophylus is entirely constructed in a manner that depicts Luke as a trustworthy historian.⁸⁶ Luke's reliability was an important requirement for the certainty of his Gospel, and had to be demonstrated since Luke was not a direct eyewitness of the speech and deeds of Christ, but only of the growth of his Church. Speaking with the voice of Luke, Erasmus affirms that his trustworthiness resided in the

⁸³ In the apparatus to his *Annotationes in Lucam* 1:3 ('*Assecuto omnia*'), ASD VI/5, p. 446, l. 154-179, one reads: *Proinde res ipsa nos cogit, ut intelligamus Lucam non interfuisse omnibus quae memorat, sed ordine omnia prosecutum, et rerum seriem ut gestae sunt, ita narrandi ordine secutum esse, aut certe sic omnia cognouisse, ex his qui quae uiderant narrabant, ut nihil praetermiserit, quod ad historiae seriem pertineret.*

⁸⁴ Erasmus, *Annotationes in Lucam* 1:1, ASD VI/5, p. 440: *Ordinare narrationem* ἀνατάξασθαι. *Quod ego uertissem 'digerere' siue 'contexere'; siquidem id est 'in ordinem disponere', quod caeteri carptim aut non iuxta perpetuam rerum gestarum seriem prodidissent quaedam [...]* Proinde Ambrosius tribuit Lucae stilum historicum ceu peculiarem. Cum enim sua singulis attribuisset, inquit: 'At uero sanctus Lucas uelut quendam historicum ordinem tenuit et plura nobis gestororum Domini miracula reuelauit, ita tamen ut omnes sapientiae uirtutes Euangelii istius complecteretur historia'. Idem aliquanto post: 'Historico enim stilo diximus hunc Euangelii librum esse digestum [...]' Et ipse euangelista historico more de narratione sumpsit exordium. "Fuit" inquit, "in diebus Herodis regis [...]", eam historiamque plena digestionem prosequitur' (Ambrose, *Exp. Lc., Prologus*, 4 and 7, CCSL 14, p. 3 and 5).

⁸⁵ Issue 36 (2016) of *Erasmus Studies* is entirely dedicated to Erasmus's *Paraphrases*. Therein, see, in particular, the contributions by Bloemendal, Cottier, and Leushuis 2016. See also Phillips 2002; Backus 2002.

⁸⁶ Leushuis 2016, p. 168: 'More than in the prefatorial lines of the other gospel paraphrases, the Luke-voice insists on the requirement of reliability and trustworthiness, the word *fides* being used seventeen times in this passage in a variety of closely related meanings'.

very diligent way in which he collected the stories from direct witnesses and then put them on paper. Erasmus describes Luke's mission as a call by the Holy Spirit, aimed at gathering information and clarifying points that had been overlooked by others, as well as to construct an ordered narrative of the Gospel, following the chronological sequence of events.⁸⁷

TABLE 1.
Lc. 1. 1-4.

<i>Vulgata</i> according to Rivo's <i>Monotesseron</i> in B ₁	Erasmus, <i>Nouum Instrumentum</i> 1516	Budé, <i>Annotationes in Pandectas</i> (1508 ¹), here ed. 1557, II, p. 56	Erasmus, <i>Nouum Testamentum</i> 1519, p. xx (= 1522/1527/1535)
¹ Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem quae in nobis completae sunt rerum,	¹ Quoniam complures aggressi sunt contexere narrationem earum, quae in nobis certissimam fidem habent, rerum,	¹ Quando quidem multi aggressi sunt enarrationem astruere de rebus inter nos compertissimis,	¹ Quoniam complures aggressi sunt contexere narrationem earum, quae inter nos certissimae fidei sunt, rerum,
² sicut tradiderunt nobis qui ab initio ipsi uiderunt et ministri fuerunt sermonis,	² sicuti tradiderunt nobis hi qui ab initio suis oculis uiderant, ac pars aliqua fuerant eorum quae narrabant,	² quemadmodum tradidere nobis qui spectatores ipsi fuerunt iam inde ab initio, ministrique ipsius uerbi,	² sicuti tradiderunt nobis hi qui ab initio suis oculis uiderant, ac pars aliqua fuerant eorum quae narrabant,
³ uisum est et mihi adsecuto omnia a principio diligenter ex ordine tibi scribere, optime Theophile,	³ uisum est et michi, ut, de integro cuncta diligenter prosecutus* [/persecutus?] ⁸⁸ ex ordine tibi scribere, optime Theophile,	³ certum est et mihi assectatori pridem omnium assiduo, deinceps tibi scribere optime Theophile,	³ uisum est et michi, ut, cunctis ab initio exacta diligentia peruestigatis, deinceps tibi scribere, optime Theophile,
⁴ ut cognoscas eorum uerborum de quibus eruditus es ueritatem.	⁴ ut agnoscat eorum de quibus catachumenus institutus fueras certitudinem.	⁴ ut agnoscas eorum sermonum certitudinem, in quibus ipse institutus es.	⁴ quo agnoscat, eorum de quibus eductus fueras, certitudinem.

⁸⁷ Erasmus, *In Euangelium Lucae Paraphrasis*, LB VII, c. 282D: *A certissimis igitur auctoribus totam Euangelicae rei seriem studiose peruestigauimus, atque ex his delegimus, quae maxime uidebantur ad fidem & pietatem Euangelicam conducere, non sparsim & carptim attingentes, ut quaeque inciderint, sed temporis ordinem ac rerum seriem sequuti, diligenter historiam digessimus: altius etiam rem repetentes, uidelicet ab ejus conceptione, qui Seruatoris aduentum, ut natiuitate, ita praedicatione, morteque praecurrit.*

⁸⁸ See above, n. 77.

In Conclusion

Following the legacy of Jean Gerson's *Monotessaron* through the halls of the University of Louvain and the cloisters of the religious communities inspired by the Modern Devotion, we have eventually crossed paths with the story of Erasmus's translations of the New Testament and their aftermath in sixteenth-century humanism. Thirty years after the 1519 edition of the *Nouum Testamentum*, Erasmus's resolution to change his translation of the prologue of Luke – perhaps as an outcome of a discussion with Guillaume Budé – was indeed welcomed by Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent, who made use of it while writing his *Concordia euangelica*. Jansenius used the authority of Erasmus's translation to illustrate the weakness of the ordering principle at the basis of Petrus de Rivo's *Monotesseron*, rejecting Rivo's decision to elect Luke as the leading evangelist for his Gospel harmony as founded upon an incorrect translation of the Greek.

In order to close 'ex ordine' the journey that led us from Jean Gerson's Gospel harmony to Petrus de Rivo's *Monotesseron*, to its critique in the *Concordia euangelica* by Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent, and finally to the discussion between Erasmus and Guillaume Budé on the translation of the prologue of Luke, one final point should be addressed. Namely, a consideration – in line with what De Lang presented briefly in her 1991 article – concerning the possible proximity (or distance) between Erasmus's biblical humanism and the spirit animating the Gospel harmonies of the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is not the right place to thoroughly address this complex issue, 'quod temporis angustia excludebar', as Erasmus would say. What can be done is rather to briefly mention some research that would be worth considering.

In a recent article, Jean-François Cottier analyses the possible relationship between Erasmus's *Paraphrases* and the literary genre of Gospel harmonies.⁸⁹ In his dedicatory letter to King Charles V, introducing the *Paraphrase* of Matthew, Erasmus indeed denies that harmonizing the Gospels was ever his intent, and claims that 'to explain the discrepancies between the evan-

⁸⁹ Cottier 2016.

gelist is like going round and round in some sort of maze'.⁹⁰ However, Cottier remarks, in order to provide a consistent narration within the individual paraphrases, Erasmus himself resorted to a sort of harmonization, by collating what was missing in the account of one evangelist with information taken from the others.⁹¹

A perspective that might be worth further pursuing is how Erasmus himself addressed the problematic relationship between the truth and simplicity of the Gospel message and the discrepancies in its four accounts – possibly in comparison with the Augustinian idea of *concor diuersitas*, of Gerson's *concordissima dissonantia*, or more generally with the notion of concord developed in Renaissance humanism. As for Gerson the *concordissima dissonantia* of the Gospels 'moves the spirits of the faithful to a more humble, more vigilant and more many-sided search for the truth',⁹² so Erasmus, in his *Ratio uerae theologiae*, holds that the variety of words found in the Gospels does not impede the harmony of their message.⁹³ 'To paraphrase', writes Cottier commenting on this passage, 'the abundant nature of the Logos authorizes different approaches through the variety of human language'.⁹⁴

In the dedicatory epistle to Henry VIII, which constitutes the preface to his *Paraphrase* on Luke, Erasmus remarked that the writing expertise of the evangelists was artless and lacking in

⁹⁰ Epistle 1255, dated Basel 13th January 1522, in Allen V (1924), p. 6: *Sin ex omnibus perpetuam quandam narrationis seriem contexerem (quum explicare dissonantes locos in Euangelistis nihil aliud sit quam in labyrintho quodam uersari), non potuissem seruire perspicuitati paraphraseos*. I used the English translation provided in CWE 9, 1989, p. 10.

⁹¹ Cottier 2016, esp. p. 144-147, here p. 146: 'following the tradition of Augustine's *De consensu euangelistarum*, Erasmus offers a complete and harmonized version of the Passion of Christ, as we can see from his numerous borrowings from other gospels'. In doing so, however 'he never goes into much historical detail because he aims to conserve the atemporal dimension of the text [...] Moreover, he considers the simplicity of the scripture to be a prime reason for his success'.

⁹² See above, n. 19, I quoted the English translation offered in De Lang 1991, p. 43.

⁹³ Erasmus, *Ratio uerae theologiae*, Holborn, p. 211: *Neque uero confundit hanc harmoniam Christi uarietas; immo sicut e diuersis uocibus apte compositis concentus suauissimus redditur, ita Christi uarietas plenior efficit concentum*.

⁹⁴ Cottier 2016, p. 147.

comparison with that of the classical authors of human history, and that however the truth and simplicity of the Gospel message, due to its divine inspiration, was able to spread, be understood and defended:

The language of the gospel is simple and artless, and anyone who compares it with the histories of Thucydides or Livy will find much lacking and much to object to. The evangelists leave out so much and mention so much in few words; in many passages the order does not fit, and in how many they seem to disagree among themselves! These faults might disgust a reader and make him unwilling to believe what he read. [...] And yet all those thousands of men have existed that preferred to face death ten times over than to admit that there is a sentence of falsehood in the gospel narratives. Do we not clearly see from this that it is not a matter of human power or human wisdom but of the power of God? There is a hidden virtue in this medicine, and once introduced into the body it spread through all the nations of the earth as it might through all the limbs.⁹⁵

This metaphor of the Gospel as a medicine is the leitmotiv that dominates Erasmus's preface of his *Paraphrase* of the Gospel of Luke. Indeed, while Erasmus's paraphrase of the dedication to Theophilus revolves around the figure of Luke as a historian, in the dedicatory epistle to Henry VIII, Erasmus instead plays with the image of Luke as a physician, not only of bodies, but also of souls. While writing his Gospel, Luke indeed assumes the role of a spiritual physician, or better, of a spiritual apothecary, who is asked to administer the medicine prescribed by the True Physician, Christ. The Gospel is therefore a sort of spiritual

⁹⁵ Epistle 1381, Basel 23rd August 1523, in Allen V (1924), p. 321: *Simplex et inconditus est Euangelii sermo; quem si quis expendat ad Thucydidis aut Titi Liuii historiam, multa desiderabit, multis offenderetur. Quam multa praetermittunt Euangelistae! quam multa tribus uerbis attingunt! quam multis locis non conuenit ordo! quam multis locis inter se uidentur pugnare! Haec poterant lectoris animum alienare ac fidem abrogare lectioni. [...] Verum tot hominum milia reperta sunt, quae mallent decies mortem oppetere quam admittere in Euangelicis literis unicam esse falsam sententiam. Ex his an non palam agnoscimus rem non esse potestatis aut prudentiae humanae sed uirtutis diuinae? Latens uis est in pharmaco, quod, semel infusum corpori, se sparsit per uniuersas orbis nationes ueluti per omnia membra.* I quoted the English translation provided in CWE 10, 1992, p. 73.

panacea that cures the diseases of the soul and brings salvation. Holding to this medical metaphor, Erasmus praises the value of the constant reading and rereading of the Gospel, an activity compared to chewing assiduously a medicine and retaining it in the stomach, in order to be transformed by it and cured:

[This medicine] will have its effects if we grow really tired of our diseases and bite off some of this medicine constantly, if we chew it assiduously and pass it down into our spiritual stomachs, if we do not cast up again what we have swallowed but keep it in the stomach of the spirit until it develops all its powers and transforms the whole of us into itself. I have learned from my own experience that there is little profit in the gospel if one's reading of it is idle and perfunctory. But he who grows familiar with it by continuous and careful thought will find a power in it that is in no other book.⁹⁶

We have seen how for Gerson, as well as for Petrus de Rivo and his devout readership, writing and reading a Gospel harmony was not only a way to provide a more solid foundation to theology, but also the occasion for proceeding in an individual, constant meditation on the text of the Gospels, in order to interiorize Christ's life and speeches and become, to a certain extent, his living memories. This intent mirrored and responded to the spirit of renewal that Western Christianity was experiencing during the fifteenth century within the framework of Observant reform and Modern Devotion. In his *New Testament* project, as well as his *Paraphrases*, Erasmus sought to achieve a similar pedagogical scope. Explaining or re-writing the Scriptures – by 'bridging gaps, smoothing rough passages, bringing order out of

⁹⁶ Epistle 1381, Basel 23rd August 1523, in Allen V (1924), p. 322: *Ait sapiens Ecclesiasticus, Honora medicum propter necessitatem. Quanto magis huic medico suus habendus est honos, qui tam efficax pharmacum exhibuit, quod nulli non est necessarium, nisi si quis est qui uacat omni crimine, nec opus habet ut seipso melior euadat! Erit autem et efficax, si pertaesi morbos nostros, pharmacum hoc frequenter arrodemus, si assidue commandemus, si traiciemus in stomachum animi nostri, si non reuomemus quod sumptum est, sed in animi stomacho continuerimus, donec explicet uim suam, nosque totos in se transformet. Expertus sum hoc in meipso, parum esse fructus ex Euangelio si quis oscitanter ac perfunctorie legat. Sed si iugi et accurata meditatione in eo uersetur, uim quandam sentiet qualem in nullis aliis libris.* I quoted the English translation provided in CWE 10, 1992, p. 73.

confusion and simplicity out of complication, untying knots, throwing light on dark places'⁹⁷ – would have promoted a theological education and a renewed spirituality, with the intent of transforming the individual himself:

This should be your first and only goal, this your desire, you should do this one thing: that you be changed, that you be seized, that you weep at and be transformed into those teachings which you learn.⁹⁸

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⁹⁷ Epistle 710, dated Louvain, 13th November 1517, included as preface to Erasmus's *Paraphrasis ad Romanos*, in Allen III (1915), p. 138: *Non hic attollam uerbis quanti mihi constiterit hoc quicquid est opuscoli, quod id sciam nemini procliue uel aestimare uel credere, nisi qui ipse periculum in simili negotio fecerit, quid sit hiantia committere, abrupta mollire, confusa digerere, inuoluta euoluere, nodosa explicare, obscuris lucem addere, Hebraismum Romana ciuitate donare: denique Pauli, hoc est coelestis oratoris, mutare linguam; et ita temperare παράφρασιν ne fiat παραφρόνησις, hoc est sic aliter dicere ut tamen non dicas alia, praesertim in argumento non solum tot modis difficillimo uerumetiam sacro ac maiestati Euangelicae proximo: in quo cum in lubrico uerseris et labi sit facillimum, citra graue periculum labi non possis. I used the English translation provided in CWE 5, 1979, p. 196. This passage is quoted and discussed in Bloemendal 2016b, p. 151.*

⁹⁸ Erasmus, *Ratio uerae theologiae*, Holborn, p. 180: *Hic primus et unicus tibi sit scopus, hoc uotum, hoc unum age, ut mueris, ut rapiaris, ut affleris, ut transformeris in ea, quae discis*. On this issue, see Bloemendal 2016b, as well as Bateman 1987-1988; Christ-von Wedel 2013.

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Abstract

This article discusses a neglected chapter of the legacy of Jean Gerson's Gospel harmony, the *Monotessaron*, in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Brabant – namely, the homonymous work by the Petrus de Rivo (c. 1420-1499) and its reception in the *Concordia evangelica* by Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent (1519-1574). Addressing the critique moved by Jansenius to Rivo's ordering principle, this case study analyses how Erasmus's Latin translation of the New Testament was used to assess the opportunity to elect Luke as the leading evangelist for a possible harmonization.

JAKUB KORYL

AUTHORITY,
DOES IT DISPLACE THE JUDGMENT?
LORENZO VALLA, DESIDERIUS ERASMUS,
AND THE RISE OF THE MODERN
HOMO GRAMMATICUS

Introduction

About half an hour by walk from the Leuven city centre, and more than five hundred years ago the still young, yet promising scholar Desiderius Erasmus discovered the manuscript of *In latinam Noui Testamenti interpretationem annotationes* by Lorenzo Valla. A year later, in 1505, this copy of Valla's notes to the New Testament, stumbled across at the library of Parc monastery, was published in Paris by the Brabantine printer Josse Bade with Erasmus' comprehensive preface. The work of Valla together with the metacritical remarks made by Erasmus soon became decisive for developing the new mode of thought about the man-made universe which enabled humanists to exceed the literary limitations of the Quattrocento humanism and therefore indicated the features constituting the modern era. This study aims therefore at identifying the descent or genealogy (rather than the history), qualities and purposes of so-called *homo grammaticus* as the originator of critical thought (*κριτική* / *iudicium*, to put it precisely), being its agent and the very embodiment. This paper is focused, however, only on the manner of thinking which determined that kind of activity, instead of discussing once again the sources of early-modern biblical philology or the way its task was executed. In other words, the criteria for making the Vulgate accurate, clear and meaningful fall outside the scope of this study, unlike the criteria of thinking which made such an effort feasible. For the main issue here is the very idea of authority and its ability to pass the exam of critical reasoning.

As such, the article tends to describe an alternative paradigm within a humanist culture which was no longer founded solely upon the principle of *imitatio antiquorum*, namely the repetition of a once established set of universal patterns. It discusses the problem of authority that could no longer be justified out of habit, neither by the dignity of an institution nor by means of the criterion of antiquity alone. Instead, both the paradigm and the authority become thoroughly dependent on that kind of thinking which preferred the singular usages to general rules and thus was taking all possible cultural idiosyncrasies, individualities or discontinuities into account. Bible translations, the Vulgate in particular, were the prime laboratory where the *homo grammaticus* executed that task, namely to reconsider the idea of authority and therefore to untie the authority of a biblical translation from the harmful authoritarianism. The said preface of Erasmus, where he introduced that modern grammarian-heresiarch, gives a good insight into the issues in question.

I foresee that there may be some who, having barely read the title of my work and before they learn what it is about, will immediately cry 'O heaven and earth!' in the approved tragic fashion, in spite of Aristophanes' witty advice in the *Plutus* 'not to yell and make a fuss before you know the facts'. And I am inclined to believe that the most unpleasantly hostile demonstrations of all will be made by those who stand most to profit, that is, the theologians. They will say it is intolerable presumption in a grammarian [*homo grammaticus*], who has upset every department of learning, to let his impertinent pen loose on Holy Scripture itself. [...] tell me what is so shocking about Valla's action in making a few annotations on the New Testament after comparing several old and good Greek manuscripts. After all it is from Greek sources that our text undoubtedly comes; and Valla's notes had to do with internal disagreements, or a nodding translator's plainly inadequate renderings of the meaning, or things that are more intelligibly expressed in Greek, or, finally, anything that is clearly corrupt in our texts. Will they maintain that Valla, the grammarian, has not the same privileges as Nicholas of Lyra the theologian? [...] when Nicholas of Lyra discusses the meaning of a word he is surely acting as a grammarian rather than a theologian. Indeed this whole business of translating the Holy Scriptures is manifestly a grammar-

ian's function. Nor indeed is it absurd if in certain spheres Jethro has greater competence than Moses.

But I do not really believe that Theology herself, the queen of all the sciences, will be offended if some share is claimed in her and due deference shown to her by her humble attendant Grammar; for, though Grammar is of less consequence in some men's eyes, no help is more indispensable than hers. She is concerned with small details, but details such as have always been indispensable for the attainment of greatness. Perhaps she discusses trivial questions, but these have important corollaries. If they protest that a theologian is too grand to be bound by the rules of grammar, and that the whole business of interpretation depends on the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, what a novel distinction is offered to theologians, who are to have the exclusive privilege of expressing themselves ungrammatically! But I should like them then to explain the meaning of Jerome's remark to his friend Desiderius that 'it is one thing to be a prophet, another to be a translator. In the one case the Holy Ghost prophesies the future; in the other scholarship, together with the resources of language, conveys the meaning it apprehends.'¹

The Identity of homo grammaticus

Among the above-mentioned charges leveled against Valla's notes one is of particular importance. On account of his disruptive offhand manner the *homo grammaticus* had no right to go in for biblical exegesis. Although Erasmus did not coin the notion of *homo grammaticus*, he invested it with a new, genuinely modern meaning. For not until the beginning of sixteenth century did the *homo grammaticus* cease to be an impartial concept, a common example used in the dialectical and metaphysical analysis of *modi significandi*, as witnessed by Martianus Capella, Boethius, Anselm of Canterbury, Alexander of Villedieu,² and even by Valla himself who used this idea in his *Dialecticae disputationes*.³

¹ CWE 2 (1975), p. 93-94, l. 120-128, 133-140, 143-163.

² See Capella 1983, p. 113, l. 16-18; Boethius 1891, col. 182d, 189c, 190b, 779-780, 781b, 783-784, 791-792, 802a-803a; Anselm of Canterbury 1946, p. 157-160; Alexander of Villedieu 1893, p. 99.

³ See Valla 2012, vol. 2, p. 102, 104, 106, 108.

In the above-quoted preface to the *Annotationes* this concept was finally deprived of its ontological meaning – Erasmus narrowed his interest down to a pragmatic examination of the grammatical man. That change introduced by Erasmus did correspond to the fact that following the rise of biblical philology the *homo grammaticus* became both a pattern of a modern erudite person, truly critical yet profitable, and a dangerous enemy of Cicero, Jerome and the Vulgate – the patrons of a classical and Christian tradition.

Erasmus pointed out in his preface that the grammatical proficiency of Valla, otherwise inspired by the critical sensitivity of Quintilian, rather than the Ciceronian elegance, was much more effective a tool for the restitution of the tradition than the pointless imitation of the longtime classical and Christian authorities, the imitation devoid of a critical approach and exercised merely for rhetorical training or refinement. For stylistic elegance, as a result of an obedient and in fact mindless imitation, was redefined by the grammatical, independent, and heuristically critical investigation (*iudicium*) which should become a basic as well as distinctive attribute of the *homo grammaticus*. Quintilian, who ridiculed that kind of imitation as a job for *pigrum ingenium*, stressed as a matter of principle that in a rhetorical education *uirtutes* of the canonical authors were equally important as their *uitia*.⁴ Consequently he did not hesitate to acknowledge that the critique should be the ultimate aim of education and most of all the supreme method of affirmation and cultivation of tradition. ‘Imitation alone does not suffice – Quintilian observes – [...] Certainly nothing would ever have been invented. Why, then, discovering something new stands for the violation of divine law? [...] By means of imitation alone nothing can be developed’.⁵ It goes then without saying that Valla’s deliberate choice of Quintilian over Cicero would soon become a significant challenge put out to the whole humanist movement.

⁴ Quintilianus 1971, vol. 1, p. 85, l. 16-19: *demonstrare uirtutes uel, si quando ita incidat, uitia, id professionis eius atque promissi, quo se magistrum eloquentiae pollicetur, maxime proprium est.*

⁵ Quintilianus 1971, vol. 2, p. 262-263, l. 21, 26-28, 19: *imitatio per se ipsa non sufficit, [...] nempe nihil fuisset inuentum. cur igitur nefas est reperiri aliquid a nobis, quod ante non fuerit? [...] nihil autem crescit sola imitatione.*

Indeed, Valla called into question the intellectual ambitions of his contemporaries and most of all the pragmatic value of imitation, at that time still a prime vehicle for cultural transmission. In the *Elegantiae linguae latinae* formal imitation, to a large extent still determining the enterprises of a humanist movement, was supplemented or even replaced with the critical diagnosis and correction (*emendatio*) of an object of imitative effort. In the *Elegantiae* one may find the principle describing that crucial standpoint: ‘to detect the errors of the greatest men, besides pertaining to men who are most instructed, is the most useful task [...] Thus, we cannot value less the one who emends, as long as he limits his corrections, than the author himself. Moreover, what we obtain from the one who emends is not inferior to what we get from the author. [...] For that reason the most distinguished experts in different disciplines give an order to indicate students also the possible errors made by those who are put forward for imitation’.⁶ In order to justify this kind of a critical approach Erasmus likewise followed in the footsteps of Quintilian and declared in his preface to Valla’s notes that ‘the most effective method of teaching is to demonstrate examples from the texts of the masters not only what should be imitated but what should be avoided’.⁷ One might say – it is one thing to imitate, another to judge.

According to Valla and Erasmus, *iudicium*, as a distinctive feature of the modern grammarian, was not only a different name given to the philological and historical knowledge concerning language in diachronic and synchronic terms, but most of all it stood for a heuristic technique exercised in the critical analysis which met the philological and historical requirements. Nothing except such a technique could provide both the authentic text and its genuine meaning, so the particular source might retain

⁶ Valla 1952, p. 628: *Errores maximorum uirorum deprehendere, id uero cum doctissimi hominis est, tum opus utilissimum [...] Ita eum qui emendat, nisi paucissima sunt quae emendat, non inferiorem existimare debemus quam ipsum illum inuentorem, nec minorem ab illo quam ab hoc percipi fructum. [...] Ideoque ab optimis quibusque cuiuslibet artis professoribus praeceptum est, ut eorum ipsorum quos discentibus ad imitationem proponunt etiam uitia si qua fuerint ostendant.* See also Valla 1952, p. 608, 610, 616, 622.

⁷ CWE 2 (1975), p. 90-91, l. 49-52.

or obtain an attribute of authority. In consequence the authoritativeness of texts was based neither on random choice nor centuries-old conviction, but exclusively on heuristically critical investigation. In the *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione* treatise (another textbook case of how the modern grammarian should handle an authority) Valla explained that this heuristic technique consisted in verifying and falsifying the authorities as well as in correcting errors and confirming or questioning the authenticity of a text in question.⁸ Importantly, its functional scope was not narrowed to classical, non-Christian sources. Understood in this way *iudicium* belonged to biblical exegesis as well, as its indispensable tool.⁹

The famous *Orationes in Laurentium Vallam* by Poggio Bracciolini leave no doubt that philological and historical tools used by Valla were considered a serious threat to the sustainability of the classical and Christian tradition rather than the way of its restitution. Instead of expanding one's knowledge concerning *humanae* and *diuinae litterae*, procedures exercised by Valla were depriving the tradition – that is, a form of authority particularly defended by the humanists – of its measurable and positive impact on the present time. By indicating the textual criticism faults, linguistic and factual errors or commonly yet groundlessly accepted beliefs concerning classical and Christian texts (the New Testament in particular) Valla was in fact depriving many of his contemporaries of the patterns and examples which were used as the primary source of self-identification. From this particular point of view the humanistic paradigm founded upon the *imitatio antiquorum* consisted not only of discovering, confirming and improving the tradition, but most of all of verbalizing a collective memory, in the long term becoming the building block of a collective identity.¹⁰ In other words, it was nothing but

⁸ Valla 2007, p. 6, 130: *ut errorem a mentibus hominum conuellam, ut eos a uitiiis sceleribusque uel admonendo uel increpando summoueam. [...] Nummos reprobos discernimus, separamus, abiicimus: doctrinam reprobam non discernemus, sed retinbimus? sed cum bona miscebimus? sed pro bona defendemus?*

⁹ Valla 1952, p. 620: *At qui ignarus eloquentiae est, hunc indignum prorsus qui de theologia loquatur existimo. [...] Qui uero eleganter loqui nescit, et cogitationes suas litteris mandat, in theologia praesertim, impudentissimus est.*

¹⁰ Bracciolini 1964, p. 189: *omnes priscos illos doctissimos uiros, quorum memoria omnibus saeculis summa laudis celebratione uenerata est, fera quaedam*

imitatio that largely contributed to the rise of early-modern communities, being often the circles ‘of literate publics, who have become a like-minded community of friends through reading the same books’, to use a relevant description of the modern collective beings as the ‘effective fictions’, given by Peter Sloterdijk.¹¹ Therefore it is a logical chain of events that Poggio openly admonished Valla that his negative approach to Cicero was tantamount to the criticism of the whole humanist movement: ‘when Cicero is blamed by you, you blame me as well’.¹²

However Valla’s radicalism, as Poggio noticed, not only brought the humanist movement to disintegration, but most of all could seriously undermine the Christian universalism. As a result of philological examination it called into question the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, namely the Vulgate and Aristotelian taxonomy in the scholastic theology.¹³ By means of a disciplined questioning of everything that was previously the subject of *imitatio*, *iudicium* initiated a functional exhaustion of the imitative model of culture. Already Quintilian suggested that the preference given to a particular language usage, that is *loquendi consuetudo*, over the grammatical rules could easily call the principle of *imitatio* into question. For if language as a cultural phenomenon remains irrevocably a matter of an agreement of educated men, then the timeless objects of imitation actually cease to exist. In consequence an alleged authority of the renowned authors

immani proteruitate contemnit, reprehendit, culpat, aspernatur, [...] Omnesque tam gentiles, quam Christianos uiros in omni doctrinarum genere praestantes sub una eademque inscitiae nebula comprehendit. See also Bracciolini 1964, p. 195: *O infelices (ut ita dicam) tot uiros doctissimos, quorum memoria cum mille amplius summa in ueneratione omnium gentium fuerit, cum nobis ad omne doctrinae genus aditum fecerint, post tot secula in rabulam quendam detractorem temerarium inciderint, qui nunc tandem asserat se illorum errores patefecisse, quanquam non illorum errores qui nulli sunt, sed sui dementiae quae est maxima, palam fecit.*

¹¹ Sloterdijk 1999, p. 12.

¹² Bracciolini 1964, p. 210: *Mitto quod ais: Cicero abs te cum me uituperas uituperatur. Magna Ciceronis Vallea consuetudo et cognatio intima, ut alter in alterius uituperatione comprehendatur.*

¹³ Bracciolini 1964, p. 231: *O belua insana, tu Hieronymum non reprehendis, qui librum composuisti, ac etiam multis ostendisti de erroribus in traducendo suis. [...] Profer oro te libros quibus illum sanctissimum uirum fidei nostrae lumen singulare ut malum interpretem accusas.* On Valla’s part in the free will controversy see Bracciolini 1964, p. 226–227. Regarding his critique of Boethian notion of *persona* and its serious trinitological consequences see Bracciolini 1964, p. 232–233.

demands in first place not a repetition, but a critical investigation (*iudicium*).¹⁴ It is therefore the legacy of Quintilian that tradition as a form of authority, which used to provide the present time with normative values, sooner or later must have become the subject of critical analysis, finally devoid of the evaluative pre-assumptions. For that reason I agree with Salvatore Camporeale that critical *eruditio* exercised by Valla was ‘a specifically philological heuristic technique, [which] led inevitably to a new historicism and to a recognition or relativity in regard to both textual form and content’.¹⁵ These subversive motivations were soon recognized by Poggio. As a matter of fact he saw in Valla a *corruptor*, that is a scholar who contextualized all of his interpretations and consequently rejected the universal and immutable value of tradition, rather than a *corrector* who was a cultural intermediary discovering, confirming and improving the classical tradition by means of imitation. ‘Certainly it is a wrong standpoint, worthy of the one who ruins rather than sets things right’, as one may read in Poggio’s *Inuectiua prima*.¹⁶

Philological heuresis of Valla, applied to all the texts from classical as well as Christian antiquity to early-modern era, paved the way for the rise of historical consciousness. The task undertaken by Valla in his *Elegantiae*, *Donatio Constantini*, *Annotationes* and even in the *Encomium Aquinatis* should leave no doubt that the cultural phenomenon (e.g. the language, both in terms of correctness, appropriateness and elegance) must be understood and evaluated as nothing but a human creation, namely the outcome of the convention, practical agreement, or the *consensus eruditorum*. In consequence such a phenomenon is conditioned by its origin and thus subject to the historical relativization of a varying amplitude of durability and change. Having discovered

¹⁴ See Quintilianus 1971, vol. 1, p. 46-47, l. 25-28, 3-7, 19-20: *nam etiamsi potest uideri nihil peccare, qui utitur his uerbis, quae summi auctores tradiderunt, multum tamen refert non solum, quid dixerint, sed etiam quid persuaserint. [...] superest igitur consuetudo: nam fuerit paene ridiculum malle sermonem, quo locuti sint homines, quam quo loquantur. et sane quid est aliud uetus sermo quam uetus loquendi consuetudo? sed huic ipsi necessarium est iudicium, [...] ergo consuetudinem sermonis uocabo consensum eruditorum.*

¹⁵ Camporeale 2001, p. 33.

¹⁶ Bracciolini 1964, p. 190: *Falsa quidem ac digna correctoris, uel corruptoris potius sententia.*

with Quintilian's help the historical conditioning of language, Valla indicated the finitude and variability as the essential features of the cultural phenomena, whereas every claim to attribute the tradition an absolute value solely by means of imitation or the criterion of antiquity was methodically rejected. Once *iudicium*, instead of *imitatio*, had become an essential factor in determining the condition of humanism, substantial changes took place in the philological training and historical research. Such an analysis should thereafter consist of deliberately unconditioned (namely devoid of initial and evaluative assumptions) philological analysis of the words and things, their mutual relations, origin and motivation.

The results of this kind of research should be constantly ascertained, and only in exceptional circumstances might it provide a durable solution. This does not mean however that Valla rejected the paradigm of humanism founded upon the principle of imitation, he merely did not allow the instinctive reading of centuries-old texts without a conscious, critical reasoning. According to Valla none of the texts was excluded from philological examination. His concise remark, casually mentioned in the *Donatio Constantini*, namely 'one's own dignity does not make anyone safe from a critique',¹⁷ assumes in fact the proportions of a principle regulating Valla's whole philological and philosophical work. It meant in practice that the Vulgate might retain its authority, if only it would be compared with *ueritas hebraica* and *graeca*, and then successfully pass the exam of philological compatibility. Regardless of the outcome of such an analysis, the Vulgate together with its particular idiom were still subject to the same grammatical procedures that were used in the analysis of classical texts.

Historically conditioned Christian tradition was examined by Valla and Erasmus in terms of the sermocinal arts, as well as according to the extratextual, pragmatic criterion of utility or effectiveness. Consequently, when both of them expressed doubts concerning the Aristotelian nomenclature of the scholastic metaphysics and theology, they were using not only a classical vocabu-

¹⁷ Valla 2007, p. 4-5: *Neque aliquem sua dignitas ab increpationibus tutum reddit*. Translation slightly altered.

lary, Ciceronian in particular, as a criterion for their assessments, but most of all the pragmatic category of being more appropriate (*aptius*). In the *Encomium sancti Thomae Aquinatis* Valla put it straight and clear – contemporary theologians should imitate (like the Church Fathers did) the way Saint Paul practiced theology. For the Apostle provides ‘the proper law of speaking and writing, and those who pursue it doubtless pursue the very best manner of speaking and practicing theology’.¹⁸ In some cases, as one may read in the *Ciceronianus*, the language of Aquinas or Duns Scotus is far more appropriate to the Christian way of life than that of Cicero: ‘if the better speaker – Erasmus speculated – is the one who speaks more appropriately to the subject, then to speak as Thomas and Scotus did on sacred subjects was certainly preferable to copying Cicero in such a context’.¹⁹ According to Valla and Erasmus these two different yet complementary criteria of grammar and usage, that is the correctness and appropriateness, should always be taken into consideration.

Homo grammaticus went even further. Not only did he speak in a different way than the medieval theologian and philosopher, or merely try to reconcile language with human reality, most of all he considered language as a consequence of a man’s historically conditioned way of being. In result, a sharp distinction between the different means of comprehending and using a language become more than inevitable. Valla took that step forward and indicated two basic types of speaking, namely *grammatice loqui*, which was relevant to those who restricted language to a set of universal, timeless rules, and *latine loqui*, which was suitable for the *homo grammaticus* and his distinctive criterion of appropriateness.²⁰ Therefore the opposition between traditional,

¹⁸ Valla 2008, p. 96, l. 224-226, 230-233: *ad imitandum Paulum apostolum contulerunt [ueteres], omnium theologorum longe principem ac theologandi magistrum. [...] Hic est uerus et, ut dicitur, germanus theologandi modus, hec uera dicendi et scribendi lex, quam qui sectantur, ii profecto optimum dicendi genus theologandique sectantur*. See also Camporeale 2014, p. 178-181.

¹⁹ CWE 28, p. 390. ASD I/2, p. 642, l. 13-14: *Si melius dicit qui dicit aptius, sic de rebus sacris loqui praestiterat, quam in his Ciceronem exprimere*. See also Hoffmann 1994, p. 176-184.

²⁰ On Erasmus’ use of *grammatice-latine* distinction see Chomarat 1981, I, p. 262-263.

high-principled *grammaticae* and early-modern, pragmatic, and thus constantly set in motion *latine* was nothing else than the hierarchic juxtaposition of an abstract, rather useless phenomenon which defined merely the principle of correctness (*ratio*), and historically mediated, idiosyncratic and thus extremely useful language usage (*consuetudo*). This crucial distinction for the development of historical as well as philological criticism was elaborated by Valla in his *Dialecticae disputationes* where he followed again the path once beaten by Quintilian:

we must speak according to a grammatical standard, speaking not so much grammatically as in Latin – following not so much the rules of an art, in other words, as the usage of educated and cultured people, which is the best art of all. And who does not know that speaking is based mainly on usage and authority? This is what Quintilian says about it: ‘In speaking, usage is the most reliable teacher, and obviously language is to be used like money, sealed with a public stamp’. But there is actually a theory, those people reply, of why it is correct to speak this way if we wish. And would that it were within our means to approve rather than condemn them! In fact, Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Punic, Dalmatian and other tongues differ not just in the words that are spoken, but in how speech is constructed, and this happens because of practice, not theory, except in a few cases. We can no more give a theory for grammar (as some of those idiots do, including those who write about ‘modes of signifying’) than for the different words that different peoples use.²¹

Different people can and actually do speak the same languages differently. That’s an obvious observation which could easily slip

²¹ Valla 2012, vol. 2, p. 84: *Nobis quidem ad normam grammatices loquendum est, nec tam grammaticae quam Latine loquendum – hoc est non tam ad praecepta artis, quam ad consuetudinem eruditorum atque elegantium, quae optima est. Nam quis maximam loquendi partem auctoritate niti et consuetudine? De qua ita ait Quintilianus: Consuetudo certissima est loquendi magistra, utendumque plane sermone ut nummo, cui publica forma est. At enim ratio est, inquiunt, cur ita loqui liceat si uelimus. Utinam esset ut eos probare potius quam improbare possemus! Nam quod Graecus, Hebraeus, Latinus, Afer, Dalmata ceteraeque linguae praeter ipsas uoces figura loquendi discordant, usu fit, non ratione, nisi in paucis. Nec magis de grammatica reddi ratio potest (quod quidam nugatores faciunt, ut ii qui de modis significandi scribunt) quam cur aliis uocibus aliae nationes utantur.*

into clichés. It has, however, a number of far-reaching ramifications.²² It should leave no doubt that an effective examination of language must take into account the historical and conventional origin of its every usage. Consequently the critical analyses exercised by Valla were primarily focused on a particular usage in order to grasp its various circumstances together making up the proper, or often even the unique meaning of a particular word. Such an analysis went far beyond the insufficient comparison of a particular usage with its abstract pattern, it transcended a mere collation founded upon the universal rules which governed every single usage. Since normative rules were no longer conclusive for grasping the complete meaning of a word, pragmatic *consuetudo* or the usage itself finally took the privileged place occupied by the synchronous *ratio*, once justified by the imitative paradigm of the Renaissance humanism. A little later Valla added: ‘just as nations and peoples have different customs and different laws, so do the natures of languages differ, each one sacred and unsullied among its own. We must rely therefore on usage, as if it were a kind of established practice in the community’.²³

The analysis of *consuetudo* as a scientific basis for the critical investigation involved then a significant modification of the nature of language and even of the nature itself. What language really is derives only from the way it is used here and now by the particular community. Every language is of historical and conventional origin, since its nature is neither timeless nor immutable but established time and again in its everyday usage. If ‘nature’ stands here for a set of the essential, constitutive and primary features of a particular being or its given source or cause, then it is hardly possible to speak of any *natura linguarum*; it is rather a fortune or ever-changing fate. Valla himself admitted that it was a man alone who made reasoning and speaking customary, not their nature,²⁴ on the other hand he added that ‘the word

²² Some of them have been already pointed out and discussed. See for example Monfasani 1989; Mack 1993, p. 74-95; Copenhaver 2005; Nauta 2009, p. 269-291.

²³ Valla 2012, vol. 2, p. 88-90: *ut sunt uarii mores uariae leges nationum ac populorum, ita uariae naturae linguarum, apud suos unaquaeque intemerata et sancta. Itaque consuetudine, tanquam quodam more ciuili, standum est.*

²⁴ See Valla 2012, vol. 2, p. 221.

“nature” is broad and its meaning changes’.²⁵ Neither the ambiguities of *φύσις* enumerated by Aristotle were an issue here, nor simply the different names given to one and the same thing. It was rather a matter of a metaphysical distinction, old yet renewed by Valla, between the *consuetudo popularis* and *natura et ueritas rei*. For he not only indicated a slight difference between custom and truth, but most of all broadened that distinction by pointing out that truth might have different instances than his contemporaries were still keen to accept. Lodi Nauta pertinently noticed that for Valla the alternative, to speak according to either a grammar or a linguistic custom, was not a point at all. It was rather a confrontation of the way of being and the way of speaking – ‘speaking in accordance with the way a thing or state of affairs is versus speaking in accordance with linguistic custom’.²⁶ In other words every human and non-human thing possess its own way of being which in a number of cases is not wholly determined by language. If ontological and linguistic dimensions may not coincide with themselves, we are forced to speak the same language differently. In consequence the idea of a permanent relationship of things and names, which justified the mode *grammaticae loqui* and most of all the principle of imitation, must have been seriously called into question. That is the problem Valla was really concerned with. For that reason he elaborated the difference between the principles of correctness and of usage.

If the whole Latin-speaking world makes use of the different forms of Latin language, and all the differences derive from universal ontological-linguistic incompatibility and hence from the practice established within a particular community, then an effective commentary or translation should always rely on an usage (*consuetudo*) rather than on abstract and in fact insufficient rule (*ratio*). According to Valla, Saint Jerome must have been aware of that singular nature of language, since he was able not only to distinguish the practical and the normative modes of using Latin, but to exercise in his biblical translations the pragmatic

²⁵ Valla 2012, vol. 1, p. 270-271: *Nomen enim naturae latum est atque ampliugum.*

²⁶ See Nauta 2009, p. 46.

latine instead of synchronous and normative *grammaticae*.²⁷ *Homo grammaticus* or simply, if we may say so, Jerome himself, embodied a modern philologist and erudite person, truly critical yet constructive and profitable. As such the modern grammarian turned out to be the originator of a new paradigm of culture and the spokesman of a different form of transmission for an ancient legacy, the one who strived to establish a mutually fruitful relationship with the constantly changing, culturally heterogeneous reality.

From the opposite point of view, features indicated by Poggio set an overlooked precedent to what Richard Lanham described in 1976 as an anthropological concept of the *homo rhetoricus*,²⁸ a very useful one for distinguishing the actual from the alleged implications and consequences of applying the philological heuristic techniques to every single man-made text. To a considerable degree Lanham adopted the polemical standpoint from those who considered modern grammarian a *corruptor* rather than *corrector* and justified his diagnosis in a similar way. Born of linguistic self-awareness, the rhetorical man benefits from social consequences of the conventional nature of language and rhetorical communication, but most of all gives the word a precedence over the thing. In result, *homo rhetoricus* by means of language can freely play with reality. If such a person has any set of durable values, it will be the singleton set – pleasure. Since universal pat-

²⁷ Valla 1962, p. 330: *Dixi Hieronymum maluisse latine, quam grammaticae loqui. Nunquid grammaticae loctus est, an contra grammaticam, cum transtulit Graecum nominatiuum per latinum accusatiuum [...] Si grammaticae, loctutum dices, grammatici negabunt. Sin non grammaticae, ergo aut barbare, aut latine. Vides, ut dixi, latine locutum, ne dicerem barbare? et excusaui, non accusaui? At enim, ut magis laudarem, debui dicere locutum grammaticae, inquires. Tu, quod falsum est, quod non sentis, dicto: ergo quod sentio, loquar. Quanquam non puto maiorem esse laudem grammaticae, quam latine loquendi. Et istud est, inquis, quod pecco. Si pecco, certe in laudem interpretis siue Hieronymi pecco, quem tu calumniaris a me uituperari, quod dixerim: praeclarius fecisse latine, quam grammaticae loquendo. At hic error, inquis, quia male accipio Quintilianum, cuius illa sunt uerba: aliud est latine, aliud grammaticae loqui.* Poggio completely misunderstood that difference, and in result accused Valla of making Jerome a barbarian who did not know the rules of Latin grammar. See Bracciolini 1964, p. 231.

²⁸ See Lanham 1976, p. 3-5. Lanham, however, did not coin that notion. It was at least Erasmus who used the term *homo rhetoricus* to describe the intellectual identity of Valla in the aprobativ manner. See Allen II (1910), p. 112, l. 839-840; ASD VI/6, p. 313, l. 72-73.

terns do not exist (each of them is of historical or conventional origin), utility becomes the only criterion (*what is useful*). Rhetorical man is not interested then in answering the question ‘what is reality?’, instead he keeps on investigating ‘what can be accepted as real, here and now?’ This means that the *homo rhetoricus* seeks his sense of identity not within the horizon of universal values, but in constantly changing everyday life. Regardless of these striking analogies between the *homo rhetoricus* and *grammaticus* it should be underlined that the latter was still far from exercising the postmodernist approach to truth and reality. He preferred instead to follow a logocentric path of thought where a thing could remain independent of language and interpretation.²⁹

Erasmus admitted as a matter of principle that human knowledge consisted of things and words, where the *res* remained more important than the *uerbum*, but the latter was more difficult to master. On top of that, the ignorance of language was also far more dangerous because it would lead a man to misjudge the reality which is known only through a verbal sign.³⁰ However it did involve neither a relationship of things and names as described by Aristotle and his mediaeval heirs,³¹ nor the one which was stable, permanent, and most of all, thoroughly transparent. By no means a proper use of language could provide man with an adequate understanding of reality, since the principle of *ratio* was unproductive for the accurate, clear and meaningful way of speaking, while the *consuetudo* caused a destabilizing effect on the logocentric *res-uerbum* bound. In his dialogue *De rebus et uocabulis* Erasmus provided extensive evidence that the meaning of a word was determined by principles that referred to the social habit rather than to the thing itself. For every single ethical term (e.g. ‘good’ or ‘bad’) could easily take on the different meanings by conven-

²⁹ See Tracy 1995, p. 5-7. Although James Tracy reaches almost the same conclusion, he supports his position with the different arguments.

³⁰ ASD I/2, p. 113, l. 4-9: *Principio duplex omnino uidetur cognitio rerum ac uerborum. Verborum prior, rerum potior. Sed nonnulli dum ἀντίτοις, ut aiunt, ποσὶν ad res descendas festinant, sermonis curam negligunt, et male affectato compendio in maxima incidunt dispendia. Etenim cum res non nisi per uocum notas cognoscantur, qui sermonis uim non calleat, is passim in rerum quoque iudicio caecutiat, hallucinetur, deliret necesse est.*

³¹ See Moss 2003, p. 7-8.

tion.³² As a matter of fact, in everyday usage the said relationship took place between language and its users rather than the thing itself. Erasmus, however, did not draw any radical, in fact post-modern conclusion from that change. Erasmus in his later years, as one may read in the *Ecclesiastes*, took it for granted that the ontological or divine constitution of reality was still untouched, self-contained and not capable of being derived from the human language. He emphasized therefore that the order of things remained divinely fixed and thus immutable, but without regard to it one and the same thing was conveyed differently in different words according to time and person.³³ In consequence the logocentric covenant between the language and reality must have been merely loosened, and not broken off.

On that long road towards the eclipse of the idea of the absolute truth, where the ontological and linguistic dimensions could never again cross with each other and the word became meaningless in itself, *homo grammaticus* made only a few, yet important steps. The question once deliberately asked by Erasmus, namely 'In our society, isn't reputation more important than reality?', seems prophetic only from our perspective.³⁴ However, the stable structure of the man-made universe just then began to tremble. Nevertheless, the subversive and pluralistic behavior of *homo rhetoricus* still coincides with the charges previously leveled against *homo grammaticus* 'who has upset every department of learning'. Although I did not find in Poggio's invectives neither the concept of *homo grammaticus*, nor *rheticus*, he characterized Valla exactly in the same way and according to the change Valla had caused in the previously coherent paradigm of Renaissance humanism, namely as a protean dissident, able to gain a variety of forms, and devoid of a permanent identity.³⁵

³² See CWE 40. On the other hand Richard Waswo hastily and thus mistakenly argued that regardless of Valla's *Annotationes* his *Dialecticae disputationes* 'seems to have made little if any impression on him [Erasmus]', Waswo 1987, p. 214.

³³ ASD V/5, p. 320, l. 190-191 *Lex Dei semper eadem est, quemadmodum Dei uoluntas est immutabilis. Varie tamen exhibita est pro ratione temporum et personarum*. On the principle of *accommodatio* see Chomarat 1981, II, p. 1107-1113; Walter 1991, p. 42-52; Hoffmann 1994, p. 162-167.

³⁴ CWE 40, p. 810, l. 32.

³⁵ Bracciolini 1964, p. 229: *ut ueluti alter Proteus in uarias formas te queas transferre*.

*It Is One Thing to Be a 'Prophet',
Another to Be a 'Translator'*

Both Valla and Erasmus were keen to not only use the authority of Quintilian but they also used Jerome as a sounding board for the arguments in favor of the critical yet heuristic attitude of *homo grammaticus*, and against those who considered philology applied to biblical studies a destructive effort. The crucial distinction between a *prophet* and a *translator*, introduced and described by Jerome, prompted Valla and Erasmus to acknowledge the solely philological proficiency of a modern biblical commentator or translator (who is by no means divinely inspired), and most of all the textual or man-made rather than supernatural character of the Vulgate. In consequence, the already radical legacy of Quintilian became even more radicalized.

As clearly testified in his correspondence and most of all in the *Apologia aduersus libros Rufini*, Jerome was carefully separating the philological proficiency of a translator (*interpres*) from the theological responsibility of a dogmatist (*dogmatistes*). As a biblical scholar and translator Jerome declared himself merely as the interpreter of Paul: 'I have been an exponent of the apostle rather than a dogmatist on my own account; and my function has been simply that of a commentator'.³⁶ That difference became even more clear when Jerome was explaining his ambiguous attitude to a man of great knowledge who erred in theological matters, namely to Origen: 'I have praised the commentator but not the theologian, the man of intellect but not the believer, the philosopher but not the apostle'.³⁷ The main difference between a translator and apostle or a prophet is that the latter was concerned with 'formulating dogmas rather than following the words and syllables', as Jerome explained in his famous letter *De optimo genere interpretandi*.³⁸ For that reason the translator occupies

³⁶ Jerome 1910-1912, vol. 1, p. 371, l. 6-9: *nunc uero, cum interpres magis apostoli fuerim quam dogmatistes et commentatoris sim usus officio, quidquid durum uidetur, ei magis inputetur, quem exposuimus, quam nobis, qui exposuimus.*

³⁷ Jerome 1910-1912, vol. 2, p. 122, l. 2-6: *simplex interpretatio atque doctrina simplici uoce laudata est. nihil ibi de fide, nihil de dogmatibus comprehensum est. [...] laudauit interpretem, non dogmatisten, ingenium, non fidem, philosophum, non apostolum.*

³⁸ Jerome 1910-1912, vol. 1, p. 513, l. 20-21: *absit hoc de pedisequo Christi dicere, cui curae fuit non uerba et syllabas aucupari, sed sententias dogmatum ponere.*

the lowest place in the hierarchy of spiritual gifts, far from the prophets, apostles and Christ himself.³⁹ All these distinctions finally justified the ultimate difference, namely between a prophet and a translator, which was articulated by Jerome in his preface to the *Pentateuch*: 'it is one thing to be a prophet, another to be a translator. In the one case the Holy Ghost prophesies the future; in the other scholarship [*eruditio*], together with the resources of language [*uerborum copia*], conveys the meaning it apprehends'.⁴⁰ That sharp distinction between a grammarian and a prophet was repeated literally at least twice by Erasmus: in the preface to the *Annotationes* of Valla and later in an apologetic preface added to his second edition of the New Testament.⁴¹ In both cases Jerome's standpoint was used in order to justify the enterprise constantly undermined by the adversaries of biblical philology.

When Erasmus firmly stated in his preface to the *Annotationes* of Valla that 'the whole business of translating the Holy Scriptures is manifestly a grammarian's function', he was following in the footsteps of Jerome's *uates-interpres* distinction. However the meaning of this difference was twofold. As a grammatical phenomenon, the translation was liberated from any doctrinal implications. Secondly, the accurate biblical translation depended on the *eruditio* and *uerborum copia* rather than *spiritus sanctus*, that is on the philological proficiency rather than divine inspiration. It is highly significant that the general scope of competences making up the *eruditio* of a proper biblical translator, which Jerome outlined in his *Apologia aduersus libros Rufini*, was based on the instructions given by Cicero and in particular that of Quintilian. Furthermore, Jerome added that 'those who expound the Holy Scripture share a common method with those who explain a secular literature, whether in Greek or in Latin'.⁴² Indeed, these

³⁹ Jerome 2003, p. 4, l. 40-42: *Per istorum os [Apostoli] mihi Christus sonat, quos ante prophetas inter spiritalia charismata positos lego, in quibus ultimum paene gradum interpretes tenent.*

⁴⁰ Jerome 2003, p. 3, l. 29-30: *Aliud est enim uatem, aliud esse interpretem: ibi spiritus uentura praedicit, hic eruditio et uerborum copia ea quae intellegit transfert.*

⁴¹ CWE 2 (1975), p. 94, l. 147-164; LB VI, f. **4r.

⁴² Jerome 1982, p. 83: *Et hoc non solum sanctorum interpretes Scripturarum, sed saecularium quoque litterarum explanatores faciunt, tam Latinae linguae, quam Graecae.*

universal rules did correspond precisely to the task Quintilian assigned to the grammarian, namely to establish an authentic text (*emendata lectio*) and provide it with a commentary (*enarratio*).⁴³ Whereas in the *Apologia aduersus libros Rufini* one may read that the task of an interpreter is to compare the different statements in order to explain an obscure fragment or to identify it as spurious or damaged.⁴⁴ Consequently, Jerome explicitly described himself not only as a philosopher, orator and dialectician, but most of all as a *grammaticus*, that is a biblical scholar proficient in the biblical languages – Hebrew, Greek and Latin.⁴⁵ For according to Jerome, being a *grammaticus* was tantamount to being *homo trilinguis*, a requirement neither Valla nor Erasmus was able to meet.

Valla's first *Antidotum in Poggium* once again describes the scope of philology as the basic discipline for a biblical exegesis. He mutely used the *uates*–*interpres* distinction as well, but took it one step further. Just the same as the *interpres* proficient in philological sciences was distinguished from the divinely inspired *uates*, there should be an explicit difference between the *interpretatio* / *translatio* of a sacred text and the Holy Scripture itself. As a result, Valla was able to point out the exclusively man-made, that is textual and grammatical quality of the Vulgate or a biblical translation in general. With reference to his *Collatio Noui Testamenti* Valla declared:

if I correct anything, I do not correct the Holy Scripture, but only its translation. By undertaking this task I am a pious person rather than an insolent, and I'm doing nothing else than providing a better translation than that of the previous

⁴³ See *Institutio oratoria*, I, 4, 2-3. Regarding *enarratio* see I, 8, 13-18.

⁴⁴ Jerome 1982, p. 14-15: *Commentarii quid operis habent? Alterius dicta edisserunt, quae obscure scripta sunt plano sermone manifestant, multorum sententias replicant, et dicunt: Hunc locum quidam sic edisserunt, alii sic interpretantur, illi sensum suum et intellegentiam his testimoniis et hac nituntur ratione firmare, ut prudens lector, cum diuersas explanationes legerit et multorum uel probanda uel improbanda didicerit, iudicet quid uerius sit et, quasi bonus trapezita, adulterinae monetae pecuniam reprobet. Num diuersae interpretationis et contrariorum inter se sensuum tenebitur reus, qui in uno opere quod edisserit, expositiones posuerit plurimorum?*

⁴⁵ Jerome 1982, p. 79: *Ego philosophus, rhetor, grammaticus, dialecticus, Hebraeus, Graecus, Latinus, trilinguis.*

translator. This is my own translation, and unlike the previous one it should be called Holy Scripture, assuming that it would be possible to give it such a name. However, in the true sense of the word, Holy Scripture was written in Hebrew and Greek by the divinely inspired authors. This cannot be said about the Latin translation.⁴⁶

Having deprived the Vulgate of its former, centuries-old, but critically groundless pre-eminence in Western Christianity, Valla reduced the biblical translations to a textual phenomenon, which he believed was subject to doctrinally indifferent rules of grammar. Although Poggio tried to depict Valla as irreverent about Jerome and his own Latin version,⁴⁷ that change did not mean the questioning of Jerome's authority. As testified by several remarks in the *Collatio* and the *Annotationes*, Valla did not identify *interpres* with Jerome, but with a later reviser who was responsible for the Latin version circulating in the mid-fifteenth century, considerably different from that of Jerome lifetime.⁴⁸

In the preface to the *Collatio Noui Testamenti* Valla declared that his only purpose was to revise the Latin translation available in the middle of the fifteenth century. *Collatio*, as Valla admitted, meant to bring the translation to completion with the help of the same procedures once employed by Jerome, namely by establishing the authentic text through comparing the Latin Vulgate with the Greek New Testament, endowed with a linguistic and semantic commentary. Therefore, if the *Collatio* restored any authority it was merely a philological adequacy and credibility of the translated text. His attempt to patch up the Latin version and make it a more appropriate image of the *graeca ueritas* was undertaken by means of a heuristic approach, defined by Quin-

⁴⁶ Valla 1978, p. 112: *siquid emendo non Scripturam Sacram emendo, sed illius interpretationem, neque in eam contumeliosus sum, sed pius potius, nec aliud facio nisi quod melius quam prior interpres transfero, ut mea translatio si vera fuerit sit appellanda Sancta Scriptura, non illius. Et si proprie Scriptura Sancta sit ea que sancti ipsi vel Hebraice vel Grece scripserunt, nam Latinum nihil tale est.*

⁴⁷ Bracciolini 1964, p. 189: *Hieronymum improbat, asserens multa ab eo perperam in sacra scriptura esse in latinum traducta*; Bracciolini 1964, p. 199: *Scripturam sacram hic homo prophanus adeo contemnit, ut plura in ea non recte scripta asseueret. Notaui pauca e multis: In quibus beatum Hieronymum ut malum interpretem culpat.*

⁴⁸ See Linde 2015, p. 98-99. See also the footnote 59.

tilian as the *arce iudicium*.⁴⁹ With the deliberate use of the philological tools applied to biblical exegesis Valla actually became the first modern grammatical man, aware of his limitations, capabilities and goals. For at the same time he did not claim to be a theologian, at least not in the late mediaeval sense of the term.⁵⁰

The fundamental distinction between the *interpretatio* / *translatio* and the Holy Scripture (together with the corresponding competences of a grammarian and a theologian) was soon reinforced by Erasmus. In the prefatory letters to the *Nouum Instrumentum* and the *Annotationes* he pointed out that the very text of translation should be the exclusive domain of *grammaticus*. Theological matters (namely the mysteries of faith) fall outside his jurisdiction, since *grammaticus* had only to correct what is corrupt and explain what is obscure. His competences were relatively small, but it was the *grammaticus* more than anyone else who was able to lay the foundations for a theological examination. 'It is the least part of Scripture, what they call the letter; but this is the foundation on which rests the mystic meaning. This is only rubble; but rubble that carries the august weight of the whole marvelous edifice'.⁵¹ By means of the critical philology advocated and exercised by Valla and Erasmus the Vulgate was deprived of its previous authority of a sacred text and relegated to a man-made phenomenon that depends on linguistic proficiency rather than divine inspiration.

Genuine 'Authority' and the Freedom to 'Self-criticize'

As a central figure for the biblical philology Jerome not only equipped the early-modern Biblicists with the indispensable tools for a textual criticism, but also endowed their adversaries with the arguments against the enterprise undertaken by scholars like Valla or Erasmus.⁵² This paradox or simply a diverse influence

⁴⁹ Valla 1970, p. 3-10. See also Valla 2013, p. 91; Camporeale 1972, p. 101-108; Bentley 1983, p. 35-36.

⁵⁰ Cf. Monfasani 2000, p. 13.

⁵¹ CWE 3 (1976), p. 201, l. 116-118. See also CWE 4 (1977), p. 5, l. 65-67.

⁵² See for instance *De tralatione Bibliae* by Petrus Sutor, chapter 4 and 10 in particular. Sutor argues that Jerome introduced actually two different kinds of *interpretes*. The one making use of the grammatical tools in order to make the

of Jerome was recognized at the threshold of a modern biblical criticism. Already in his twenties Erasmus noticed that the encounter between Valla and Poggio resembled the famous dispute Jerome had with Rufinus. For the malicious remarks of Poggio did correspond to the attitude of Jerome's antagonist: 'This was the spirit in which [...] Rufinus criticized Jerome', Erasmus assessed.⁵³ Furthermore every single charge leveled against Erasmus was leveled against Jerome as well. For regarding the future works of Erasmus, apologetic and systematic writings in particular, Thomas More drew attention to these parallels in his famous letter to Martin van Dorp: 'a number of these bear on issues in which St Jerome himself not only sides with Erasmus by way of his personal example, as if in a judicial precedent, but has also in effect published his verdict in writing and ruled on Erasmus' behalf. For everything that you say to prevent any changes in scripture on the basis of Greek textual authorities was urged long ago against St Jerome and very powerfully refuted by him'.⁵⁴

The remark made by More obviously does not mean that the contemporaries of Erasmus recognized no difference between the attitudes of Jerome and Erasmus. Their close bond included, however, a feature that could introduce a subtle distinction between them. An extensive rhetorical proficiency, or to use Erasmus' own words – *eloquentia*, which had nothing in common with *loquentia* or *ματαιολογία*,⁵⁵ was a distinctive element

translations within a secular literature, while the other guided merely by the Holy Spirit translates the Bible. Consequently, the first element of *interpretatio* opposition is concerned with nothing but a secular literature, Sutor concludes. However that kind of an interpretation of Jerome was not invented by Sutor himself. We can find it in *Expositiones in Psalmos* by Jaime Perez de Valencia and in *Vocabularius theologiae* by Johann Altenstaig. In both cases the grammatical *interpretatio linguarum* was distinguished from the prophetic *interpretatio sermonum*.

⁵³ CWE 1 (1974), p. 46, l. 57-59.

⁵⁴ More 1986, p. 78-81, l. 20-26, 1: *in his Diuus etiam Hieronimus non suo solum exemplo quasi praeiudicio, Erasmi partem tueatur, sed totam litem quoque tanquam edita in scriptis sententia secundum eum pronunciauerit. Neque enim quicquam est quod tu, ne quicquam in scriptura mutetur e graecorum fide codicum prohibes, quod non olim aduersus Beatum Hieronimum et obiectum sit, et ab eo ualidissime confutatum.* On the controversy between More and van Dorp regarding the biblical philology of Erasmus see Holeczek 1975, p. 138-143, 147-165.

⁵⁵ CWE 1 (1974), p. 46, l. 45-46.

for Erasmus' intellectual identity. His preference for the principles of *accomodatio* and *consuetudo* over the synchronous principle of correctness, as witnessed in the *Ratio uerae theologiae* or the *Ecclesiastes*,⁵⁶ was aimed at the renovation of theology by subjecting the biblical commentaries and translations to the precepts of classical rhetoric.⁵⁷ Some humanists believed that by way of a profound rhetorical examination Erasmus was able to surpass the judicious approach exercised by Jerome. Mutianus Rufus, a scholar otherwise hardly inclined to humanist affectation, gave it a full yet conscience expression: 'I love Jerome as the most learned judge, I love Erasmus as the most eloquent critic'.⁵⁸ Regardless of this subtle difference between a *censor* and a *criticus*, Jerome's philological attitude remained a standard justifying the early-modern endeavors.

Neither Valla nor Erasmus rejected the authority of Jerome's translation or the authority in general. Both scholars rather declared themselves the modern heirs of Jerome.⁵⁹ From this point of view, the use of classical knowledge in the *Annotationes* and most of all in the *Nouum Instrumentum* of Erasmus should be recognized as a source of the new standards for a modern, truly hermeneutical form of authority, from now on associated with what Hans-Georg Gadamer once called 'a critical freedom'. One may wonder now, how it was possible that both scholars

⁵⁶ Holborn, p. 222, l. 6-8: *Legis testimonium ubique comprobat [Christus], licet aliter interpretans. Accomodauit sese his, quos ad sese trahere studebat. Ut homines seruaret, homo factus est.* See also the footnote 33.

⁵⁷ On the problem of so-called rhetorical theology or the Christianisation of an ancient rhetorical tradition as the ultimate vehicle for the renovated biblical interpretation see Hoffmann 1994, p. 18-60 and Walter 1991, p. 33-53, 154-198.

⁵⁸ Rufus 1885, p. 617: *Amo Hieronymum ut doctissimum censorem, amo Erasmus ut criticum eloquentissimum.*

⁵⁹ Valla 1970, p. 6, l. 3-14: *utique post summorum uirorum super Nouum Testamentum commentaria, ut ex quibusdam locis datur intelligi, que hinc repetita secus in libris Hieronymi leguntur; deinde quod si intra quadringentos omnino annos ita turbidi a fonte fluebant riui, uerisimile est post mille annos – tot enim fere ab Hieronymo ad hoc euum sunt – hunc riuum nunquam repurgatum sordes aliqua in parte ac limum contraxisse; postremo quod non Hieronymi translationem retracto, sed tanquam eius metentis spicas, que uel neglecte fuerunt uelut exiles uel manus effugerunt uel ligando exciderunt, quasi tenuis quidam pauperque consector, ex quibus aliquot manipuli ad alendam inopem familiam reportentur;* CWE 2 (1975), p. 26, l. 61-63.

seriously called the authority of Cicero and the Vulgate into question, and at the same time made Quintilian and Jerome the *nouum organon* of their own enterprise? Was it their random or whimsical choice? Not at all.

The disciplined use of the *iudicium* should redefine an obedient and mindless imitation of the longtime authorities. Valla and Erasmus, however, rejected the antithesis between authority and critique. Although both of them believed that most of the centuries-old authorities displaced the judgment and in fact expected a blind obedience, they were convinced that there were still the authors or texts which can successfully pass the exam of critical investigation, and retain (or obtain) their authoritativeness. In result such an authority had nothing to do with submission but only with the disciplined way of thinking.⁶⁰ According to both scholars the genuine form of authority had nothing to do with an authoritarianism. Their example proves that there is no antithesis between the tradition (being a form of authority) and its critical analysis. Furthermore, to cause any notable effect both the classical and Christian tradition need to be affirmed and preserved, and this can be achieved only by means of the *iudicium* exercised by those who take advantage of the tradition. Accordingly, it is hardly possible to speak either of the truth or falsity of authority in the logical meaning of the term. For the authority is either convincing or not; when it is efficient then it can be considered true in the pragmatic meaning of the term. For that reason Erasmus emphasized that the authority of tradition and the Church authority in particular was, so to speak, prescriptive rather than descriptive. For it handed down the arguments rather than the theses, and consequently such an authority was trying to convince rather than present him with a *fait accompli*.⁶¹

⁶⁰ See Gadamer 2006, p. 279-281.

⁶¹ LB X, 1304E: *sed mihi persuasum habeo Veteres et Ecclesiam ex ipsis per se quidem claris Scripturae locis asseruisse quod asseruerunt. Nec tamen statim hac in re auctoritas Ecclesiae interposuit suam sententiam, sed intentis aliquandiu oculis in Scripturae lucem, tandem perspecta manifesta ueritate pronuntiauit. Fit enim frequenter, ut qui a tenebris prodeunt, nihil uideant in media luce Solis, nisi aliquandiu intenderint oculos, et per tenebras quaedam non statim uidemus, sed intendentibus oculis paulatim incipiunt nobis esse perspicua, quae prius erant ambigua: quod idem accidit in rebus quae procul absunt a nobis. Sed ita ciuilitatis causa finxi, interpre-*

Thereby every single authority required its evaluation on principle. Being a truly human form of activity *iudicium* as the most disciplined example of interpretation derived its effectiveness solely from a philological and historical knowledge. In consequence, so-called *certa auctoritas interpretandi*, willingly self-attributed by some of Erasmus' adversaries, was in his view triply wrong.⁶² Such an interpretation bent itself to the divine inspiration exclusively, and therefore could not grant the tradition any instructive and supportive significance. Ultimately, it was a human language alone, as a socially and historically saturated and thus opaque phenomenon, that constantly made every single interpretation dubious rather than reliable. For the sake of understanding a word it was necessary then to value the tradition above the individual judgment.

This was the way Valla and Erasmus were making use of Jerome, this was also the reason they tried to correct rather than reject the Vulgate. Valla, and Erasmus in particular, left no doubt that endowing someone or something with an authority was an act of deliberate and judicious acknowledgment. That founding act of the modern, productive authority consisted also in being aware of man's own limitations, and of the superiority of the other in judgment and insight. Such a conviction ultimately neutralized not only the said antithesis between critique and authority but also that between freedom and authority. In other words, the genuine form of authority depended on the indispensable right to exercise the *iudicium*. This kind of analysis, however, should always include a self-analysis. Thereby to criticize oneself, as clearly testified by the Erasmian skepticism, was the most creative form of criticism. This is exactly 'a critical freedom', namely 'the freedom – Gadamer explains – to criti-

tationem utriusque partis esse ambiguam, ut rebus aequatis, ostenderes aliquid quod nos in medio uacillantes in tuam partem inclinaret.

⁶² LB X, 1319B-C: *Nunc uide quas leges praescribas [Lutherus] nondum uictor, Deponite quicquid armaturae suppeditant orthodoxi Veteres, Theologorum Scholae, auctoritas Conciliorum & Pontificum, consensus tot seculorum, ac totius populi Christiani. Nihil recipimus nisi Scripturas, sed sic ut penes nos solos sit certa auctoritas interpretandi. Quod nos interpretamur, hoc sensit Spiritus Sanctus, quod adferunt alii quamuis magni, quamuis multi, a spiritu Satanae, & alienata mente profectum est.*

cism, and the most difficult form of criticism is certainly a self-criticism'.⁶³ Limited self-confidence together with the disciplined use of critique constitutes the cognitively positive relation between the *iudicium* and *auctoritas*. As such, an interdependence of these two elements enabled Valla and Erasmus to define the philological criteria for the genuine authority.

Valla 'exhibited an independence of thought that often refreshed, but infrequently agitated his contemporaries. He had the provocative habit of formulating old problems in new terms, then establishing new rules and employing new method in order to solve them', Jerry Bentley once observed.⁶⁴ One should add that it was not a habit, but a deliberate, methodically conducted way of thinking. Above all, it was not Valla's own privilege but a scientific directive he imposed on every true scholar. In the *Elegantiae* he articulated exactly that kind of relation between the critical analysis, self-analysis and the authority: 'although we are both the accusers and judges, but we can equally be accused and judged by the others if we do not fulfill properly our duties of the authors and judges'.⁶⁵ Erasmus, however, went even further. Regardless of his considerable effort, he never ascribed himself an exclusive right to pass an ultimate judgment. His apologetic preface to the *Nouum Instrumentum* gives a brief, yet convincing evidence of that genuine Erasmian attitude. 'I frankly confess that there are numerous things that could have been handled in a more skillful way, and no one can deny that my attention become weaker and I was drowsing in several places'.⁶⁶ It should be added that Erasmus explicitly considered his translation neither certain nor definitive; in a truly hermeneutical manner he designed it to provide the other users of Christian tradition with useful assistance.⁶⁷ Indeed, the *Nouum Instrumentum* was

⁶³ Gadamer 1993, p. 156-157.

⁶⁴ Bentley 1983, p. 32.

⁶⁵ Valla 1952, p. 630: *Sumus autem accusatores quidam simul et iudices, sed qui aliorum pariter accusationem iudiciumque subeamus, nisi legitime et auctoris et iudicis fuerimus officio functi.*

⁶⁶ Holborn, p. 173-174, l. 35-36, 1.1: *ingenue fateor esse permulta, quae doctius tractari potuissent, ut non infitias eo locis aliquot a me dormitasse lassum.*

⁶⁷ Holborn, p. 171, l. 12-15: *Proinde non ita tradimus hanc lectionem, quasi certa indubita sint omnia, sed quod ex nostra emendatione accedentibus annotamentis non mediocriter adiuuandus sit lector uigilans et attentus.*

‘rushed into print rather than edited’, Erasmus admitted.⁶⁸ Consequently, he provided the text that certainly deserved a more learned or simply a more scrupulous treatment. Nevertheless, these concluding remarks of the *Apologia* should be considered as a methodical statement, well-thought-out strategy rather than a rhetorical affectation. For it was the expression of that form of self-criticism Erasmus never ceased to exercise. Truth neither was his own property, nor did he want to have an exclusive right to it. When Erasmus once tried to describe his own intellectual standpoint, he compared himself with the statues of Mercury – many-headed and therefore peering in the different directions. Although these statues were leading the way at the crossroads, in fact they never reached the goal.⁶⁹ Without the authority or rather the support of critically examined tradition a modern philologist could not do anything.

‘Membra fere deiacta’ or Conclusion

The discovery of a methodically disciplined critique, able to transcend the secular and sacred sanctities, marks both the rise of the modern grammarian and the new understanding of a genuinely man-made reality. In the name of the pragmatic criterion of language usage the *homo grammaticus* was able to outdate the humanist principle of imitation, while his own principle of critical investigation called into question the literary paradigm of the Quattrocento humanism, since the tools he used were equally advantageous to examine the secular and sacred texts. Textual criticism, broad classical erudition, proficiency in the ancient and biblical Greek as well as in the different Latins together with the analyses of a biblical text by means of a large number of sermocinical methods; all compose the story of Valla and Erasmus each of us is more or less familiar with.⁷⁰ It should be underlined then

⁶⁸ CWE 5 (1979), p. 167, l. 19.

⁶⁹ Holborn, p. 178, l. 1-3: *certe Mercuriales illas statuas πολυκεφάλους, quae quondam in compitis poni solitae suo nonnunquam indicio uiatorem eo prouehunt, quo nunquam ipsae sint peruenturae.*

⁷⁰ Among a large number of relevant titles the following works are particularly instructive: Winkler 1974; Holeczek 1975; Chomarat 1979; 1981; 1995; Stupperich 1980; Bentley 1983; Krüger 1986; Rummel 1986; Walter 1991; Rabil 1993; Celenza 1994; Hoffmann 1994; de Lang 2016.

that the significance of the *homo grammaticus* consisted not only in his scientific endeavors but also in his groundbreaking attempt to give the culture a deliberately plural form. For the difference between Valla and Erasmus on the one hand and most of their contemporaries on the other did not consist in using sermocinal tools (after all being the distinctive element of the *studia humanitatis*) but first and foremost in the distinct ways of the imitative or critical reasoning. While the first difference was merely a matter of degree, the second was essential. However, the replacement of *imitatio* by *iudicium* was by no means tantamount to giving up the one tool for understanding in the name of the other. It did stand for a complete overhaul of the humanistic paradigm where the verification and falsification of the longtime classical as well as Christian authorities was a challenge of the greatest importance. For the main issue in question was the diversified ideas of authority and therefore also the choice made between the two different vehicles for cultural transmission – either to submit oneself to the authority of tradition or to examine the tradition in order to untie its authority from authoritarianism. Even though this was the difference Poggio and some of Erasmus' adversaries failed to understand, we still have to take it into consideration (or simply to ask what the authority could have stood for) before discussing the authority of different sources or rather their authoritativeness. Despite being ignorant about that slight yet crucial distinction between bestowing and earning the authority, Poggio and many of Erasmus' critics noticed that regardless of his scientific activity the *homo grammaticus* played outside his office a decisive role in unleashing the ulterior force behind the cultural phenomena, the one which could and actually did cause a thorough change in the cultural universe.

Far removed from being the one who desired to crack the code of codes or to find the universal structure of structures the *homo grammaticus* finally made it possible to unveil that every monomaniacal approach towards the man-made reality was designed by those who advocated a particular paradigm as the only acceptable and valuable. Thanks to Valla and Erasmus the principle of *iudicium* was doubly advantageous. It made a rediscovery of the historical origin of cultural universe possible and therefore exposed the objectives of a monomaniac as nothing but

a hypostasis. Their philological proficiency and detailed examination of the different texts in order to determine their different meanings enabled Valla and Erasmus to finally reach a conclusion that every human activity, including a translation or language in general, consisted of idiosyncrasies which not only could not be neutralized but should in principle be restored and emphasized. It is reasonable then to admit that the modern grammarian was actually taking the view from the overlooked margins (or at least he was able to do so), instead of following up what was time-honored and constantly repeated. As a result, he not only made it easier to understand that the *imitatio antiquorum* was actually insufficient for verbalizing individual thoughts and understanding what was written, but also let those who were excluded by the monomaniacs, either because they did not match the established paradigm of culture or were the spokesmen for a different one, get a word in edgewise. Moreover, if one and the same word did constantly differ according to the time and place, the entire cultural universe would finally become a multivoiced phenomenon. For the critical reasoning together with the *consuetudo* as the basic dimension of every language (rather than *ratio* advocated by the monomaniac) turned out to be the powerful instrument of differentiation and pluralization. In the long run it ultimately laid the ground for the radical deontologization of human values, religion, politics and knowledge, of which all were matter of a practical agreement and convention more than anything else. By taking the critical attitude towards tradition instead of repeating the time-honored patterns, the modern grammarian was calling into question what was previously considered unquestionable, he was pulling to pieces and making heterogeneous what the principle of *imitatio* once tended to consider homogeneous and permanent. All that, however, not for the sake of confusion, but for a better understanding of newly discovered singularities. Indeed, the pen used by the *homo grammaticus*, whether impertinent or not, did upset every single aspect of the man-made reality.

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Abstract

Before the publication of *Nouum Instrumentum* Desiderius Erasmus discovered and published the manuscript of the *In latinam Noui Testamenti interpretationem adnotationes* by Lorenzo Valla. In the preface to his edition Erasmus stated that, according to the theologians offended by Valla's notes, *homo grammaticus* 'has upset every department of learning'. Although Erasmus did not coin the notion

of the *homo grammaticus*, he certainly invested it with a new, genuinely modern meaning. For not until the beginning of sixteenth century the *homo grammaticus* ceased to be an impartial concept used in the metaphysical analysis of *modi significandi*, as witnessed by numerous mediaeval authors and even by Valla himself. Following the rise of fifteenth-century biblical philology the *homo grammaticus* became a *nomen criminis*, a name given to the enemy of Cicero and Vulgate – the patrons of classical and Christian tradition.

This article aims at identifying abilities and motivations of the modern *homo grammaticus* from the two different perspectives. According to the charges leveled by Poggio Bracciolini against Valla, it examines subversive motivations of the *homo grammaticus* – instead of being a *corrector* of classical and Christian tradition, he turned out to be its *corruptor*, namely the one who deprives Latin writers (Cicero and Jerome in particular) of their centuries-old authority. From the opposite standpoint the article focuses on the clarifications Valla and Erasmus provided to defend their own philological enterprise. Both were keen to use the authority of Quintilian and Jerome as a sounding board for the arguments in favor of critical yet heuristic attitude of the *homo grammaticus*, and against those who saw merely destructive motivations in philology applied to the biblical studies. Quintilian's preference of the *iudicium* to *imitatio* and of the language usage (*consuetudo*) to grammar allowed Valla and Erasmus to call in question the model of culture which relied on uncritical imitation of the longtime classical and Christian authorities. Moreover, the crucial *uates–interpres* distinction, introduced by Jerome, prompted Valla and Erasmus to acknowledge textual rather than supernatural character of the Septuagint and Vulgate. Consequently, this article aims at answering the fundamental question of how the translation of the Bible, by means of a critical philology, was deprived of its previous authority of a sacred text and relegated to a phenomenon that depends upon the linguistic proficiency rather than the divine inspiration. From this point of view, Erasmus' use of classical knowledge in his *Nouum Instrumentum* can be recognized as a source of the brand new standards for a modern, truly hermeneutical authoritativeness, that is associated with what Hans-Georg Gadamer once called the *kritischer Freiheit*.

HENK JAN DE JONGE

TRADITIONAL FEATURES IN ERASMUS' *NOVUM INSTRUMENTUM* AND THE ORDER OF THE WRITINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Introduction

In many respects Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum*, published in 1516, was an innovative achievement.¹ For the first time in more than a thousand years, it supplied a large readership with a new Latin version of the whole New Testament.² With this new version and his annotations, Erasmus made his readers realize that the Vulgate of old was not the only possible, sacrosanct text of the New Testament: its wording could be criticized on text-critical, linguistic and stylistic grounds, and was susceptible to discussion and the admission of alternatives. Erasmus made it clear that a translation can always be critically re-examined and reconsidered in the light of its source text. He explained that a new era required a new translation and that the value of each translation depends on various factors, such as its objective, its intended readers (in his case mainly theologians and clergy) and their educational level. By publishing a Greek text Erasmus, for the first time in history, made it possible for substantial numbers of interested persons to read the New Testament in its original language and to experience the particularities and nuances of its idiom. From now on the correctness of old and new translations of the New Testament could be verified against a text in its original lan-

¹ I wish to thank Mr T. van Lopik (Leidschendam) for his critical comments on prior drafts of this essay and Dr J. C. Grayson (Merseyside) for correcting its English.

² For an appreciation of the innovative character of the *Nouum Instrumentum*, see Barral-Baron 2016.

guage. For the first time there was now a Greek text that could serve as a fixed standard in collating Greek manuscripts. In a sense, both the Greek and the Latin texts in Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum* challenged the authority and supremacy of the Vulgate.³ Finally, in the *Annotationes* Erasmus offered a detailed philological justification of the choices he had made in his Latin translation. Carrying on the work of Jerome and Valla, he opened a large-scale philological discussion about the meanings of words and phrases in the Greek New Testament and how they could best be rendered in correct, elegant Latin.⁴

Thus, in the *Nouum Instrumentum* one can observe much that is new and innovative. However, by virtue of its nature as a translation and, to a lesser degree, as a text edition, this work also contains an immense amount of tradition, of all sorts and on many levels. In this essay I want to call attention to some aspects of Erasmus' New Testament in which tradition is more apparent than innovation.

1. *Erasmus' Nouum Instrumentum and Nouum Testamentum as a Latin Book*

Among historians and New Testament scholars, the *Nouum Instrumentum* of Erasmus is widely known as 'the first edition (*editio princeps*) of the Greek New Testament'.⁵ A recent textbook on New Testament textual criticism, published in 2015,⁶ states that Erasmus 'published an edition of the Greek New Testament on March 1, 1516' and that 'Johann Froben marketed Erasmus' edition as the first published Greek edition (the *editio princeps*)'. However, the title-page of the *Nouum Instrumentum* announces

³ Parker 1997, p. 29.

⁴ It should be noticed that in the first and later editions of his *Annotationes* Erasmus also included an increasing number of comments of polemical, dogmatic-theological and practical-theological purport. After all, from the very beginning the purpose of Erasmus' editions of the New Testament was to promote the knowledge and practice of the *philosophia Christi* and the expulsion of scholastic theology. For the theological element in the *Annotationes*, see, e.g., Rummel 1986, p. 124-180; van Poll-van de Lisdonk, Introduction to ASD VI/10, p. xlv-xlviii; van Poll-van de Lisdonk 2016a; Christ-von Wedel 2016, p. 54-57, 135-136.

⁵ See, e.g., Aland 1987, p. 3.

⁶ Porter & Pitts 2015, p. 138.

the book unambiguously and unmistakably as an edition, not of a Greek text, but of the New Testament in Latin.⁷ And in a letter to the reader, printed on the verso of the title-page, Johann Froben recommends the book to the public by claiming that it stands for the ambition of his firm to produce 'good authors' (*auctores boni*), but he does not mention that the book contains the New Testament in Greek. It is understandable that in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries historians and New Testament critics came to regard the *Nouum Instrumentum* as an edition of the Greek New Testament, since for them the Greek text became more relevant than Erasmus' translation. After all, the *Nouum Instrumentum* did indeed include the first published printed Greek text of the New Testament. J. J. Wettstein, for instance, praised Erasmus 'because he was the first to publish the Greek New Testament' (*quod Nouum Testamentum Graecum primus typis publicauit*). True, Wettstein was aware that Erasmus' editions also contained his Latin version; but he shows no interest in this Latin text; he is interested only in the Greek.⁸ However, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Erasmus' bilingual editions of the New Testament were seen first and foremost as editions of his new Latin version. To assess them as editions of the Greek New Testament is anachronistic and historically incorrect. In Erasmus' opinion and that of his contemporaries, his goal and great achievement was to produce a new translation of the New Testament in Latin. The praise and criticism the book encountered were levelled almost exclusively at the Latin version,

⁷ *Nouum Instrumentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum et emendatum, non solum ad Graecam ueritatem, uerumetiam ad multorum utriusque linguae codicum [...], una cum Annotationibus, quae lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit. [...]. Neque statim offendere, si quid mutatum offenderis, sed expende, num in melius mutatum sit.* That is, 'The whole New Testament, carefully revised and corrected by Erasmus of Rotterdam, not only on the basis of the Greek source text, but also according to many manuscripts in Greek and Latin. Together with Annotations which should inform the reader what has been changed, and for what reason. Please don't be immediately offended if you find that something has been changed, but consider whether it has been changed for the better'. With *recognitum*, *emendatum* and *mutatum*, Erasmus can only be referring to a revision, correction and alteration of a Latin text of the New Testament, for until then there was no Greek edition that could be revised, corrected or altered. See de Jonge 1984a.

⁸ Wettstein 1751, vol. 1, p. 120-132.

not at the Greek text. The Greek text in the *Nouum Instrumentum* played a subsidiary, auxiliary and subordinate part: it had to justify the choices Erasmus had made in his Latin translation.⁹ In his *Apologia* included in the *Nouum Instrumentum* and in all later folio editions of Erasmus' New Testament, he points out that he has had the Greek text printed alongside his Latin translation in parallel columns in order that, if a reader is surprised by something new in the Latin text, he can turn immediately to the Greek to see if the new expression is perhaps an improvement as compared to the Vulgate. 'To make this verification the more convenient, we have added the Greek alongside the Latin'.¹⁰ Thus, the Greek text is an 'addition', a *gelehrte Beigabe*, added in support and defence of the choices made in the Latin translation. The same applies to the *Annotationes*: these too had a subsidiary function in relation to Erasmus' new version of the New Testament in Latin.¹¹ Erasmus regarded both the Greek text and the *Annotationes* as supportive evidence with regard to the Latin translation.¹²

It is also true that Erasmus' editions of the New Testament, apart from the Latin and Greek texts and the *Annotationes*, include several Greek paratexts deriving from early Christian and Byzantine tradition, such as Eusebius' canon tables, chapter lists, *hypotheses* (summaries), biographies and subscriptions to the Letters.¹³ But the framework within which Erasmus presented all this Greek material to his readers was a Latin book in which the Latin version of the New Testament was the principal constituent.

⁹ Brown, Introduction to ASD VI/2, p. 9, rightly observes that Erasmus' Greek New Testament text 'provided a justification for the new Latin translation which accompanied it'.

¹⁰ *Apologia*, in Holborn, p. 170, l. 17-18: *Quod quo promptius esset, illa e regione adiecimus*. Cf. Erasmus, ep. 337 to M. Dorpius, May 1515 (Allen II [1910], p. 113, l. 862-867): *Nos uniuersum Testamentum Nouum ad Graecorum exemplaria uertimus, additis e regione Graecis, quo cuius promptum sit conferre. Adiecimus separatim Annotationes, in quibus partim argumentis, partim ueterum auctoritate theologorum docemus non temere mutatum quod emendauimus, ne uel fide careat nostra correctio [...]*.

¹¹ Rummel 1986, p. 29, 181.

¹² At the same time Erasmus as a philologist was of course convinced that any new translation of the New Testament had to be based on the authority of the Greek evidence, the *Graeca ueritas*.

¹³ See Wallraff 2016 for an excellent discussion of this aspect of Erasmus' New Testament editions.

This assessment of the interrelations between the three main components of the *Nouum Instrumentum* is not new. I have argued it in a number of publications since 1982.¹⁴ Initially, it met with reserve and some resistance. Jerry Bentley criticized my position by asserting, wrongly, that Erasmus did not yet present his Latin translation in the *Nouum Instrumentum*, but only in 1519 in the second edition.¹⁵ This misrepresentation was definitively refuted by Andrew Brown in 1984.¹⁶ Reynolds and Wilson, too, censured my view and defended the conventional view of the *Nouum Instrumentum* as an edition of the Greek text by pointing out, *inter alia*, that Erasmus collated both Greek and Latin manuscripts.¹⁷

However, my interpretation of Erasmus' work as primarily an edition of the New Testament in Latin, has gradually been adopted by several specialists in Erasmian studies.¹⁸ The reason why I mention it here again is that, if we understand that Erasmus considered the Latin translation the most important component of his New Testament editions, we begin to realize that he continued to look upon the New Testament as a Latin book and as part of Latin culture and Latin tradition. Erasmus still conceived

¹⁴ See de Jonge 1982; de Jonge, Introduction to ASD IX/2, p. 1-4; de Jonge 1984a; 1988; 2016.

¹⁵ Bentley 1983, p. 114.

¹⁶ Brown 1984.

¹⁷ Reynolds & Wilson 1991, p. 280. The passage remained unaltered in Reynolds & Wilson 2013, p. 284.

¹⁸ See, e.g., Screech, Introduction to Erasmus 1986, p. xii; Augustijn 1986, p. 81; Brandt 1998, p. 120-124; Krans 2006, p. 13; van Poll-van de Lisdonk, Introduction to ASD VI/10, p. xii, xiii; van Poll-van de Lisdonk 2016b, p. 176: 'Die wichtigste und allgemein akzeptierte These ist, dass eine neue lateinische Fassung des Neuen Testaments Erasmus' Hauptziel gewesen sei'; Vessey 2016, p. 21: 'The theoretical primacy of the Latin text in Erasmus' conception of the *Nouum Instrumentum* has been solidly established by de Jonge'; Elliott 2016, p. 13: 'it was a purified enhanced Latin New Testament that Erasmus wished to promote [...]'; McDonald 2016a, p. 44: 'Erasmus's original intention was to revise the Latin Vulgate New Testament. [...] Accordingly, he presented a parallel Greek text to justify his alterations to the Latin'; Schierl 2016a, p. 38; 2016b, p. 111: 'Der Briefwechsel mit Dorp zeigt, dass für Erasmus und für seine Zeitgenossen die lateinische Übersetzung im Mittelpunkt stand. [...] Sein [Erasmus'] Hauptanliegen war eine Übersetzung [...]'; Dill 2016, p. 67-68; Do 2016, p. 148-153; McDonald 2016b, p. 6: 'In 1516, Erasmus [...] published an edition of the New Testament containing a humanistic revision of the Latin Vulgate and a parallel Greek text to support his revisions'; Hardy 2017, p. 22.

of the New Testament as a Latin work. True, he was aware that its translation had to be based on the Greek source text. But to fulfil its task in church and society, the New Testament had to be a book in Latin. Erasmus did not reject the notion of translations of the Bible in the vernaculars – on the contrary, he pleaded for vernacular Bible reading,¹⁹ but he did not deem it his task to help to produce such translations. He wanted church and society to be reformed in conformity with the wisdom of Christ; therefore, he wanted the wisdom of Christ to be effectively imparted to the leaders in church and society: princes, bishops and clergy. This implied that the New Testament had to be a book in Latin, as it had been for more than a thousand years. Erasmus' concept of the New Testament as a document in Latin reflects a most tenacious tradition which goes back to the Vulgate of the fourth century and the Old Latin versions of the second century. It is in the first place this *Latin* tradition which the *Nouum Instrumentum* carries on.

2. *The Traditional Character of Erasmus' Translation*

Not just Erasmus' idea of the Bible as a Latin book, but also the shape of his new version was markedly traditional in nature. Actually, it was not a new translation at all, but a revision of the Vulgate, that is, of the Vulgate as it was printed in editions of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁰ What Erasmus gave to the typesetters in 1516 was not a Latin translation made and written out by himself, but a copy of a printed edition of the Vulgate (probably a recent edition printed by Froben) with his manuscript corrections. These corrections aimed, firstly, to improve

¹⁹ See *Apologia* (1516), in Holborn, p. 142, l. 15-23, a passage which echoes Paula's account of her life with Jerome at Bethlehem; see Jerome, *Ep.* 46.12 (Jerome 1910, p. 342-343): *Extra Psalmos silentium est. Quocumque te uertaris, arator stiuam tenens, alleluia decantat. Sudans messor Psalmis se auocat, et curua adtondens uitem falce uinitor, aliquid Dauidicum canit. Haec sunt in hac prouincia carmina.* Erasmus advocated lay Bible reading again in the preface to his *In Matthaei Euangelium Paraphrasis* (1521/22), ed. J. Clericus (Leiden: van der Aa, 1706), f. **2v. For a recent edition of this preface to the paraphrase on Mt., see Erasmus 2005. For Erasmus' appreciation of vernacular Bible reading, see Holeczek 1975, p. 186-202, 224-245; Thompson 1977; and François 2005.

²⁰ De Jonge 2016.

the Latin of the translation in conformity with the idiom of good classical authors of the first centuries BCE and CE; secondly, to remove transcriptional corruption in the Vulgate; and thirdly, to correct translation errors in the Vulgate in the light of the Greek source text. Erasmus introduced his corrections on the basis of his comparisons of the recent, printed form of the Vulgate with various older sources, namely, (1) various Greek manuscripts, (2) some old Latin manuscripts, (3) some editions of the Vulgate,²¹ (4) editions and manuscripts of Greek and Latin church fathers, (5) medieval commentators, and (6) the works of some humanist scholars, especially Lorenzo Valla and Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples). It is clear that Erasmus, in order to renew the form of the Latin New Testament, appealed to all sorts of earlier tradition. In each of the later editions of his New Testament (1519, 1522, 1527, 1535), he introduced more changes in the Vulgate which served as his starting point, but the basis of his translation continued to be the Vulgate. Complete verses of the Vulgate remained intact; for instance, in the beatitudes of Mt. 5. 6-8, there is not the slightest difference between the final form of Erasmus' translation as printed in 1535 and the Vulgate. My estimate is that even in the latest and definitive version of the Latin translation, sixty per cent of the wording of the Vulgate is still intact.²² Andrew Brown has pointed out that there is a remarkable inconsistency in the intensity with which Erasmus revised the Vulgate text. In many passages he simply retained the Vulgate wording without alteration. Elsewhere he changed the text only slightly. At still other places he rewrote the Vulgate extensively.²³ In 1516, Erasmus retained Ioh. 1. 1-13 without change, but redrafted Act. 1. 1-7 drastically.²⁴ To quote Brown:

²¹ As early as 1516 Erasmus was acquainted with printed editions of the Vulgate featuring the critical apparatus of textual variants compiled by Albertus Castellanus. See Erasmus' *Apologia* in Holborn, p. 167: *codices typis etiam excusi cum annotamentis marginalibus (+ quae declarant uarietatem lectionis, 1527)*. Castellanus' critical apparatus appeared in Vulgate editions printed in Venice in 1511 and in Lyons in 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515 (twice) and 1516. For Erasmus' knowledge of Castellanus' critical apparatus, see de Jonge 1977. For Castellanus, see also Kaulen 1868, p. 359.

²² De Jonge 1984b, p. 82.

²³ Brown, Introduction to ASD VI/2, p. 2.

²⁴ Brown, Introduction to ASD VI/2, p. 2-3.

It seems that, in the first edition of his translation, Erasmus devoted most effort to his rendering of the Epistles and the first two Gospels, but did less work on Acts, and spent even less time on Luke, John and the Apocalypse. This may reflect the chronological order in which he worked on the various New Testament books.²⁵

In any case, the Vulgate always remained the recognizable basis of Erasmus' translation. However much this translation struck friend and foe alike through its newness, however much it was an original, creative endeavour,²⁶ its principal feature remained that it was anchored in the Vulgate.²⁷

3. *The Introductory Writings in Erasmus' New Testament Editions*

The *Nouum Instrumentum* opens with three introductory writings composed by Erasmus: the *Paraclesis*, the *Methodus* and the *Apologia*.²⁸ The *Paraclesis* is an 'Exhortation' to study with devotion the wisdom of Christ (*philosophia Christi*) as contained and expressed in the Gospels and apostolic writings. In the *Methodus*, 'The right method', Erasmus explains how one should proceed exegetically to attain to Christ's wisdom in these writings. The *Apologia* is Erasmus' 'Defence' of his new Latin version of the New Testament. The *Paraclesis* and the *Apologia* were revised and reprinted in all later editions of Erasmus' New Testament. The *Methodus* was considerably expanded and published separately in 1518 and later years.²⁹

The contents of these three writings are so typically Erasmian that an unsuspecting reader might easily take them for the spon-

²⁵ Brown, Introduction to ASD VI/2, p. 3.

²⁶ Brown, Introduction to ASD VI/2, p. 2.

²⁷ Kaulen's judgment was slightly uncharitable, but not entirely groundless (Kaulen 1868, p. 319): in his view Erasmus' translation was 'ein Mittelding zwischen der Vulgata und einer ganz selbständigen Übertragung; sie ist, wenn der Ausdruck nichts Ungereimtes enthält, die Vulgata in klassischem Latein aufgeputzt'.

²⁸ For a critical edition of these texts, see Holborn, p. 137-173 (CWE 41, p. 389-477).

²⁹ Under the title *Ratio seu Methodus compendio perueniendi ad ueram theologiam*; Holborn, p. 175-305.

taneous, creative expression of Erasmus' own intellectual initiative and thought. Yet it is very probable that Erasmus owed the idea of opening his New Testament with the *Paraclesis* and the *Methodus*, perhaps unconsciously, to the occurrence of certain paratexts in a number of printed editions of the Vulgate. As to the *Paraclesis*, from the year 1491 several printed editions of the Vulgate include a short preface entitled *Ad diuinarum litterarum uerarumque diuitiarum amatores exhortatio* ('Exhortation to those who love the divine Scriptures and true riches').³⁰ This is an exhortation to read the Bible carefully and attentively. It occurs in the following editions:

- (1) Basel: Johannes Froben, 27 June 1491, 8° (GW 4269)³¹
- (2) Basel: Johannes Froben, 1495, 8° (GW 4275)
- (3) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, 1506, folio (D&M 6091)
- (4) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, 1509, folio (D&M note after 6091)
- (5) Lyons: Jacobus Mareschal, 1510, 8° (D&M 6093)
- (6) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, 1511, 8° (D&M 6094)
- (7) Venice: Lucas Antonius Giunta, 1511, 4° (University College London)
- (8) Basel: Johannes Petri & Johannes Froben, 25 August 1509, folio (D&M note after 6092)³²
- (9) Basel: Johannes Froben, 1 June 1514, folio (D&M note after 6092)³³
- (10) Lyons: Jacobus Mareschal, 15 October, 1514, 8° (D&M note after 6093)
- (11) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, expensis Anthonii Koberger, 1515, folio (Leiden, Univ. Libr.)³⁴

³⁰ For this *Exhortatio* and its text, see also Kaulen 1868, p. 307; Quentin 1922, p. 82.

³¹ For the meaning of the sigla GW and D&M, see the list of references at the end of this article. In D&M, Latin Bibles are listed and discussed in vol. II, 2, 1903.

³² I consulted the copies Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Ki. Ar. I. 1.4 and F. G. III. 7.

³³ I consulted the copy Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, 8 H V. 8.

³⁴ This list does not claim to be exhaustive.

The *Exhortatio* is much shorter than Erasmus' *Paraclesis*. It normally takes up only one whole page or less. But Erasmus certainly knew several of the Vulgate editions in which the *Exhortatio* occurs.³⁵ In composing his *Paraclesis* and including it in his New Testament editions, he is very likely to have been influenced by the tradition of the *Exhortatio* included in recent Vulgate editions.

Erasmus' *Methodus*, too, has its counterpart in editions of the Vulgate. A tract entitled *Modi intelligendi sacram Scripturam* ('The methods of interpreting Holy Scripture') figures among the preliminaries of many printed editions of the Vulgate published in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. This short treatise, which also fills only about one page or less, describes and illustrates the four senses of Scripture according to the late medieval system of biblical hermeneutics, that is, the historical or literal, tropological, allegorical and anagogical sense.³⁶ Vulgate editions in which this treatise occurs include:

- (1) Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 24 November 1487, folio (Hain 3100; D&M note after 6086)
- (2) Basel: Johannes Froben, 27 June 1491, 8° (GW 4269)
- (3) Venice: Hieronymus de Paganinis Brixienis, 1492, 8° (GW 4271; D&M 6087)
- (4) Venice: Simon Bevilacqua, 1494, 4° (GW 4274; D&M note after 1498)
- (5) Brescia: Angelus & Jacobus Britannicus, 29 December 1496, 8° (GW 4276)
- (6) Venice: Hieronymus de Paganinis, 8 September 1497, 8° (GW 4278)
- (7) Venice: Hieronymus de Paganinis, 1501, 8° (Quentin 1922, p. 83)
- (8) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, 1506, folio (D&M 6091)

³⁵ Erasmus owned a copy of (8) or (9); see the so-called 'Versandliste' (see below in this n.), no. 220. He probably also owned a copy of (3) or (4); see 'Versandliste', no. 225. He has certainly seen (1), see Jenny 1986, p. 219; and (9), the most recent Bible edition published by Froben before Erasmus' arrival in Basel in 1515. For the 'Versandliste', see Husner 1936, p. 228-259, and van Gulik 2018.

³⁶ Quentin 1922, p. 84.

- (9) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, 1509, folio (D&M note after 6091)
- (10) Basel: Johannes Petri & Johannes Froben, 25 August 1509, folio (D&M note after 6092)
- (11) Venice: Lucas Antonius Giunta, 1511, 4° (University College London)
- (12) Basel: Johannes Froben, 1 June 1514, folio (D&M note after 6092)
- (13) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, 1515, 8° (*Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, p. 375)³⁷
- (14) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, expensis Anthonii Koberger, 1515, folio (Leiden, Univ. Libr.)
- (15) Complutum (Alcalá): Arnaldus Guillelmus de Brocario, folio, 1517.³⁸

In 1516, Erasmus felt dissatisfied with the traditional hermeneutics of the fourfold sense of Scripture.³⁹ He declared: 'It no longer suffices to consider how the eternal truth shines out in various ways from everything according to the historical, tropological, allegorical and anagogical sense'.⁴⁰ Small wonder then that in his *Nouum Instrumentum* he replaced the traditional preface *Modi intelligendi sacram Scripturam* with a treatise composed by himself, the *Methodus*, in which he expounds his own views on how one should study the New Testament in order to interiorize the philosophy of Christ. Apart from suggesting various refinements and improvements of the traditional methodology of exegesis, Erasmus develops here his own humanistic hermeneutics, strongly influenced by Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*. There can be lit-

³⁷ Pettigrew 1827, p. 375.

³⁸ That is, the Complutensian Polyglot, where the tract *Modi intelligendi sacram Scripturam* appears among the preliminary matter early in volume 1. The list just given does not claim to be exhaustive.

³⁹ For an excellent discussion of Erasmus' attitude towards the *quadrigena sensuum*, see Walter 1991, p. 223-226.

⁴⁰ *Methodus*, in Holborn, p. 157. Erasmus' plan to publish the *Methodus* was announced as early as September 1515 by his assistant Nicholas Gerbell in his preface to *Erasmi Roterodami Lucubrationes*, Strasbourg: Schürer, 1515: *formulam aliquando praescribet [sc. Erasmus] studiosis, qua uia, quo compendio peruenire queant sacrarum literarum cupidi, ad ueram illam theologiam*. I thank Prof. Mark Vessey (Vancouver) for this reference.

tle doubt that Erasmus' *Methodus* is a reaction to, and a substitute for, the *Modi* included in the Vulgate editions of his day.

Since it is more than likely that the *Paraclesis* and the *Methodus* are the Erasmian counterparts of the *Exhortatio* and the *Modi* as printed in contemporary editions of the Vulgate, the question arises whether Erasmus' third preface, the *Apologia*, also corresponds to any text occurring in the front matter of contemporary Vulgate editions. Now it is the objective of Erasmus' *Apologia* specifically to justify his new rendering of the New Testament in Latin. It is not to be expected, therefore, that such a defence has a forerunner in the preliminaries to editions of the traditional Latin Bible. Yet the possibility cannot be ruled out that when Erasmus decided to include a defence of his translation in his *Nouum Instrumentum*, he was inspired at least to some extent by a text occurring in the preliminaries of many Vulgate editions of his day, namely, the short treatise *Translatores bibliae*. This text, usually filling about one page or less, lists and discusses a number of former translations and 'Translators of the Bible'.⁴¹ The translators discussed are the Seventy of the Old Testament in Greek, Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, the anonymous translator of the 'generally known version or fifth edition',⁴² Origen and Jerome. Vulgate editions in which this treatise appears include:

- (1) Basel: Johannes Froben, 27 June 1491, 8° (GW 4269)
- (2) Venice: Hieronymus de Paganinis Brixiensis, 7 September 1492, 8° (GW 4271; D&M 6087)
- (3) Venice: Bible with *Glossa Ordinaria*, Paganinus de Paganinis, folio, 1495 (GW 4283)
- (4) Basel: Johannes Froben, 27 October 1495, 8° (GW 4275; D&M note after 6086)
- (5) Brescia: Angelus & Jacobus Britannicus, 29 December 1496, 8° (GW 4276)
- (6) Lyons: Fradin & Pivard, 23 December 1497, 4° (GW 4279; D&M 6088)

⁴¹ Quentin 1922, p. 84.

⁴² *Deinde post 8 annos inuenta est quaedam translatio Hierosolymis, cuius auctor ignoratur, quae dicta est uulgata uel quinta editio.* For the text of *Translatores bibliae*, see also Kaulen 1868, p. 306.

- (7) Lyons: Johannes Pivard, 29 January 1500, 4° (GW 4281; D&M 6090)
- (8) Venice: de Paganinis, 1501, 8° (Quentin 1922, p. 83)
- (9) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, 1506, folio (D&M 6091)
- (10) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, 1509, folio (D&M note after 6091)
- (11) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, 13 January 1511, 8° (D&M 6094)
- (12) Basel: Johannes Petri & Johannes Froben, 25 August 1509, folio (D&M note after 6092)
- (13) Venice: Lucas Antonius Giunta, 1511, 4° (University College London)
- (14) Basel: Johannes Froben, 1 June 1514, folio (D&M note after 6092)
- (15) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, 1515, 8° (*Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, p. 375)⁴³
- (16) Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, expensis Anthonii Koberger, 1515, folio (Leiden, Univ. Libr.)
- (17) Alcalá: the Complutensian Polyglot, vol. 1, Arnaldus Guillemus de Brocario, folio, 1517.⁴⁴

Although Erasmus in his *Apologia* mentions Jerome as his predecessor as biblical scholar and translator,⁴⁵ the purpose and contents of Erasmus' *Apologia* are totally different from those of *Translatores bibliae*. Yet, the very presence of *Translatores bibliae* in many Bibles of his day may have encouraged Erasmus, if only to a certain degree, to include a defence of his own translation in the *Nouum Instrumentum*. Interestingly, the *Exhortatio*, the *Modi* and the *Translatores bibliae* all occur as paratexts in the folio editions of the Vulgate printed at Basel by Johannes Froben in 1509 and 1514.⁴⁶ We also know that Erasmus owned a copy either of the 1509 or the 1514 Froben edition.⁴⁷ This Froben Bible, more than

⁴³ Pettigrew 1827, p. 375.

⁴⁴ This list does not claim to be exhaustive.

⁴⁵ *Apologia*, in Holborn, p. 167, l. 16-21.

⁴⁶ D&M, notes after 6092.

⁴⁷ 'Versandliste', no. 220, in Husner 1936, p. 241; van Gulik 2018, no. 220, p. 345-346. Wallraff 2016, p. 165-166 and 172-173, has argued that the architectural presentation of the Eusebian canons in the *Nouum Testamentum* of 1519

any other edition of the Vulgate, may have shaped his idea of what kind of paratexts he might include in his *Nouum Instrumentum*. The relationship between the *Apologia* and the *Translatores bibliae* must remain somewhat speculative, but that between the *Paraclesis* and the *Exhortatio* on the one hand, and that between the *Methodus* and the *Modi* on the other, seems very plausible.

4. *The Order of the Books of the New Testament*⁴⁸

The first edition of the Latin Bible ever printed, the so-called Mazarin Bible, Gutenberg Bible or 42-line Bible, was issued at Mainz in 1455 or 1456.⁴⁹ In the New Testament section of this Bible, the order of the books is as follows. First the four Gospels (Mt., Mc., Lc., Ioh.); then Paul's Letters, including Hebrews (Rom., I-II Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., I-II Thess., I-II Tim., Tit., Philem., Hebr.); then the so-called Apostolos, that is, Acts and the seven Catholic Epistles (Act., Iac., I-II Petr., I-II-III Ioh., Iudas); and finally, the Revelation of John. This is the sequence of the New Testament writings as listed by Jerome.⁵⁰ During the next sixty years from 1455 to 1515, the order of the New Testament books remained the same in most, perhaps in all, printed editions of the Vulgate. This is also the order of the biblical books given in the awkward, hexametric, mnemonic verses printed in the preliminaries of many Vulgate editions since 1491 (GW 4269).⁵¹ These

was modelled on that in Froben's Vulgate of 1514. I wish to thank Professor Martin Wallraff (Munich) for allowing me to read his article several months before its publication. Subsequently, T. van Lopik has noticed that the Greek numerals in the canons included in the *Nouum Testamentum* of 1519 are at least partly dependent on the Latin numerals in the Eusebian canons included in vol. 9 of *Opera Hieronymi*, ed. Bruno Amerbach, Basel: Froben, 1516, f. 2v-5r. The same observation has been made by Sebastiani 2016, p. 131.

⁴⁸ I am grateful to Professor Martin Karrer (Wuppertal) for discussing the issue of the order of the New Testament books in Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum* with me in the summer of 2015.

⁴⁹ GW 4201; D&M 6076.

⁵⁰ Jerome, letter 53 to Paulinus, 9 (Jerome 1910, p. 462), and for the order of the Pauline epistles *De uiris illustribus* 5 (Jerome 1988). The letter to Paulinus figures as a preface in many early editions of the Vulgate. Both texts may be found together in Stummer 1928, p. 222-232 and 258-261.

⁵¹ This is the earliest Vulgate in octavo, printed by Johannes Froben at Basel. An earlier version of the mnemonic verses appeared in the Bible printed by Kessler

verses, entitled *Librorum ordo* ('Order of the books'), were meant to help readers of the Bible in looking up certain individual books. The four lines that concern the New Testament read as follows:

Matthaeus. Marcus. Lucas. Postremo Iohannes.
 Roma. Corin. Galat. Eph. Philippen. Colossenses.
 Thessal. et Timotheus. Titus. Philemon. Hebraeus.
 Et Actus. Iacob. Petrus. Iohan. et Iudas. Apoc.

This traditional order, in which Acts is combined with the Catholic Epistles, is also that of the Complutensian Polyglot, the New Testament volume of which was printed in 1513/1514 and published in 1522. No doubt the Complutensian editors wished to stick to the then current order of the Vulgate.

However, the order of the books in Erasmus' *Nouuum Instrumentum* deviates conspicuously from that in the Vulgate editions of his time. Erasmus disconnects Acts from the Catholic Epistles, moves it forward to before the Corpus Paulinum and inserts it between the Gospels and Romans, so that Acts becomes the fifth book of the New Testament, directly after the Gospel of John. The result is the order with which most readers of the New Testament in any language are familiar nowadays.⁵² I shall argue presently that Erasmus' change of the order of the books of the New Testament is in essence due to his own initiative, his editorial strategy and his personal decision. However, this decision was not entirely without precedent. I shall therefore mention first four authors or documents which attest the position of Acts directly after the Gospels and before Paul, to see whether Erasmus chose his order of the Gospels, Acts and the Pauline corpus under the influence of any tradition.

at Basel in 1487; see D&M, II, 2, p. 913, note after 6086. For these mnemonic verses, see also Kaulen 1868, p. 307. For variant versions of these verses, see Quentin 1922, p. 81.

⁵² Mt., Mc, Lc., Ioh., Act., Rom., I-II Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., I-II Thess., I-II Tim., Tit., Philem., Hebr., Iac., I-II Petr., I-II-III Ioh., Iudas, Apoc. This is the order in all Erasmus' New Testament editions, but also, e.g., in the New Revised Standard Version, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. Parker 2012, p. 19, is not entirely right in stating that a modern Greek New Testament 'has the books in the order of the *Latin Bible*' (italics Parker's). Which Latin Bible? Until 1590, the order of the Latin Bible varied. Until at least 1516, Latin Bibles normally combined Acts with the Catholic Epistles.

First, the order that Erasmus adopted in his *Nouum Instrumentum* is exactly the same as that in the annotations on the New Testament of Lorenzo Valla which Erasmus himself had published ten years previously.⁵³ Erasmus had found Valla's work in a manuscript of the Abbey of Park near Leuven.⁵⁴ He copied and edited its text, and published it in Paris in 1505. The manuscript is now in the Royal Library at Brussels.⁵⁵ In the manuscript, the order is the same as that in Erasmus' printed edition of Valla's *Adnotationes* and in his *Nouum Instrumentum*, namely, Gospels–Acts–Paul–Catholic Epistles–Apocalypse. Interestingly, in an earlier redaction of Valla's *Adnotationes* (1442–1448), published in 1970 by Alessandro Perosa, the order of the Gospels, Acts and the Pauline Letters from Romans to II Thessalonians is already the same as in the later redaction (1453 and after) published by Erasmus.⁵⁶ Regrettably, Valla does not explain in his *Adnotationes* why he chose this order; nor does Erasmus say that in arranging the New Testament books he followed Valla.

Secondly, many printed Vulgates of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries contain a survey of the books of the Bible presented in the form of a diagram and entitled *Summarium bibliae* ('Synopsis of the books of the Bible'). In the Froben octavo Bible of 1491, this diagram takes up five whole pages.⁵⁷ It divides first the

⁵³ Valla 1505. The agreement between the order in the *Nouum Instrumentum* and the *Adnotationes* of Valla was brought to my attention by T. van Lopik.

⁵⁴ Erasmus, ep. 182, in Allen I (1906), p. 406–412.

⁵⁵ MS 4031–4033, f. 37ro–122ro. See Bracke 2009, p. 163–178. For the identification of the Brussels manuscript with that used by Erasmus, see Vecce 1986. I inspected the manuscript at Brussels on 10 November 2016.

⁵⁶ Valla 1970. Between the more recent version published by Erasmus in 1505 (β) and the earlier one published by Perosa in 1970 (α), there is a difference in the order of the Pauline Epistles: β has Hebr. at the very end of the Pauline corpus after Tit. and Philem.; α inserts Hebr. between II Thess. and I Tim., which is followed by II Tim. and Tit., whereas annotations on Philem. are lacking. Both sequences have old credentials: α (I–II Thess.–Hebr.–I–II Tim.–Tit.–Philem.), is attested by codex Sinaiticus, codex Vaticanus, some six later Greek majuscules and about sixty minuscules; β (I–II Thess.–I–II Tim.–Tit.–Philem.–Hebr.) is supported by the Codex Claromontanus, at least three later Greek majuscules, Augustine, Jerome and the great majority of the Greek manuscripts. See Gregory 1900–1909, p. 857–858; Metzger 1987, p. 298.

⁵⁷ On this *Summarium* and its layout as a structure of braces, see Quentin 1922, p. 82–83. Quentin rightly calls it an 'analysis' of the Bible. The *Summarium bibliae* also occurs in later editions of the Vulgate such as Lyons: Jacobus

books of the Old Testament and, subsequently, also those of the New Testament into four categories: *libri legales*, *libri historiales*, *libri sapientiales* and *libri prophetales*.⁵⁸ In this division, which is of course quite artificial in the case of the New Testament, the Gospels become the *libri legales*, immediately followed by Acts as *liber historialis*. Paul's Letters are the *libri sapientiales* and Revelation the *liber prophetalis*. The diagram obviously intends to show that the Old and the New Testament have the same structure. Owing to the fact that the Old Testament pattern of law and historical books is now imposed on the New Testament, Acts is positioned here immediately after the Gospels. The numerous Vulgate editions in which this *Summarium bibliae* occurs include, apart from the Froben octavo editions of 1491 and 1495, the two Froben folio editions of 1509 and 1514.⁵⁹ Erasmus certainly knew at least three out of these four editions (1491, 1509 and 1514) and may have seen that in the *Summarium bibliae* contained in them, Acts figures between John and Romans.⁶⁰

Thirdly, the order in which the New Testament writings appear in the *Nouum Instrumentum* is also that of the canon given by Eusebius in his *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.25. Eusebius mentions

Mareschal, 8°, 1510 and 1514; Lyons: Jacobus Sacon, 8°, 1511; and Venice: Lucas Antonius Giunta, 4°, 1511.

⁵⁸ This analysis of the Bible takes much of its inspiration from an account of the contents of the Bible composed by Menardus Monachus and published in Vulgate editions printed at Basel by B. Richel not later than 1474, in 1475 and 1477 (D&M, note after 6081) and by others at Nuremberg and Ulm from 1476 to 1480 (Quentin 1922, p. 77). Menardus argues that the *libri legales, historiales, sapientiales* and *prophetales* of the Old Testament have their counterparts in the Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypse, respectively, in the New Testament. Yet Menardus lists the New Testament books in the order Gospels–Epistles–Apocalypse–Acts. The transposition of Acts to the position between Gospels and Epistles in the *Summarium bibliae* included in Froben 1491 may be an innovation introduced by Froben's staff in order to bring out more clearly the parallel structure of the two Testaments. I owe the reference to Menardus to T. van Lopik.

⁵⁹ The folio editions printed by Petri and Froben in 1509 and by Froben in 1514 contain a more succinct version of the *Summarium*. In both editions a *diuisio librorum Noui Testamenti*, in which Acts figures after the Gospels and before Romans, occurs on f. A 2 v.

⁶⁰ As said before, Erasmus owned a copy of either the 1509 or the 1514 folio edition ('Versandliste', no. 220; D&M notes after 6092) and used the 1514 folio edition in preparing his *Nouum Testamentum* of 1519; Wallraff 2016, p. 165–166, 172–173. The 1491 octavo (GW 4269) probably lay ready for constant consultation in Froben's printing shop; see Jenny 1986, p. 219.

‘first, the holy quartet of the Gospels, followed by the Acts of the Apostles. The next place in the list goes to Paul’s Epistles’. This probably implies the sequence John–Acts–Romans. However, I cannot find any indication that Erasmus used Eusebius’ Church history in his *Nouum Instrumentum*. The *Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum* in their final form eventually included many references to Eusebius’ Church history (though probably exclusively to the Latin translation of Rufinus),⁶¹ but Erasmus inserted all these references in later editions, especially in the third and fourth editions of 1522 and 1527. In 1515/1516 Erasmus was not yet a frequent user of Eusebius’ work. The canon of Eusebius is therefore not likely to have influenced Erasmus in establishing the order of the New Testament books.⁶²

⁶¹ Van Poll-van de Lisdonk, Introduction to ASD VI/10, p. xxxvii.

⁶² Further ancient lists of New Testament books and sources in which Acts appears directly after the Gospels include (1) *Canon Muratori* (c. 200; Metzger 1987, p. 305–307; Hahneman 1992, p. 6: Gospels–Acts–Paul–Cath. Ep.–Apoc.); (2) Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures* 4.36 (c. 350; Reischl & Rupp 1848, p. 124–131; Metzger 1987, p. 311: Gospels–Acts–Cath. Ep.–Paul); (3) Codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus (fourth–fifth cent.; Hahneman 1992, p. 164: Gospels–Acts–Cath. Ep.–Paul–Apoc. [missing in Vaticanus]); (4) Canon 60 of the Council of Laodicea (c. 363, but canon 60 is a later addition; ed. F. Lauchert, SQS 12 (1896), p. 78–79; Metzger 1987, p. 312; Hahneman 1992, p. 157: Gospels–Acts–Cath. Ep.–Paul); (5) Athanasius, 39th Festal Letter (367; Sakkos 1974; Metzger 1987, p. 210–212, 312: Gospels–Acts–Cath. Ep.–Paul–Apoc.); (6) Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* 1.12 (c. 375; Migne, PG 37, 473–474; Metzger 1987, p. 313: Gospels–Acts–Paul–Cath. Ep.); (7) Amphilochius of Iconium, *Iambics for Seleucus* (after 394; ed. E. Oberg, ‘Das Lehrgedicht des Amphilochius von Ikonion’, in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 16 (1973) 67–97, lines 290–319; Metzger 1987, p. 313–314: Gospels–Acts–Paul–Cath. Ep.–Apoc.); (8) The Third Council of Carthage (397; Metzger 1987, p. 314–315: Gospels–Acts–Paul–Cath. Ep.–Apoc.); (9) Rufinus, *Comm. in Symbolum Apostolorum*, 37; c. 400; ed. M. Simonetti, CCSL 20, p. 170–171; Hahneman 1992, p. 153–154: Gospels–Acts–Paul–Cath. Ep.–Apoc.); (10) Augustine, *Speculum quis ignorat* (428), ed. E. Weinreich, CSEL 12, 1887, p. 3–285: Gospels–Acts–Paul–Cath. Ep.–Apoc.); (11) *Decretum Gelasianum* (sixth cent.; ed. E. von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum*, TU 38, 4, Leipzig, 1912: Gospels–Acts–Paul–Apoc.–Cath. Ep.); (12) the (table of contents of) Codex Amiatinus, the most important manuscript of the Vulgate (early eighth cent.; Houghton 2016, p. 254; Kaulen 1868, p. 217: Gospels–Acts–Paul–Cath. Ep.–Apoc.); (13) the Stichometry of Nicephorus (fourth–ninth cent.; ed. C. de Boor, *Nicephori opuscula*, Leipzig 1880, 132–135 (BiTeu): Gospels–Acts–Paul–Apoc.–Cath. Ep.); (14) the List of the Sixty Canonical Books (c. 700; Marksches & Schröter 2012, p. 145: Gospels–Acts–Cath. Ep.–Paul); (15) the so-called Tours Bibles (c. 800; Houghton 2016, p. 84: Gospels–Acts–Cath. Ep.–Paul–Apoc.); and (16) Hugh of St Victor, *De scripturis* 6 (twelfth cent.; Migne, PL 175, 15: Gospels–Acts–

Fourthly and finally, it is sometimes suggested that the sequence Gospels–Acts once occurred also in one of the Greek manuscripts Erasmus had at his disposal in the preparation of the *Nouum Instrumentum*, namely, minuscule 1 (Basel, Univ. Libr., A. N. IV.2). It is called the Codex Reuchlini, because Erasmus borrowed it from Reuchlin, who in his turn had borrowed it from the Dominicans at Basel, who had received it in 1443 with other manuscripts in the legacy of Cardinal John Stojković of Ragusa (Dubrovnik, in Dalmatia, now in Croatia).⁶³ This manuscript contains the whole New Testament except Revelation in the following order: Acts, Catholic Epistles, Paul (Romans through Hebr.), Gospels (Mt., Mc., Lc., Ioh.).⁶⁴ However, if, as some authoritative critics have claimed,⁶⁵ this order is due to a mistake made by a later bookbinder, who put the Gospels last, the original order in this manuscript would have been: Gospels, Apostolos (Acts with the Catholic Epistles), Paul.⁶⁶ Can this have suggested to Erasmus the order Gospels–Acts–Paul?

The answer to this hypothesis must be in the negative. In fact, the manuscript was already in its present order when Erasmus and his assistants used it. In the list of Stojković's Greek manuscripts compiled at Basel by the Dominican scholar John Cuno around 1511, the contents of the manuscript are described as *Actus apostolorum cum eorum Epistolis canonicis et 4. Euangelistae*.⁶⁷ This implies that when Erasmus used this manuscript, Acts did not follow John, since the Gospels figured at the end of the manuscript.⁶⁸

Paul–Cath. Ep.–Apoc.). Some of these sources may have been known to Erasmus in 1515/1516, for instance 2, 5, 6 and 11, and have prepared his mind for the idea that placing Acts directly after the Gospels was a viable option. See also Gregory 1900-1909, p. 850, 853. Most of these sources are discussed by Hahneman 1992, p. 132-170, and Marksches & Schröter 2012, p. 115-146.

⁶³ Vernet 1961, p. 84, no. XII.

⁶⁴ Wettstein 1751, vol. 1, p. 42: *Bibliopegus imprudens praemisit Euangeliiis Acta et Epistolas*; Gregory 1900-1909, p. 127; Hoskier 1890, Appendix F, p. 3; von Soden 1911, p. 104: 'Durch den Buchbinder ist E an den Schluss geraten'.

⁶⁵ See, e.g., Gregory 1900-1909, p. 127, and Hoskier 1890, Appendix F, p. 3.

⁶⁶ This is the usual order of the books in most Greek New Testament manuscripts, especially in the minuscules, but many manuscripts do not include all parts of the New Testament. See Gregory 1900-1909, p. 850. Cf. Aland 1987, p. 79.

⁶⁷ Vernet 1961, p. 84, no. XII.

⁶⁸ This is confirmed by the results of an inquiry into the history of the manuscript recently made by Patrick Andrist (Munich). See Andrist 2016.

Moreover, in this manuscript Acts is not followed by Paul, but by the Catholic Epistles. Consequently, the order Gospels–Acts–Paul as offered by the *Nouum Instrumentum* cannot be due to the influence of minuscule 1.

Nor does the order Gospels–Acts–Paul occur in any of the other Greek manuscripts to which Erasmus had access in 1515/1516.⁶⁹ The printer's copy for Acts was minuscule 2815, which includes Acts–Catholic Epistles–Paul, in this order, but not the Gospels.⁷⁰ The typesetters used it just for setting Acts, and the correctors sometimes for Paul, but there is no indication that Erasmus looked upon it as authoritative with regard to the order of New Testament books. Minuscule 2816 contains Acts–Paul–Catholic Epistles, in this order, but no Gospels.⁷¹ It did not even serve as printer's copy. Minuscule 2817 was used for setting Paul's Epistles, but contains just Paul (until Hebr. 12. 18) and cannot possibly have influenced Erasmus' choice of the sequence Gospels–Acts–Paul.⁷² Thus the reason why Erasmus chose the order Gospels–Acts–Paul–Catholic Epistles is not likely to have been the order in any of the Greek manuscripts he used.⁷³ This is confirmed by the fact that he accounts for the order he chose without referring to any literary tradition, example or authority, as we shall see presently.

Andrist has come to the conclusion that the manuscript was originally bound in two volumes: (1) Acts, Catholic Epistles, Paul; (2) Gospels. The two volumes were bound together in one binding for John of Ragusa in Constantinople in c. 1435. Dr Andrist kindly informed me as follows: 'L'ordre actuel du ms. est attesté dans la liste de Cuno, datant de 1511. Érasme a donc connu le ms. dans cet ordre [...]. L'ordre "normal" n'a probablement jamais existé; il faut plutôt imaginer une circulation antérieure en deux volumes séparés, suivant la tradition byzantine' (e-mail of 19.1.2016).

⁶⁹ For detailed information on Erasmus' use of minuscules 1, 2815, 2816 and 2817, see A. J. Brown, in ASD VI/2, p. 6-7; ASD VI/3, p. 2-4; and Brown 2016. See also Andrist 2016.

⁷⁰ For the shelf marks of minuscules 2815, 2816 and 2817 in the Basel University Library and their contents, see Aland 1994, p. 212; Gregory 1900-1909, p. 263 and p. 295; Andrist 2016, p. 84. For the contents of minuscule 2815, see Andrist 2016, p. 106-107.

⁷¹ Andrist 2016, p. 111.

⁷² For the contents of minuscule 2817, see Andrist 2016, p. 117.

⁷³ Minuscule 2 (Basel, Univ. Libr., A.N. IV.1) was used as printer's copy, but contains just the four Gospels.

Summarizing, it may be said that there are a few precedents for Erasmus' adopting the sequence Gospels–Acts–Romans, but they do not include minuscule 1. There is little likelihood that Eusebius' canon played a role in how Erasmus determined the order of the New Testament writings. Similarly, the influence of the order in Valla's *Collatio Noui Testamenti*, that in the *Summarium bibliae* and that in the Greek minuscules 2815 and 2816 was probably negligible, apart perhaps from providing in a very general way a theoretically possible model for an arrangement of the New Testament in which John's Gospel was followed by Acts and Acts by Paul. In determining the order of the New Testament writings, the real impulse for Erasmus did not come from tradition, but from his own literary-critical considerations.

Erasmus explains his arrangement of the New Testament books in the *Annotationes* on the final verse of Luke (Lc. 24. 52) and the first verse of Acts (Act. 1. 1). At the end of Luke, Erasmus states:

*Hoc loco subiicienda erant Acta Apostolorum. Nam Lucas historiam suam duobus libris complexus est, quos ambos ad eundem scripsit Theophilum. Atque ipse secundum exordiens connectit cum superiore. Deinde Acta illa plane pars est euangelicae historiae. Verum ne uideremur Ioannem dirimere ab euangelistis, distraximus duos Lucae libros et Acta proximo subiecimus loco.*⁷⁴

Actually, the Acts of the Apostles ought to have been inserted here, for Luke has couched his history in two volumes, both of which he addressed to the same Theophilus. And when he starts the second volume, he himself connects it with the preceding volume. Consequently, Acts is an integral part of the story of the gospel. However, lest we seem to dissociate John from the evangelists, we have separated Luke's two volumes and placed Acts in the earliest possible position after the Gospels.

Erasmus repeats this information in his annotation on Act. 1. 1:

Equidem cupiebam hunc librum Lucae cum priore coniungere, quandoquidem ille historiam euangelicam duobus est

⁷⁴ ASD VI/5, p. 604-605, l. 240-244.

*complexus uoluminibus, quorum utrumque ad eundem scripsit Theophilum, et posterius auspicans prioris facit mentionem. Caeterum uerebar, ne non ferendum uideretur euangelia distrahere. Quanquam haec historia quid aliud est quam euangelii pars, eaque meo iudicio non minima.*⁷⁵

As far as I am concerned, I would have liked to connect this book with Luke's preceding book, since he has composed the story of the gospel in two volumes, each of which he addressed to the same Theophilus, and at the beginning of the latter volume he refers to the former. But I feared that splitting up the Gospels would seem unacceptable. However, what else is this history but part of the gospel, and in my opinion not the least important part.

From these two passages it is clear that the real reason why Erasmus put Acts after John was that, out of respect for the unity of Luke's two-volume work, he wanted to keep Acts as close as possible to Luke without separating John from the other Gospels.⁷⁶ Since the normal sequence of the books in contemporary printed Vulgates was Gospels–Paul–Apostolos (i.e., Acts and the Catholic Epistles), the replacing of Acts to the first position after the Gospels resulted in the sequence Gospels–Acts–Paul–Catholic

⁷⁵ ASD VI/6, p. 177, l. 10-15.

⁷⁶ This is the order in which the Gospels and Acts are mentioned once in (Pseudo-)Athanasius, *Synopsis scripturae sacrae* (seventh cent.; Migne, PG 28, 283-434, esp. 433-434). The *Synopsis* discusses the books of the New Testament twice in the order Gospels–Acts–Cath. Ep.–Paul–Apoc. (col. 289-294, 383-432), and the Gospels in the order Mt.–Mc.–Lc.–Ioh. (col. 431-432); but in a final discussion of the Gospels and Acts, it puts Acts between Luke and John: Mt.–Mc.–Lc.–Acts–Ioh. (col. 433-434). Interestingly, as T. van Lopik pointed out to me, Erasmus himself translated this passage from the Greek; his translation was included in the smaller editions of his Latin only New Testament, Basel: Froben, June 1521; February 1522; and July 1522; see, for instance, the July 1522 edition, f. α 2r-α 3r. The piece (*incipit: 'Itaque qui libri sint'*) appeared also in several later editions of the Latin Bible and the New Testament. The heading of the passage as printed in Froben's editions is: *De libris utriusque testamenti, partim reiectis aut non sine contradictione admissis, partim apocryphis. Ex Athanasio, tametsi mihi suspectus est titulus, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete.* This heading seems to have been phrased by Erasmus himself up to and including the words *mihi suspectus est titulus*. The last three words *Erasmo Roterodamo interprete* do not link up well grammatically with what precedes and may only have been added, probably by a member of Froben's staff, when it was decided to include the piece in Froben's June 1521 *Nouum Testamentum*. On the *Synopsis scripturae sacrae*, see also Hahneman 1992, p. 162-163.

Epistles–Revelation.⁷⁷ This is what we find in the *Nouum Instrumentum*.

The interesting part of Erasmus' change in the order of the New Testament writings is that it was to have an overwhelming success. Although nowadays nobody knows anymore where this order comes from, the sequence Gospels–Acts–Romans plus the other longer Pauline Letters has become the dominant organization of the New Testament all over the world. There remained some variation in the position of Hebrews, the order of the Pastoral Epistles and that of the Catholic Epistles. But the pattern Gospels–Acts–Romans followed by the longer Letters of Paul became standard. From Erasmus it was taken over in the editions of Robert Estienne (Paris, 1546, 1549, 1550; Geneva, 1551) and Theodorus Beza (Geneva, 1565, 1582, 1588, 1598). From Erasmus' second edition (1519), it passed to Luther's version in German (1522, 1534, 1536, 1541, 1545).⁷⁸ From Robert Estienne's third edition, Erasmus' order as a whole, from Matthew through Revelation, passed to the King James Version (1611). From Beza's first octavo edition (1565) it passed to the Leiden Elsevier editions (1624, 1633),⁷⁹ and so on. The Erasmian order of New

⁷⁷ Interestingly, the combination Gospels–Acts occurs also in two early New Testament manuscripts. This applies to p⁴⁵ (third cent.) and D (05, Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, fifth cent.). However, D has the end of 3 John (in Latin) between the Gospels and Acts, preceded by a lacuna which may have contained Revelation and the remainder of the Johannine Letters, so that D cannot be considered a witness to the combination Gospels–Acts; see Parker 2008, p. 283–285. Codex 0166 (fifth cent.) now presents the end of Acts and the beginning of James; originally, it may have contained Acts and the Catholic Epistles together. The earliest certain example of a manuscript containing Acts and the seven Catholic Epistles together is p⁷⁴ (Parker 2008, p. 285). The stage at which Acts and the Catholic Epistles were first counted together is, so far as the manuscripts attest (01 and 03), the fourth century; Parker 2008, p. 286.

⁷⁸ D&M 4188, 4199, 4202, 4204, 4205. Luther's main sources in 1521/1522 were (1) Erasmus' Greek text of 1519, (2) Erasmus' Latin version of 1519, (3) the *Annotations* of 1519 and (4) the Latin Vulgate with which Luther was very well-acquainted and whose phrases were deeply imbedded in his memory; see Volz, Foreword to *Biblia* 1973, p. 52*, and Bornkamm 1947, col. 23: 'Er [Luther] hatte ja auch seit Jahren den Wortlaut der Vulgata so fest im Kopfe, dass er ihm oft genug von selbst in die Feder floss'.

⁷⁹ Reuss 1872, p. 109. Retaining the combination and sequence of Acts and the Catholic Epistles in many Greek manuscripts, Wettstein 1752 has the order Gospels–Paul–Acts–Cath. Ep.–Apoc. Many later critical editions adopted the sequence Gospels–Acts–Cath. Ep.–Paul–Apoc. This applies to Matthaei (1803–

Testament books was also adopted, after some discussion, by the Council of Trent (1546)⁸⁰ and followed in most Vulgate editions that have appeared since, for instance John Henten's Louvain Vulgate edition of 1547.⁸¹ From these editions it spread in many translations into the vernaculars of Europe.⁸² From the newer Latin editions and English translations the Erasmusian order was finally taken over in the third Greek edition of Eberhard Nestle (1901) and in his second German-Greek edition (1901), from where it went through all later Nestle editions.⁸³ Nowadays practically all editions of the New Testament, both in Greek and in

1807), Lachmann (1842-1850), Tischendorf (1869-1872), Tregelles (1857-1879), Westcott & Hort (1881), von Gebhardt (1881), Baljon (1898) and von Soden (1913); see Metzger 1987, p. 296.

⁸⁰ CT 1911, p. 91, *Decretum de receptione librorum sacrorum*, 8 April 1546: *Quattuor euangelia, secundum Mt., Mc., Lc. et Ioh.; Actus Apostolorum a Luca Euangelista conscripti; 14 Epistolae Pauli Apostoli, [...]*. The proceedings of the Council show that in the draft decree of 22 March 1546, Acts was still placed after the Catholic Epistles and before Apoc., in accordance with a list established at the Council of Florence, in the Bull of Union with the Copts (1442); CT 1911, p. 32. But in a plenary session on 5 April the bishop of Chiron (Crete) insisted that Acts should not be put at the end (*ultimo loco*, p. 70). The bishop of Vaisson (France) argued that Acts should be placed immediately after the Gospels (*post euangelia*, p. 70). The General of the Conventual Franciscans expressed the wish *quod Actus apostolorum suo loco ponerentur*, possibly meaning that Acts was the narrative and chronological sequel to the Gospels and should follow the Gospels immediately. This view gained the upper hand: on 8 April the Council agreed upon the order Gospels–Acts–Paul–Cath. Ep.–Apoc., precisely the order chosen by Erasmus. (The debate at the Council was brought to my notice by T. van Lopik). On the protestant side, the order Gospels–Acts–Paul–Cath. Ep.–Apoc. was adopted in the French Confession of Faith (*Confessio Gallicana*, 1559), article 3, and the Belgic Confession of Faith (*Confessio Belgica*, 1561), article 4.

⁸¹ *Biblia. Ad uetustissima exemplaria nunc castigata*, ed. John Henten, Leuven: Bartholomaeus Gravius, 1547. D&M 6129.

⁸² E.g., in the Dutch Deux-Aes Bible (1562) and the Dutch States' Bible (1637). See also Gregory 1900-1909, p. 853, where Erasmus' influence on the order of the New Testament writings in later editions and versions is duly acknowledged. Gregory's whole section 'Reihenfolge der Bücher', p. 848-858, is still a good treatment of the subject. On the same subject, see Aland 1987, p. 78-79; Metzger 1987, p. 296-300.

⁸³ In Nestle's first German-Greek edition (1898) and in his first and second Greek editions (1898, 1899), the order was that of Luther's New Testament, determined by the order of the German text in the first bilingual edition, which was published in the same year (1898) as, but earlier than, the first Greek edition: Gospels–Acts–Paul's Epistles through Tit. and Philem.–I-II Petr.–I-II-III Ioh.–Hebr.–Iac.–Iudas–Apoc.

translation, offer all books of the New Testament in the order in which Erasmus arranged them.⁸⁴ Erasmus' order has become canonical.

Conclusion

In spite of its undeniable innovative qualities, Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum* is also a work deeply rooted in the Latin tradition of Europe. In the first place, Erasmus continued to conceive of the Bible as a Latin book, aimed at an audience versed in reading Latin, not as a book in Greek or in a vernacular. True, the *Nouum Instrumentum* includes a text of the New Testament in Greek, but this was meant not as an edition of the Greek in its own right, but as supportive evidence for the correctness of Erasmus' new version of the New Testament in Latin. Secondly, this new version was essentially a revision of the Vulgate and was always to remain an adaptation of the Vulgate. Thirdly, Erasmus' decision to introduce his New Testament with the *Paraclesis* and the *Methodus* is likely to have its background in the fact that many printed editions of the Vulgate contained an *Exhortatio* and a tract named *Modi intelligendi sacram scripturam*. To be sure, Erasmus' introductory treatises differ widely in purport and length from the tracts accompanying the Vulgate, but the topics are the same: an exhortation to the reader to study Scripture with the greatest possible devotion and an instruction for its correct interpretation, respectively. Similarly, Erasmus' *Apologia*, his defence of his Latin version, is perhaps his substitute for the tract *Traductores bibliae* which was found in many printed Vulgate editions of his day. The occurrence of the traditional tracts in numerous Vulgate editions may well have stimulated Erasmus to produce his own treatises.

The order in which Erasmus arranged the writings of the New Testament, Gospels–Acts–Romans with the balance of Paul's Letters, also has its precedents in tradition, namely in the *Adnotationes in Nouum Testamentum* of Valla, in Eusebius' canon of the

⁸⁴ For an exception, see Robinson & Pierpont 2005, which has the order Gospels–Acts–Cath. Ep.–Paul–Apoc. The editors claim that this 'canonical order' was popular during the early transmissional history (p. xvi). The accuracy of this statement depends on what one means by 'the early transmissional period'.

Bible, and in the *Summarium bibliae* printed in many Vulgate editions. Yet, judging by Erasmus' own justification of the order Gospels–Acts–Paul, he chose this order on the basis of his own, rational, literary criteria, not because of any precedent or tradition. At any rate, minuscule 1 cannot have played a part in Erasmus' decision to insert Acts between John and Romans, since in this manuscript John figures at the very end of the codex and Acts at the very beginning; this was already the case when Erasmus and his assistants used the manuscript, and has probably always been the case.

Ultimately, Erasmus' order of the New Testament books can best be understood as that of the printed Vulgate of his day, but with one striking change: Erasmus transposed Acts and placed it between the Gospels and Paul. In this modified order tradition still prevails over innovation.

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Abstract

While the innovative character of Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum* (1516) has often been highlighted, its more traditional features are often overlooked or underestimated. Such traditional features include the following. (1) Erasmus continued to regard the New Testament primarily as a Latin book, to be shared with readers accustomed to read Latin, not as a Greek text. He was still thinking of the Bible and the New Testament in the first place as Latin texts, functioning in Latin speaking contexts, not as texts in foreign tongues. Consequently, in his view, the main component of the *Nouum Instrumentum* was his new version of the New Testament in Latin. The Greek text and the *Annotationes* were added as supportive evidence, their function being to show that the new Latin version was justifiable. (2) Furthermore, Erasmus' new Latin translation of the New Testament was nothing but a revision of the Vulgate in its late medieval form. Owing to its dependence on the Vulgate, this 'new version' carries on a tradition going back to the fourth and even to the second century, since the

Vulgate itself was a revision of earlier Latin translations, the *Vetus Latina*. (3) Moreover, in prefacing his *Nouum Instrumentum* with several introductory writings, Erasmus also conformed to a tradition perceptible in printed Bibles of his day. The inclusion of these introductory writings in the *Nouum Instrumentum* seems to have been suggested to Erasmus by the occurrence of similar, though shorter treatises printed among the preliminaries of fifteenth and sixteenth century Vulgate editions. The *Paraclesis* seems to be a substitute for the *Exhortatio* and the *Methodus* for the *Modi interpretandi sacram scripturam*. The *Apologia*, in which Erasmus defends his new translation, may be a replacement for the traditional tract *Traductores bibliae*, although that has an historical, descriptive, not an apologetic character. (4) Finally, Erasmus took the order of the New Testament books from the Vulgate, but introduced one important change: he disconnected Acts from the Catholic Epistles, moved it forward and placed it between John and Romans. It is true that there are some interesting precedents for this order (e.g., in Eusebius, Valla, the *Summarium bibliae*), but Erasmus' intervention was probably entirely his own initiative and due to his wish to keep Acts as close to Luke as possible. The sequence Gospels–Acts–Paul–Catholic Epistles–Revelation, that is now standard in all Bibles and New Testaments, is due to Erasmus.

CHRISTIAN HOUTH VRANGBÆK

PATRISTIC CONCEPTS
OF ORIGINAL SIN
IN ERASMUS' *ANNOTATIONES*
IN EPISTULAM AD ROMANOS

1. *Introduction*

The theme of original sin is maybe the best example of how Erasmus makes active use of tradition. I will show how Erasmus, even though fully aware of the established tradition and dogmas, hand-picks his authorities and creates new traditions concerning the concept of original sin. The main purpose in this article is to examine how Erasmus advocates for a new understanding of original sin in his *Annotationes in Epistulam ad Romanos*. By examining Erasmus' concept of original sin, we can see how he works with tradition and authority, especially how he establishes and promotes new traditions and authorities.

When examining Erasmus' use of patristic concepts of sin, three elements play an important role: authority, tradition and memory. *Authority* will here be understood as the handling and use of Church Fathers, hence a focus on persons. With *tradition*, I want to aim at the theme of handling doctrines. The theme of *memory* is considered as an overall concept which covers both authority and tradition. If memory is understood as contemporized past,¹ and we consider collective memory as how the past works and appears in the present, then memory is closely connected to tradition and authority as concepts that fluctuate between the past and the present. I am regarding cultural memory not only as cultural monuments and heritage, but also the science

¹ Assmann & Czaplicka 1995, p. 129.

which is created in a given period. To memory belongs also the theme of reception, more precisely, reception as a kind of performance where authors are mentioned in order to modify tradition and authority.

2. *A Receptive Culture*

In the Renaissance, a culture of reception and memory emerged where reading and promotion of ancient texts often had a polemical purpose in order to create new scholarly traditions and authorities. This memory culture constituted the primary epistemological category, a methodological norm for creating new knowledge,² where the past was used as a key to understand and even constitute intellectual activities.³

A new approach to the Christian past emerged with regard to patristics. With Petrarch's reading of Augustine another side of the Church Father was emphasized at the expense of the medieval 'version' of Augustine, e.g. from Peter Lombard and Aquinas.⁴ Drawing on Petrarch's insights, later humanists as Lorenzo Valla emphasized patristics in favour of scholastic philosophy.⁵ The council of Ferrara/Florence in the late 1430s also gave a renewed impetus to patristic studies. Here a new interest in especially the Greek Church Fathers began to rise.⁶ A principle on regarding the Fathers as sacrosanct and building doctrine hereon was shared by both Latins and Greeks. The patristic discussions of the Florentine Council 1439 and the inspiration from theologians as Ambrogio Traversari and Cardinal Bessarion

² Beecher et al. 2009, p. 17-19; Danziger 2008, p. 92; Stinger 1998, p. 226-234.

³ This can e.g. be seen in works as Marsilio Ficino's *Theologia Platonica* (pub. 1482) which in several layers is a reception of antique thoughts. At one layer it is a fifteenth century representation of Platonic philosophy, on another layer it reflects an antique discussion about including pagan philosophy into the Christian world of ideas. Hankins 2016, p. 55-74.

⁴ Esp. in Petrarch's *Secretum* which is a dialogue between Petrarch and Augustine, see Quillen 1998. The manifold interpretations of Augustine in the history of ideas has been interestingly recorded in Pollmann 2013.

⁵ In his *Encomium Sancti Thomae Aquinatis* see Trinkaus 1987, p. 371-375; Stinger 1998, p. 144; Gray 1965, p. 37-51.

⁶ Sicienski 2010, p. 157; Stinger 1977, p. 205.

altogether gave rise to a renewed focus on patristics in the West.⁷ This culture of reviving and contemporizing the Church Fathers spread to the northern parts of Europe and constitutes a key background to Erasmus' editing and publishing of patristic material, but for a large part also the patristic sources and inspirations he used for composing his New Testament.⁸

The patristic studies served for a large part to establish an authority when building theological arguments. The use and shaping of patristic sources as an *auctoritas* was known from already the patristic period and throughout the middle ages.⁹ In the Renaissance, the reading and promotion of Church Fathers was also used as a polemic against scholasticism.¹⁰ Around the court of Nicholas V a culture of collecting and translating Greek Church Fathers began to rise in Western Europe.¹¹ Also scholarly issues were at stake in order to preserve and disseminate the 'new found' theological sources, even though a tendency to angle the old theology was seen. In this way, the past was utilized and in a way 'constructed' in order to make it fit for contemporary issues. This can among other things be seen in the reception of John Chrysostom in Rome in the 1450s, who was translated and read for church-political reasons in order to claim the papacy against the Greek theological world because the Roman humanists could find passages where Chrysostom defended the Roman papacy.¹² This is an example of how the past functions within cultural memory as a contemporary phenomenon – contemporized past.¹³ The Church Fathers were inserted in the renaissance cultural memory thus becoming contemporized past. As I will show, this will also be the case with the *Annotationes*, where

⁷ Stinger 1977, p. 203-222; Chadwick 2003, p. 259-260; Sicienski 2010, p. 157.

⁸ Erasmus was heavily influenced by Valla's *Collatio Novi Testamenti* (1443), which Erasmus published in 1505, but whereas Valla's text is more a philological analysis (and criticism) of the Vulgate, Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum* and later NT-works are much more concerned with patristics, see also Trinkaus 1987, p. 373.

⁹ Boodts, Leemans & Meijns 2016, p. 9-16.

¹⁰ Quillen 1998.

¹¹ Stinger 1998, p. 230-234.

¹² Stinger 1998, p. 234.

¹³ Assmann & Czaplicka 1995.

old witnesses will be reshaped to establish new theology, not as copies, but coloured by the new context and theological ambitions of Erasmus.

3. *Annotationes as Theology*

I have chosen Erasmus' *Annotationes in Epistolam ad Romanos* as my source because it is central in the oeuvre of Erasmus.¹⁴ This text can show how Erasmus argues using Church Fathers as support and legitimization for his encounter with traditional dogmas. In this case we shall examine the doctrine of original sin. On the surface, the *Annotationes* appears as an exegetical and philological work which has the purpose of establishing the right readings and correct translation from Greek. In general Erasmus wanted all his theology to be founded on the basis of Scripture and early Christianity.¹⁵ In the annotation to Rom. 1. 4 Erasmus announces his purpose with an expression he uses almost as a commonplace in his commentary notes:

*Locus hic multifariam legi potest. Nos rationes omnes simpliciter, id quod huius est instituti, proponemus, penes lectorem erit, et iudicandi jus et eligendi potestas.*¹⁶

Moreover, in a rather mild style he states that his purpose is not to dictate, but rather to encourage that the reader uses his judgement. It seems, therefore at first sight, not as if the work contains *theological* discussions at all. It seems rather to pertain to grammar if not to say a historical analysis, but nevertheless, many theological debates are woven into the text. Any commentary will involve a certain amount of interpretation and positioning which is also the case with Erasmus. His *Annotations* and his choices of trans-

¹⁴ Cf. Boyle 1977; Cummings 2002. I have been working with the edition of 1535, i.e. the last edition. The *Annotationes* is Erasmus' commentary and grammatical notes to his editions of the New Testament, I am working with the annotations to Romans.

¹⁵ Hagen 1985, p. 9; Hoffmann 1972, p. 100.

¹⁶ ASD VI/7, p. 58, l. 260-262. 'This passage can be read in various ways. I shall set forth all the ways simple, as is my purpose (*instituti est*) in this work. The right to judge and the power to choose will belong to the reader'. Transl. CWE 56, p. 20.

lation are, even though the style is far from aggressive, still containing substantial theological discussions, which he professes to avoid. The case must be that Erasmus wishes the text to *appear* neutral, as if it was free from theological disputes. It is a rhetorical strategy in order to promote himself more as a grammarian and less as a theologian, and thereby diminish potential theological controversy.¹⁷

4. *Creating New Authorities*

The by far most mentioned theologian in the *Annotationes* is Origen.¹⁸ Often is his theology discussed – both for rejecting and accepting. Sometimes Origen is taken in as a textual witness, other times he is criticized for philosophizing and other times again he is drawn forth as a good example of interpretation. An example of a positive expression about Origen appears in the 1519-preface *Ratio seu methodus*:

*Immo partem laboris adimat nobis ueterum labor, adiuuemur illorum commentariis, dummodo primum ex his deligamus optimos, uelut Origenem, qui sic est primus, ut nemo cum illo conferri possit, post hunc Basilium, Naziansenum, Athanasium, Cyrillum, Chrysostomum, Hieronymum, Ambrosium, Hilarium, Augustinum.*¹⁹

It seems that Erasmus for a large part wants to use Origen as an established authority which is controversial considering the condemnation of Origen's theology in 553. One can consider if Erasmus only emphasizes some of his disagreements with Origen for tactical reasons, to make it appear as if Erasmus is critical

¹⁷ Godin 1982, p. 131.

¹⁸ Erasmus used a Latin translation of Origen's *Commentarii in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos* translated by Rufinus. It was Erasmus who suggested that the translation was made by Rufinus and not by Jerome which was the general opinion at his time cf. Hovingh, 'Introduction', in ASD VI/7, p. 4-5.

¹⁹ 'Rather, the work of the ancients is supposed to take a part of the work: we should be helped through their commentaries, as long as we only choose the best from them, as for instance Origen who is the first in such a degree that no one can be compared with him; after him Basil, Nazianz, Athanasius, Cyril, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Hilary and Augustine' (my translation), Erasmus 1967, p. 465, *Ratio seu methodus*.

toward Origen. This may explain why Erasmus has a complex relationship to Origen and only seems to follow his theology to some extent.

As we shall see Erasmus' relation to Church Fathers as authorities displays an interesting view on how he is working theologically. I will now quote a well-known passage from Erasmus' 1516-introduction to his *Nouum Instrumentum* which describes how he qualitatively regards Church Fathers:

*Tantum illud dicam in genere, si quis huius rei promptum aliquod argumentum requirat, ueteres illos theologos, Origenem, Basilium, Chrysostomum, Hieronymum cum hisce recentioribus componat conferatque: uidebit illic aureum quoddam ire flumen, hic tenues quosdam riuulos, eosque nec puros admodum nec suo fonte respondents.*²⁰

The qualities of the Church Fathers lie in the fact that they are closer to the actual source, which is scripture. But note that the witness, the stream (*flumen*), is *golden* (*aureum*): the quality of the Fathers is not just that they are close to the New Testament source, their influence is golden in itself. This theological method will Erasmus use in his treatment of the topic of original sin in his *Annotationes*.

The example of Origen, and how Erasmus uses Origen as a support, or even as an *authority*, shows how flexible the sources of the past could be. The new theology can only have support from the old to a certain extent, since the reception of the past will transform it into a new context and situation. Therefore, as we shall see, Erasmus will not use Origen's concept of original sin in an unmediated form, but an adapted, a received, form of it. We shall see how Erasmus uses his understanding of Origen in order to encounter the Augustinian tradition.

In order to grasp Origen's concept of original sin, we must first attend to his anthropology. To Origen, human beings consist of

²⁰ 'I say only this generally, when one searches for a good proof, he should consult the old theologians, Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, Jerome and hold together and compare with the younger ones. He will see that there flows a golden stream, indeed small brooks, and throughout always pure and close to its source' (my translation), LB V, 82A.

an inner man (ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) and an outer man (ἔξω ἄνθρωπος).²¹ The inner man, which was created in the image of God, is a reminiscence of the pre-existent rational beings, the λογικαὶ οὐσῖαι. The inner man, which is also called the spiritual part, is even after the Fall, unchangeable because of its divine origin, which according to Origen is eternal and incorruptible – it is only the inner part of man which will be saved. The outer man is the body, which the creator gave as a consequence of the Fall. The body is subject to change, corruptibility and death,²² which are the consequences of the original sin. In Origen's thought the challenge is to determine what the effects of the original sin are.²³ People sin when they direct themselves towards the outer man, instead of the inner spiritual man. The bodily state of human beings makes ethical decisions more challenging, but Origen insists that free will and the imago Dei of the inner man is preserved.²⁴ According to Origen the human will is not paralyzed by sin, and the concept of sin becomes then more dynamic.²⁵ To Origen, sin in this world is the result of neglect or personal mistake rather than a flaw on a person's nature or original state. Sin is always tied to either words or deeds and can therefore never be an ontological category for the human will.²⁶ In Origen's

²¹ See e.g. *Dial. Her.* 11.19-20: Δύο ἀνθρώπους ἡ γραφή λέγει εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Origen drew this distinction from 2 Cor 4. 16, a key anthropological text for Origen; cf. Jacobsen 2008, p. 216.

²² Jacobsen 2008, p. 222-223; Origen shows throughout his oeuvre a seemingly negative view of the human body, however the concept of 'body' in Origen is ambiguous cf. Bagby 2014; Crouzel 1989, p. 87-98. To some extent Origen regarded the body as a kind of mercy because each individual needed to learn from the body, but still something the individual had to turn away from and direct himself toward God, Brown 1990, p. 164-165.

²³ This challenge is also found when defining Origen's contemporary 'colleague' Irenaeus of Lyon whose understanding has similarities with Origen. Irenaeus' understanding of original sin is that Adam and Eve were paralyzed but not infected with sin. There are still seeds left of the *Imago dei* after the fall, cf. Marksches 2011. Hauke 1993 discusses Irenaeus' concept of sin as a dialectic between a 'Wachstumskrise' and a 'Katastrophe'.

²⁴ Origen, *Com. Rom.* 4.10, 12; 7.6, 14; 8.4, 8, 10, but there are several more in his oeuvre, see Trigg 1998.

²⁵ Teichtweier 1958, p. 96.

²⁶ Jacobsen 2015, p. 180. As pointed out by the Italian scholar P. F. Beatrice it is possible to trace some tension in the understanding of sin in Origen between on the one hand understanding original sin as '*propagated independently of the*

commentary to Romans, he stressed that the sin of Adam is an exemplary sin.²⁷

To Augustine, the most influential theologian concerning original sin, the will is corrupted by sin which is passed down from Adam to his future generations by sexual propagation. Sin came into the world *ab uno in omnes propagatione transisset*.²⁸ Original sin to Augustine is understood as a defect of the will, whereas Origen's understanding of original sin is related to human beings as having a corporeal body, but to Origen this state has no effect on the will.

Human beings are able to sin, according to Augustine, because we are *de nihilo* and not *de deo*. A key difference to Origen is therefore, that where Origen regards the essence of a human being – the inner man – as deriving from God and therefore cannot be changeable, Augustine's anthropology places the cause of sin in human beings' *creatio ex nihilo*, human beings are *not* from God and therefore sin can happen.²⁹ It shows that one of the differences is originated in the understanding of creation. Augustine would also agree to a defect of the body, but the difference is that the body and bodily matter according to Augustine was good from the beginning and then was corrupted by the act of the will. The corruption of the will, and thereby the inherent sinfulness of human beings, is propagated from Adam to all posterior generations, wherefore also new-born infants are affected with the state of sinfulness.³⁰

As we shall see, Erasmus polemicizes against the Augustinian interpretation, and adopted instead what he could use in Origen's

will' and on the other hand '*the ethical notion of a personal sin*', cf. Beatrice 2013, p. 183-184, however, the ethical tenets in Origen's understanding of sin are stronger cf. Bagby 2014.

²⁷ *Com. Rom.* 3.3 (PG 14, 933c): *sicut exemplo est primus homo Adam, qui de paradisi uia recta malesuadi fraude serpentis ad prauas et tortuosas mortalis uitae semitas declinauit*. Cf. also *Comm. in Io.* 20.42 (GCS 10, 384).

²⁸ *Pecc. Mer.* 1.9 (PL 44, 114), where Augustine also explicitly denounces the idea that Adam's sin is a imitational, instead Augustine argues for that the original sin of Adam is propagated.

²⁹ *c.Iul.imp.* 5.31 (PL 45, 1470).

³⁰ Wetzel 2009, p. 800-802; Rigby 2009, p. 607-614; Hauke 1993 pointed out that the antithesis between 'Greek optimism' versus 'Augustinian pessimism' which was coined by Gross 1960, does not hold, there are just different accents and explanations of the original sin cf. Hauke 1993, p. 719.

harmatology, which means the understanding of original sin as exemplary, but not Origen's protology with the fallen λογικαὶ οὐσίαι, which by Erasmus was regarded as *philosophizing*.³¹

As I will show below Erasmus found no proof of original sin in the passage, Rom. 5. 12, which otherwise was used as the traditional proof text for original sin, and to which Erasmus wrote the longest and most central annotation. In this passage Erasmus only found textual proof for sins of imitation. Considering the role of Origen, this passage becomes even more interesting. At first, Erasmus says that Origen along with Augustine takes this passage to describe original sin.³² But later on, Erasmus mentions that Origen's concept of sin is close to sins of imitation, which Erasmus also himself is advocating for.³³ Here Erasmus interprets Origen as agreeing with him. Erasmus refers to Origen's commentary and interprets Origen as if he is advocating for example sins:

*Iam Origenem non hic proprie loqui de peccato originali satis arguunt quae continenter subiiciuntur: quum hortatur nos abiecta imagine terreni imaginem portare [...] Cum ait: uiuentes, indicat se de peccato imitationis loqui. [...]. Deinde quum addit hic Paulum loqui de morte animae, citans illud prophetae, anima quae peccat, ipsa morietur, palam est illum de personali peccato disserere.*³⁴

Erasmus wants to argue for sins of imitation and the inclination to sin, rather than sin as a state of being. The German scholar Kohls stated here that Erasmus leaves Origen, but I would argue that it is more nuanced than a matter of leaving or accepting: Erasmus only leaves Origen to some extent, and not in the under-

³¹ Many examples are found of this in the *Annotationes* e.g. 'Mihi sane non displicet Origenica diligentia, quae nusquam non philosophatur', ASD VI/7, p. 72, l. 757-758. See also ASD VI/7, p. 58, l. 499.

³² CWE 56, p. 139; ASD VI/7, p. 139, l. 939.

³³ CWE 56, p. 143; ASD VI/7, p. 146, l. 45-50.

³⁴ ASD VI/7, p. 146, l. 49-148, l. 62; 'The words that immediately follow are sufficient proof that Origen is not speaking here specifically about original sin: 'When he urges us to cast off the image of the earthly and to bear the image of the heavenly [...] When he says "as we live", he implies that he is speaking about the sin of imitation [...] Then when he adds that Paul is speaking here about the death of the soul and cites the saying of the prophet, 'the soul which sins will itself die' [Ezek. 18. 4], it is clear that he is discussing personal sins', CWE 56, p. 143.

standing of sin as an example. Erasmus is not negating original sin in the *Annotationes*, he is reformulating it.³⁵

After this, Erasmus consequently turns against Augustine, and he polemicizes that Augustine is the only one who upholds the interpretation of original sin in this scriptural passage, and even, only at a specific point of his life.³⁶ To underscore his argument against the Augustinian interpretation of this passage, Erasmus goes on to, rhetorically, ask why not other doctrines of Augustine are upheld by the church e.g. that children should receive communion.³⁷

Another interesting authority which Erasmus uses comes from an ancient commentary, which the English scholar Souter has shown actually came from Pelagius.³⁸ Erasmus did not know this, only that it was falsely attributed to Jerome: *quisquis fuit cuius in omnes Pauli epistolas scholia feruntur nomine Hieronymi*.³⁹ Erasmus cites the commentary as a supporter of his claim of imitational sins, not knowing its real author:

*His enim uerbis, peccatum intrauit, et per peccatum mors, subnectit hoc scholium: Exemplo uel forma [...] Nihil igitur ambigui relinquitur, quin is, quisquis fuit, totum hunc locum interpretetur de peccato imitationis et morte animae. Fateor hoc opus non esse Hieronymi, quemadmodum mentitur inepta praefatio; docti tamen hominis esse res ipsa clamat.*⁴⁰

For the present analysis, it is not strictly relevant to discuss the relation between the theology of Erasmus and Pelagius, in that

³⁵ Kohls 1966, p. 154: 'Die Abschauung der Erbsünde zunächst hat Erasmus in bemerkenswerter Abweichung von Origenes festgehalten'.

³⁶ *Neque quisquam contendit hunc locum non posse secus intelligi praeter sanctum Augustinum, posteaquam incaluit conflictatio cum Pelagianis*, ASD VI/7, p. 156; CWE 56, p. 149.

³⁷ ASD VI/7, p. 156, l. 240-250; CWE 56, p. 149-150.

³⁸ Souter 1922.

³⁹ ASD VI/7, p. 144; '...whoever he was whose scholia on all the Epistles of Paul bear the name of Jerome...', CWE 56, p. 142.

⁴⁰ ASD VI/7, p. 144-146. 'For to these words, "Sin entered, and death through sin", he [Pelagius] appends this comment, "by example or pattern" ... There remains no question that this man, whoever he was, interprets this whole passage in terms of the sin of imitation and the death of the soul. I acknowledge that this work is not by Jerome, as its inept preface falsely claims, but its content bespeaks the work of a learned man', CWE 56, p. 142.

it would require a much more detailed comparison between the two. The relevant point to make here, is that Erasmus uses an old commentary as an authority in order to support his interpretation of Rom. 5. 12 as containing no proof of original sin, and that we can see the importance of *authority* in Erasmus' argument.

Erasmus nevertheless defends himself against the accusations of Pelagianism, and he does so, not by arguing how his own position is different from Pelagius, but by saying that he is not the only one, besides Pelagius, which interprets Rom. 5. 12 as exemplary sins. Beside Origen and the scholia, Erasmus also sets forth other supporters of his view, namely Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Theofylact.⁴¹ Erasmus goes on to unfold the Adam-Christ typology, and here he again follows Origen: Adam and Christ are generically the same, but specifically different, death and sin comes from Adam and life and grace from Christ. Adam gave to his successors the example of sinning but not sin itself.⁴² Erasmus here notes that he wants the meaning i.e. the semantic meaning of the verse instead of a doctrinal meaning, but it remains unclear if he polemicizes against doctrines in general or just this particular doctrine. When Erasmus wants the *meaning*, it is an attempt to reach neutrality, but his *meaning* is coloured by his own opinion. It seems that he rather prefers another doctrine, another tradition and another authority.

5. *Creating New Traditions*

In the Vulgate on Rom. 5. 12, the passage which Erasmus altered was: *in quo omnes peccauerunt* ('in whom everyone sinned'). This is original sin understood as a sin which is inherited from generation to generation, because Adam's seed contained all humankind, a sin which is in the flesh and concerns the whole state of human beings.

However, this reading did not correspond with Erasmus' opinion, so he modified the translation, which happened already in the first edition from 1516. Erasmus altered this passage to be *in eo quod omnes peccauerunt* ('in this that everyone sinned'),

⁴¹ ASD VI/7, p. 148-154; CWE 56, p. 145-148.

⁴² ASD VI/7, p. 164-166; CWE 56, p. 168.

but in his succeeding editions *in eo quod* became the famous *quatenus omnes peccauerunt* ('because everyone sinned'). In fact, already in the *Annotationes* from 1516 Erasmus suggested that to him the passage could preferably be translated as *quatenus* or *quandoquidem*, which corresponded better to the Greek ἐφ' ᾧ. His annotation as a whole was so strong an argument for translating *quatenus*, but he did not use this particular word in the translation until 1519.⁴³

The choice of 1516, *in eo quod*, seems to be a typical Erasmian middle way, it is a bridge between the Vulgate's *in quo* and his own preferred *quatenus*. Choosing *in eo quod*, he both alludes to *id quod* – which has causal meaning, and he alludes to the Vulgate's meaning *in quo*, one of many examples of Erasmus' elegant style.⁴⁴

But it is evident that Erasmus' preferable choice of interpretation was *quatenus* – so in 1519 he changed it to, *because everyone sinned*, instead of *in whom*, thus dismantling the interpretation of original sin in favour of personal sins. In the later elaborated editions of this annotation Erasmus discusses further whether or not this text is about personal sins or original sin, wanting to prove that the text – which until then had been regarded as a stronghold for the doctrine of original sin – only gives textual foundation for personal sins. Erasmus' conclusion fits his choice of translation and it is not surprising that he concludes that the passage cannot be used in an argument for original sin. He recapitulates the whole of the letter to the Romans and argues contextually how personal sins is the right way of interpretation.⁴⁵

Interestingly enough Erasmus himself claims that he is not against original sin as such, he would merely suggest other passages as the foundation of the doctrine: *Primum alia [arma] esse*

⁴³ Erasmus 1986, p. 432: *Mihi non absurdum uidetur si ἐφ' ᾧ accipitur pro quatenus, siue quandoquidem...* ('It does not seem absurd to me if ἐφ' ᾧ was taken for *quatenus* or *quandoquidem*').

⁴⁴ Erasmus' translation has by Thomas Scheck been denoted '*completely orthodox*' which seems as a rather strong exclamation of support rather than a reference to what is happening in Erasmus' work. A more precise designation would be to say that Erasmus' translation is not foreign to the various and complex Christian tradition of interpretation cf. Scheck 2008, p. 5-7.

⁴⁵ ASD VI/7, p. 148-150; CWE 56, p. 144.

docui ualidiora.⁴⁶ But is his claim valid or is this annotation not an opportunity to swiftly, and under the disguise of scholarly correction first of all to challenge the Augustinian doctrine of original sin? In the anti-Pelagian writings of Augustine, Rom. 5. 12 is referred to as the *catholica fides* for the beginning of sin in the world.⁴⁷ In the *Annotationes*, Erasmus on the one hand notes that he recognizes this position of Augustine, but afterwards he uses most of his energy in arguing for another solution.

Erasmus wants to widen the interpretation and puts in the question of unborn and unbaptized children.⁴⁸ He sets forth that it would be absurd to claim that those who have not yet come to existence could sin, therefore, he concludes there must be a *tropologia*. With this term Erasmus is hinting to the tradition of the fourfold senses of Scripture in which a *tropologia* is the figurative sense of the biblical text aimed at moral guidance and ethical advice.⁴⁹

Erasmus argues thoroughly that the verse cannot convey the meaning of sin passing down from Adam to the next generations. Furthermore, Erasmus takes in the definition that sin is *dictum aut factum* ('something said or done'). This is also a rather selective definition in that it omits the cause and background of the sin, which would be original sin. With this definition of sin, Erasmus says that sin cannot exist in new-born infants. It is worth noting that Erasmus – even though we may suppose that he knew about it – does not consider the passage in Augustine's

⁴⁶ ASD VI/7, p. 154; CWE 56, p. 148: 'First of all, I have shown that there are other passages that are more effective weapons'. Erasmus may be hinting to his *Responsio ad collationes* (1529) where he argues that Iob 14. 1 and Ps. 51. 5 more effectively refutes Pelagianism. Interestingly, these texts were also used by Augustine during the Pelagian controversy, cf. Lamberigts 2006, p. 606, but Erasmus is both in the *Responsio* and his *Annotationes* using them to contrast an Augustinian position.

⁴⁷ *c.Iul.imp.* 1.3.8. (PL 44, 645): *Una est enim omnium catholica fides, qui per unum hominem peccatum intrasse in mundum, in quo omnes peccauerunt, uno corde credunt, ore uno fatentur, et uestras nouitias praesumptiones catholica antiquitate subuertunt*. As noted in n. 46 Augustine also used other scriptural passages in order to support the notion of original sin. Some Augustine scholars even refer to that Rom. 5. 12 was not decisive in Augustine's development of the doctrine of original sin cf. Lyonnet 1963, p. 327-339.

⁴⁸ ASD VI/7, p. 140-142; CWE 56, p. 143.

⁴⁹ ASD VI/7, p. 142, l. 949.

Confessiones about sin in new-borns, where Augustine says: *quis me commemorat peccatum infantiae meae, quoniam nemo mundus a peccato coram te, nec infans cuius est unius diei uita super terram?*⁵⁰

To Erasmus, sin is not a state but an act. This view on sin does also reflect the understanding of sin in Origen: ‘Origen explicitly states that sin cannot have any substantial status in human beings, because sin has no substance in itself, but is always related to words or works’.⁵¹ The phrasing *dictum aut factum* is not from Origen, but so is the core of the idea, so again here Origen’s theology is used in the background.

Further on, in the *Annotationes*, in the middle of another discussion as if to hide it, Erasmus puts forth his opinion on original sin, and he now says indicatively: *quanquam arbitror hanc magis ab exemplis proficisci quam a natura*.⁵² This concept of sin-by-example makes a strong emphasis on the ethical tenets of sin and promotes an anthropological focus, which Erasmus maintains throughout the commentary. In the following annotation to Rom. 5. 13 Erasmus continues in the same line. The verse could also be understood as being about original sin, and Erasmus discusses whether sin is imputed, but also here rejects that this verse is about original sin. Erasmus takes the verse as being a universal statement because sin is not imputed if there is no law.⁵³

In the same annotation on the part ‘a type of whom to come’,⁵⁴ in Rom. 5. 14 Erasmus suggests that τοῦ μέλλοντος (‘of that to come’) could refer not to the Adam-Christ typology, but to the imitational sins of the descendants. Again, letting the notion of personal sins come forth. And again, in this annotation Erasmus sets forth an alternative authority on the text in order to support his view:

Caeterum haud me fugit quosdam totum hunc locum ad peccatum originale referre. Quibus equidem non admodum repugno,

⁵⁰ ‘Who can recall to me the sins I committed as a baby? For in your sight no man is free from sin, not even a child who has lived only one day on earth’ (*Conf.* 1.7.11), Augustine 1998.

⁵¹ Jacobsen 2015, p. 180.

⁵² ‘...although I think [this propensity] proceeds from example rather than from nature’, ASD VI/7, p. 142.

⁵³ ASD VI/7, p. 160, l. 322.

⁵⁴ Vulgate reads: ‘*forma futuri*’, figure. Erasmus prefers *typus*, type.

*tamen et alteram interpretationem indicare uisum est, quam nec Ambrosius omnino praetermisit Origenes pene solam sequitur. Is cuius scholia legimus titulo Hieronymi similiter.*⁵⁵

The words *non admodum* ('not totally') is an elegant way of maintaining that Erasmus, as he often states, upholds the doctrine of original sin even though he – as noted above – polemicizes against it. Further on, in the annotation to Rom. 5. 16 Erasmus again announces that he defends original sin, nevertheless, he alters the phrase in the Vulgate's *per unum peccatum* ('through the one sin'), and refocuses it to a more anthropological version when he translates *per unum qui peccauerat* ('through the one who sinned'): the one (original) sin is substituted with the personal exemplary sin.

In other passages of the *Annotationes* on Rom. 3. 9 Erasmus further considers the concept of sin as more personal than inherited: Here Erasmus translates *omnes peccato esse obnoxious*, all are guilty of sin, instead of the Vulgate's: 'all are under sin' (*sub peccato*). We here see a sign of that the state of sin as it is emphasized in the Vulgate, turns into focus on liability and responsibility. The concept of sin here again points to a more personal, imitative character rather than a state of sin in the human nature.

In the same chapter, Rom. 3. 20, Erasmus uses the Vulgate reading *cognitio*, but in the *Annotationes* he suggests *agnitio*. Earlier he had discussed the double meaning of ἐπίγνωσις, but he uses this distinction to promote a different concept of sin. To say *agnitio* tones down the reality of sin and implies that an act of the will is required to acknowledge sin. *Cognitio* goes more toward the objective reality of sin.⁵⁶

In his annotation to Romans 8 Erasmus rejects an interpretation which says that Christ condemned *sin* itself as a result of his passion and death. Erasmus explains it as, that Christ simply condemns *sinner*s, that is persons because of their committed,

⁵⁵ ASD VI/7, p. 162-164; 'I am not unaware that some relate this whole passage to original sin. I am not indeed totally opposed to them, but I thought it best to point out the other interpretation as well – which Ambrose did not completely overlook, and which Origen follows almost solely. Similarly, he whose scholia we read under the name of Jerome', CWE 56, p. 164. As mentioned above Erasmus did not know that *Is cuius scholia* stemmed from Pelagius.

⁵⁶ ASD VI/7, p. 110; CWE 56, p. 99.

not inherited, sins. It springs from a discussion of the expression 'from sin, condemned sin' in Rom. 8. 3, and whether to choose *de peccato* or *pro peccato* in this rather cryptical sentence.⁵⁷ Here again we see how Erasmus' interpretation of sin is anthropological and ethical; sin as something done or said, and not a state.

As in many other places, Erasmus at this point of the discussion draws back from further theological implications. Instead he claims to leave the conclusion to the reader even though he has just given good arguments for a specific interpretation. He often concludes his arguments with this vague point of leaving the conclusion to the reader, maybe in order to disguise his somewhat controversial points.

Throughout the *Annotationes* it seems that Erasmus works as an antiquarian, older is better, but it is actually not the case. His relationship with the past is complex, he criticizes some parts and picks up others. One past event he certainly does turn against is the council of Mileve and here we see another aspect of how he modifies tradition. When he comments on it in the middle of the passage under the commentary to Rom. 5. 12, it seems as if he considers the theme tiresome. The council was according to Erasmus 'provincial', and of 'a certain kind', and he underlines, that he does not consider himself to be bound by such a synod: *Non hic excutio quantum sit anathematum in illis conciliis prouincialibus quae utcunque uertit Hilarius, neque puto me usque adeo astringi eiusmodi synodis*.⁵⁸ Here, I think, we see an example of how Erasmus selects some traditions and argues against others: The council of Mileve does not suit his understanding of sin. It is an example of how he models tradition, taking one traditional element as the council of Mileve and discredits it. It is done very convincing, because of the elegant style Erasmus as usual displays.

⁵⁷ ASD VI/7, p. 194; CWE 56, p. 202.

⁵⁸ ASD VI/7, p. 154; CWE 56, p. 148: 'I am not examining here the many anathemas of those provincial councils that Hilary, in some manner, translated, and I do not think I am much bound by synods of that kind'.

6. *Sin and Education*

For Origen sin has no substantial status in human beings because sin has no substance in itself, it is always related to words or works.⁵⁹ In Origen's commentary on Rom. 5. 16 he relates the role of education to the 'treatment' of sin, stating that the seed of sin stems from (lack of) education rather than from original sin:

*...et habere in semetipsis similitudinem praevaricationis eius non solum ex semine, sed ex institutione susceptam. Omnes enim qui in hoc mundo nascuntur, non solum nutriuntur a parentibus, sed et imbuuntur, et non solum sunt filii peccatorum, sed et discipuli.*⁶⁰

Erasmus does not quote this directly in the *Annotationes*, however, this link between education as a mean to overcome sin is evidently shared by Erasmus. We find here in Erasmus' thinking a 'humanistic' version of what recent scholarship has denoted '*pedagogical soteriology*' in Origen's thinking.⁶¹ It is a view on human existence which was shared by Erasmus, as well as the wider humanist circles, in which the natural good capacities of man to either ascend or descend spiritually was emphasized.⁶² The postlapsarian human being's *imago Dei* still held capacities to seek the good. This ability was believed to be a part of a human being's *dignitas hominis* and was a widespread theme in the humanist tradition.⁶³ The means to spiritually ascend or descend

⁵⁹ Jacobsen 2015, p. 180.

⁶⁰ "They have in themselves a likeness of Adam's transgression assumed not only from seed, but from education. For all who are born in this world are not only raised by their parents, but also educated, and not only are they not only sons of sinners, but also disciples"; PG 14, 1018b-c. Erasmus read Origen's commentary in the Latin translation of Rufinus see note 18 above.

⁶¹ Jacobsen 2015, p. 187, 312.

⁶² This view was most vividly expressed in Pico della Mirandola's *Oratio de dignitate hominis* (1486). However, one should be careful of characterizing this view as purely 'humanist', because this term 'humanist' is too broad and tends to cover the dialectic relationship between renaissance and antique thinking, and thereby confuse deeply rooted and continuous ideas of Western philosophy/theology with 'new' renaissance ideas. The humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth century did not invent the notion of education as a mean to spiritually ascend and descend, it was known already from antiquity and forward, and the humanists, Erasmus included, shared these ideas and promoted them widely; cf. Hankins 2003, p. 611-613.

⁶³ Garin 1972, p. 20-30; Gerwing 1999, p. 525-526; Cancik & Herms 2011.

was education, through which human beings were able to cultivate their intellect and empower the will in order to be able to opt for the good. Education meant for Erasmus both classical education as well as 'biblical' education, which he collected in the term *philosophia Christi*, the philosophy of Christ, which to Erasmus expressed the core of the teachings of Christ as well as the sum of the classical tradition. Learning and obtaining the *philosophia Christi* gives human beings back their natural condition, it even gives rebirth (*renascentia*):

*Quid autem aliud est Christi philosophia quam ipse renascentiam uocat, quam instauratio bene conditae naturae?*⁶⁴

The *philosophia Christi* constitutes the means to renew human beings wherefore we can see how powerful education was considered by Erasmus, education as 'pedagogical soteriology'.

The notion of 'pedagogical soteriology' can also be traced in other works of Erasmus. In Erasmus' answer to Luther from 1526, the *Hyperaspites*, Erasmus claims that the tendency to sin can appear weaker in well-educated people.⁶⁵ In 1522 in the *Paraphrase on Matthew* Erasmus wrote that: 'From false opinions arise all of life's sins',⁶⁶ and at another place 'all corruption stems from a corrupt education'.⁶⁷ This links immediately the theme of sin to the theme of education in that the right and proper amount of education can minimize the effects of sin and sin itself. This high esteem of education gives a strong impetus to educate people and thus eliminate sin.

When Erasmus argues for an example sin, the sin becomes more an outer attribute which then – maybe not easily – but which can be treated with education. Then a human being can be viewed as an independent and to a large extent free agent who can go out in the world and be pious and educate himself.

⁶⁴ Erasmus 1967, p. 22: 'But what is the philosophy of Christ other than what he himself calls rebirth and restoration of the natural good condition'.

⁶⁵ *Hyperaspites* II, LB X, 1454F-1455A, *Fateor in quibusdam ingeniis benenatis ac bene educatis minimum esse pronitatis. Maxima procliuuitatis* ('tendency') *pars est non ex natura, sed ex corrupta institutione, ex improbo conuictu, ex assuetudine peccandi malitiaque uoluntatis.*

⁶⁶ LB VII, 23D, *Ex falsis opinionibus oriuntur omnia peccata uitae.*

⁶⁷ *Ecclesiastes* LB V, 909D, *Videmus uniuersam fere morum corruptelam ex corrupta educatione prouenire.*

7. *Tradition and Authority*

Erasmus wanted to rework the scriptures and the tradition by turning to the oldest sources of Christianity. He is a champion in challenging the existing authorities and place them in context and even expose if they do not hold. He undermines some of the established authorities, trying to find the historical meaning and correcting errors. But he also is interested in creating new authorities, authorities who can support his humanistic view. Erasmus uses hand-picked authorities in order to underline his own theology, to underline his own agenda, building new authorities and traditions with scholarly splendour and swift style. He was very erudite so he could easily see through many of the established doctrines. Therefore, it seems that he follows some of the established authorities but instead follows others in the background, as he did with Origen.

Concerning the reception of the Church Fathers, Erasmus is an active recipient on more levels. The Fathers were *diuinae scripturae testimonia* ('witnesses to the divine scripture')⁶⁸ to Erasmus, and he wanted to revive and imitate, not only their theology, but also their method.⁶⁹ The Church Fathers were regarded by him as embodiments of the ideal of *studia humanitatis* and of the synthesis between the philosophy of the Greco-Roman world and Christianity. Thus, Erasmus wanted to implement the methods of the past into his present time. Or, more precise, it might be considered the other way around – Erasmus saw with his own time as point of departure into the past and shaped the idea of the past into his own contemporary idea – thus modelling and contemporizing the past, and its traditions and authorities, and thus making it appear as if the ancient methods were his own.

The use of Church Fathers in Erasmus is often merely mentioned as influences or loans.⁷⁰ I would argue, that the notion of memory as an overall epistemological category, is a more precise way to describe what is at stake with Erasmus' use of the

⁶⁸ Erasmus 1967, p. 62.

⁶⁹ *Quandoquidem haec non Origeni tantum sed et Augustino optima ratio est interpretandi diuinas litteras.* Erasmus 1967, p. 66.

⁷⁰ See for example Schär 1979; Godin 1982; Béné 1969; den Boeft 1997/2001.

Church Fathers; to talk about loans or influence is much too passive when it comes to Renaissance Humanism and especially Erasmus. He was aware of his work, so theological ideas did not just flow in over him. The use of the *patres* were an act of imitation in order to contemporize them with the sixteenth century as the point of departure, not the theology of the second and third centuries. This explains why Erasmus is not simply copying the theology of Origen, but receiving some elements and rejecting others, and most important the modelling and fitting of the old theology into his own time.

The text we have examined, Erasmus' work, *Annotationes*, has a complex relation to the theme of authority and tradition, modifying the old authority and establishing itself as the new one. Erasmus wants with this text to construct tradition, to be a new monument. It wants to renew and strengthen the biblical text by using the new philological methods. Erasmus regarded himself as a new Jerome, and in a way also a new Origen,⁷¹ and his ideal is a revision, a strengthening of the text: The new science of philology is used in a complex way to renew and strengthen in order to preserve the old.

8. Conclusion

In the Renaissance, a receptive culture arose with reading and promotion of ancient ideas. The use of the past was an omnipresent theme in order to repudiate existing authorities. This culture paved the way for Erasmus' patristic and New Testament works. Erasmus uses patristic concepts of original sin in order to create and promote new authorities and traditions. Under the disguise of being corrective and elaborative Erasmus polemicizes against the doctrine of original sin and established Church Fathers. Erasmus goes against the Augustinian concept of original sin which is generally toned down. Rather he forfeits the notion of sins of imitation, personal sin and sins after example. Erasmus in one way states that he supports the existing tradition, but in another way in a swift and elegant manner he finds and builds

⁷¹ Rice 1985/88. Erasmus wanted to be a *Hieronymus rediuius*, a Jerome brought back to life to strengthen philology.

up an alternative theological tradition appropriate to express the belief in the positive capacities of postlapsarian man to use education as a mean to eliminate sin.

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Abstract

The culture of reception and memory in the Renaissance had paved the way for Erasmus' patristic and New Testament works, where new traditions and authorities were changed and introduced. In this article, I examine Erasmus' *Annotationes in Epistolam ad Roma-*

nos in order to qualify how he receives some parts of tradition and rejects others while focusing on his use of patristic concepts of original sin. The *Annotationes* by Erasmus is not to be regarded only as a philological work but is to a large extent also a theological writing. Erasmus reinterprets the notion of original sin in the Epistle to the Romans into a notion of imitational sins. I discuss how he elegantly and swiftly modifies authority and tradition by polemicizing against Augustine, and in a strategic manner promotes Origen as a supporter of his own views.

DETTE DES TRADUCTIONS ESPAGNOLES DES ÉVANGILES ENVERS LE *NOVUM TESTAMENTUM* D'ÉRASME ET SES *ANNOTATIONES*

La première traduction imprimée des Évangiles en castillan que nous étudions ici ¹ paraît en 1543 à Anvers vingt-sept ans après l'édition princeps du *Nouum Instrumentum*. Contemporain de l'ouvrage d'Érasme, les Espagnols produisirent un énorme travail philologique biblique et réalisèrent une prouesse typographique dans une Espagne qui ne bénéficiait pas d'une imprimerie aussi performante que celles d'autres pays européens. En effet, les biblistes d'Alcalá de Henares imprimèrent la Bible en confrontant les différentes versions connues des textes sacrés. ² Dans le cas du Nouveau Testament qui sortit des presses d'Arnao Guillén de Brocar en 1514, même s'il avait été décidé globalement de ne pas modifier le texte de la Vulgate latine à partir de la version grecque, leur édition permettait une très rapide localisation des différences entre les deux textes. En effet, en plus d'une présentation en colonne avec le texte grec et latin se faisant face, à chaque mot était attribuée une lettre en exposant, facilitant encore l'identification exacte et rapide de l'équivalent latin ainsi que les ajouts ou les suppressions. Face à ces deux sources de base, le *Nouum Testamentum* d'Érasme et la Bible Complutense, nos traducteurs castillans citent seulement la seconde. Elle constitue chez Juan de Robles une source fondamentale et bien que Casiodoro de Reina n'en dise rien, Cipriano de Valera qui révisé son texte, lui accorde une place de choix la situant à l'origine du renouvelle-

¹ Pour les traductions médiévales, voir en particulier Avenzoa 2012, p. 288-306; 2008, 13-75; Francomano, 2011; Fernández López 2003 et Reinhardt 1976.

² Sur la Bible polyglotte d'Alcalá voir en particulier Alvar Ezquerro 2016.

ment de la vraie théologie.³ Malgré le silence qui entoure l'œuvre d'Érasme, nous avons voulu examiner dans quelle mesure son *Nouum Testamentum* ainsi que ses *Annotationes* étaient utilisés dans les quatre traductions castillanes réalisées au XVI^e siècle. Notre étude porte sur: *El Nuevo Testamento de nuestro Redemptor y Salvador Iesu Christo* de Francisco de Enzinas (Anvers, Mierd-mann, 1543), *la Nueva traslación y interpretación española de los cuatro sacrosantos Evangelios de Jesu Christo* de fray Juan de Robles ainsi que ses commentaires (manuscrit, c. 1540-1558), *El Testamento Nuevo de nuestro Señor y salvador Iesu Christo* de Juan Pérez de Pineda (Venecia, J. Philadelpho, 1556 [Genève, Jean Crespin]) et la *Biblia que es los sacros libros el Viejo y Nuevo Testamento* désignée communément sous le nom de *Bible de l'Ours* de Casiodoro de Reina (Bâle, Apiarius, 1569). Nous avons choisi d'étudier ici le premier chapitre de Luc pour plusieurs motifs: tout d'abord parce que cet article se situe dans le cadre du travail que nous poursuivons depuis plusieurs années sur la traduction et le commentaire aux Évangiles de Juan de Robles et que nous souhaitions examiner un chapitre rédigé assez tôt (vers 1545) et n'ayant pas fait l'objet d'une révision postérieure comme ce fut le cas pour l'Évangile de Matthieu; ensuite parce qu'il s'agit d'un chapitre qui pose des problèmes aux traducteurs et, finalement, parce que dans celui-ci Érasme introduit de nombreuses modifi-

³ 'Esta Biblia fue el único instrumento, y medio, que Dios tomó para reformar y renovar el estudio de las lenguas y buenas letras, que en aquel tiempo estavan al rincón comidas de polilla y cubiertas de moho. Y assí los doctos començaron a dexar la theología escolástica, que consiste en vanas y intrincadas especulaciones sacadas de la filosofía inventada por los hombres sin ninguna palabra de Dios, y se dieron a la verdadera theología, que es la lección de la Sagrada Escripura (A estos los Escolástichos llamavan por escarnio y vituperio Biblistas) y assí estos Biblistas començaron a sacar su agua de las fuentes de la Salud, y no de cisternas resquebrajadas, cuya agua es hedionda y mortífera' ('Cette Bible fut le seul instrument et moyen que Dieu prit pour réformer et renouveler l'étude des langues et des bonnes lettres qui à cette époque étaient reléguées dans un coin, rongées par les mites et couvertes de moisissure. Et ainsi les personnes savantes commençèrent à abandonner la théologie scolastique qui consiste en des spéculations vaines et embrouillées tirées de la philosophie inventée par les hommes sans aucune parole de Dieu, et ils se consacrèrent à la véritable théologie qui est la compréhension de la Sainte Écriture (Pour s'en moquer et les blâmer, les scolastiques les appelaient biblistes) et ainsi ces biblistes commençèrent à puiser leur eau aux sources du Salut, et non aux citernes fêlées dont l'eau est putride et mortifère'), Reina (Valera) 1602, f. 3.

cations par rapport à la version traditionnelle de la Vulgate qu'il commente amplement dans ses *Annotationes*.

1. *Identités des traducteurs*

Dans un premier temps, nous rappellerons brièvement l'identité des traducteurs ainsi que leur parcours religieux qui est fondamental pour examiner au mieux leurs traductions.⁴ Nous insisterons davantage sur fray Juan de Robles qui est le moins connu des quatre traducteurs.

Francisco de Enzinas (1518-1552) travailla dans le milieu de l'édition.⁵ Il composa trois ouvrages le *De statu Belgico deque religione Hispanica*,⁶ les *Acta Concilii Tridentini* ainsi que la *Historia uera de morte sancti uiri Ioannis Diazii Hispani* mais il s'illustre surtout comme traducteur et éditeur. À côté d'écrits bibliques (Nouveau Testament, Psaumes, Job, Ecclésiastique et Proverbes) et de propagande réformée (*Breve y compendiosa institución de la religión cristiana*⁷), il traduisit aussi des classiques tels que Lucien, Tite-Live et Plutarque.⁸ Il étudia à Paris puis à Louvain (1539) et à Wittenberg. Il vécut exilé et fut contraint de fuir à plusieurs reprises: il quitta Bruxelles où il fut emprisonné pour Wittenberg puis vécut à Bâle, Cambridge et termina sa vie à Strasbourg. Il embrassa le protestantisme⁹ et reçut l'influence de Luther, de Calvin mais aussi celle de Castellion, qu'il rencontra vers 1546 et avec lequel il se lia d'amitié. L'empreinte de ce dernier semble d'ailleurs profonde puisque, comme l'a montré C. Gilly, ce sont les éditions de Castellion que suivit Enzinas pour

⁴ Sur les traductions que nous étudions, exceptée celle de Juan de Robles qui jusqu'à présent n'avait fait l'objet d'aucune étude, voir Delgado 2007, p. 209-224 et Hasbrouck 2015 ainsi que les monographies consacrées à chaque traducteur auxquelles nous renvoyons.

⁵ Nous suivons Bergua Caverio 2006. Sur Enzinas, voir aussi Nelson 1999a; Enzinas 1995; Agten 2013, p. 218-241; 2015, p. 351-358; Christman 2012, p. 197-218.

⁶ Voir Enzinas 2008a.

⁷ Voir Enzinas 2008b.

⁸ Pour une liste complète de ses œuvres et traductions voir Bergua Caverio 2006, p. 213-217.

⁹ J. Bergua note qu'il évolua toujours entre deux pôles, celui de la réforme instituée – qu'elle soit d'obédience luthérienne, calviniste ou anglicane – et celui plus diffus du spiritualisme érasmien. Bergua Caverio 2006, p. 210.

ses traductions de l'Ancien Testament qu'il n'eut pas le temps d'achever.¹⁰

Juan Pérez de Pineda (?-1567) fut ecclésiastique à Séville. Il fit le choix de l'exil rejoignant Genève où il passa une grande partie de sa vie, se déplaçant à Francfort et Paris pour faire imprimer ses œuvres. Il fut pasteur calviniste à Blois en 1562 et reçut l'autorisation d'exercer ce ministère à Anvers en 1566 mais il mourut avant de pouvoir rejoindre son nouveau poste.¹¹ Il entretint d'excellentes relations avec Calvin et travailla à la production et diffusion d'ouvrages de propagande en espagnol à destination de la Péninsule. Son travail porte sur les textes bibliques: il édita les commentaires de Juan de Valdés aux Épîtres de Paul (aux Romains et aux Corinthiens, I) et traduisit le Nouveau Testament ainsi que les Psaumes de David mais il produisit aussi des ouvrages de propagande composant un catéchisme calviniste *Sumario breve de la doctrina Christiana* (1556), basé sur celui de Genève, et éditant l'*Imagen del Antecristo* de Bernardino Ochino.

Juan de Robles (c. 1492-1572), moine bénédictin, était une autorité à l'intérieur de son ordre. Il fut prieur et abbé de nombreux monastères en Espagne et impulsa la réforme de l'ordre en 1547.¹² Il veillait notamment à la formation des moines et prépara à leur intention un bréviaire et un missel (1568). Il traduisit aussi la Règle de Saint Benoît en castillan (1571). Éminent théologien et juriste, il fut mandaté par son ordre pour répondre à la consultation menée en 1547 par Charles Quint sur la vente des biens des monastères dont le bénéfice aurait permis de contribuer à financer la coûteuse politique internationale du monarque. Robles examina la question sous trois angles: est-ce juste?, est-ce une bonne chose? et est-ce utile? pour répondre finalement négativement à cette proposition. C'était un prêcheur de renom et son entreprise exceptionnelle dans l'Espagne du XVI^e siècle, ainsi que dans l'Europe de l'époque, de traduire et commenter en castillan intégralement les Évangiles pour tous les Chrétiens est à mettre en relation avec cette activité. En effet, Juan de Robles, loin de vivre isolé dans son monastère était un homme très au fait des questions

¹⁰ Gilly 1985, p. 326-353 et 2017, p. 10-12.

¹¹ Nous suivons l'article de Boeglin 2010, p. 1192-1193.

¹² Cf. Alonso Seco 2012.

sociales. Il faisait partie de ceux qui mirent en place une réforme de la bienfaisance à Zamora, Salamanque et Valladolid au début des années 40 suivant l'édit de 1540 promulgué par Charles Quint et il la défendit contre les attaques d'un autre théologien Domingo de Soto en 1545 dans son *De la orden que en algunos pueblos de España se ha puesto en la limosna para remedio de los verdaderos pobres* (1545). De la même manière, dans ses commentaires aux Évangiles il montre avoir une connaissance aigüe des pratiques et croyances populaires de la société de son temps. Son œuvre majeure est sans conteste sa traduction commentée des Évangiles qui occupe 509 feuillets. La qualité de sa traduction rédigée dans un castillan clair et soigné en fait, à notre sens, une des meilleures encore aujourd'hui. Robles avait prévu d'éditer son travail de son vivant comme l'indique son prologue et son ébauche de dédicace que nous avons datés autour de 1543. Toutefois l'œuvre semble être restée manuscrite, ce qui s'explique aisément par le contexte: elle fut achevée en 1558 à la veille de la publication de l'Index inquisitorial de 1559 qui interdisait catégoriquement la traduction partielle ou totale de la Bible dans une Espagne qui s'était beaucoup refermée sur elle-même. Seule sa traduction fut éditée en 1906, les commentaires étant jugés, encore en ce début de *xx^e* siècle, peu recommandables. C'est pourtant bien là que réside le caractère exceptionnel de l'œuvre de Robles car il commente chaque verset en espagnol dans le but de les rendre intelligibles à tous, comme il le précise dans son prologue.¹³ Il s'agit du seul traducteur catholique parmi les quatre que nous étudions.

Casiodoro de Reina (c. 1520-1594) fut moine hiéronymite¹⁴ au monastère de San Isidoro del Campo (Séville) qu'il quitta pour Genève afin d'éviter les persécutions. Il fut le premier à offrir une traduction imprimée de la Bible en castillan. Il traduisit aussi en français la *Historia Confessionis Augustanae* (1582) et composa un catéchisme (1580) publié en latin, français et néerlandais. Il est également l'auteur de commentaires à des passages des Évangiles de Jean et Matthieu publiés en latin (1573) et Carlos Gilly lui attribue un ouvrage contre l'Inquisition *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae artes* (1567) publié sous le pseudonyme de

¹³ Cf. Rabaeu 2018.

¹⁴ Nous suivons Moreno 2017 et Gilly 2010. Voir aussi Gordon Kinder 1975.

Reginaldo Montalvo. Ses désaccords avec Calvin sur la manière de traiter les hérétiques le conduisirent de nouveau à l'exil. Il trouva refuge à Londres (1558) qu'il dut quitter précipitamment pour Anvers (1564). Poursuivi à la fois par les catholiques et les calvinistes, il fut condamné à errer. Il se rapprocha de l'Église luthérienne et devint pasteur de l'église française luthérienne d'Anvers en 1579 puis, en 1593, ministre luthérien de la congrégation wallonne de Francfort.¹⁵ Doté d'une formation solide en théologie,¹⁶ Reina semble aussi avoir possédé des qualités de précheur exceptionnelles. Il sut, autant en Espagne qu'en Angleterre ou aux Pays-Bas, susciter l'adhésion et l'enthousiasme autour de ses enseignements.

Nous nous trouvons donc face à deux profils différents: d'une part, Enzinas et Pérez traducteurs et éditeurs qui se consacrèrent davantage à la divulgation, par le biais de la traduction et le commerce de livres, qu'au travail philologique proprement dit¹⁷ travaillant avec une certaine rapidité qui exclut une confrontation textuelle multiple; et d'autre part, Casiodoro de Reina et Juan de Robles qui ont une approche différente du texte, plus philologique, leur méthode s'apparentant davantage à celle des théologiens qu'à celle des acteurs du monde éditorial, même si Reina eut lui aussi des activités de traduction et d'édition.¹⁸

2. *Personne ne nomme Érasme*

Les traductions d'Enzinas¹⁹ et de Pérez sont présentées dès leur page de titre comme réalisées à partir du texte grec, l'édition de

¹⁵ Moreno 2017, p. 226.

¹⁶ Gilly rappelait que parmi les moines qui s'enfuirent du monastère de San Isidoro del Campo, seul Reina n'eut pas à compléter ses études en théologie. Cf. Gilly 2010, p. 1314.

¹⁷ J. Bergua écrit: 'Hay que destacar que Enzinas no se mueve en el ámbito de la erudición bíblica, aunque tenga dominio del griego, sino en el de la divulgación en lengua vulgar...'. Bergua Caverio 2006, p. 48. Il le rappelle d'ailleurs à plusieurs reprises dans le cas des traductions d'Enzinas et particulièrement à propos de la traduction de Plutarque. Cf. p. 166 et 202.

¹⁸ Il publia notamment la *Bibliotheca Sancta* de Sixte de Sienne, le texte de sa *Declaración o Confesión de fe* de Londres et le *Dialogus in Epistolam ad Romanos* de Antonio del Corro. Cf. Gilly 2017.

¹⁹ Enzinas 1543: *El Nuevo Testamento de nuestro Redemptor y Salvador Iesu Christo, traduzido del original Griego en romance Castellano*.

Pérez insistant sur la fidélité de la traduction à l'original grec: *El Testamento Nuevo de nuestro Señor y Salvador Iesu Christo. Nueva y fielmente traduzido del original Griego en romance Castellano* ('Le Nouveau Testament de notre Seigneur et Sauveur Jésus Christ. Nouvellement et fidèlement traduit de l'original grec en castillan'). Enzinas n'évoque pas dans son prologue les textes utilisés ni ne reprend l'affirmation selon laquelle il traduit du grec.²⁰ Il se limite à parler de son travail ('trabajo') et à expliquer les raisons qui l'ont poussé à traduire le Nouveau Testament en castillan. Pérez ne se montre pas beaucoup plus explicite développant, lui aussi, davantage les motifs qui le poussèrent à traduire que les problèmes de traduction. Il affirme, toutefois, traduire depuis la langue en laquelle fut originellement écrit le Nouveau Testament: 'dos causas me movieron a tomar no liviano trabajo de traduzir de la lengua en que originalmente fue escripto en nuestro común y natural romance'.²¹

Doit-on prendre cette affirmation au pied de la lettre? Comme nous le montrerons plus loin, Enzinas a sous les yeux le texte latin d'Érasme et c'est vraisemblablement plus du latin qu'il traduit que de la version grecque érasmienne. Il faut donc, à notre sens, l'interpréter autrement: on attire l'attention sur le fait que ces traductions ne sont pas réalisées à partir de la source traditionnelle que constitue la Vulgate mais sur une source plus fiable, la source grecque. Il s'agit, par conséquent, d'une précision à l'intention du lecteur lui permettant d'identifier immédiatement ces traductions comme novatrices dans la ligne d'Érasme et de la Réforme.

Sans conteste les travaux de Casiodoro de Reina et de Robles sont plus élaborés d'un point de vue philologique. Ils évoquent les problèmes de traduction ainsi que le travail philologique réalisé. Ils affirment avoir confronté les textes: grecs et latins dans le cas de Robles, auxquels s'ajoute le texte hébreu pour Reina. Ils citent certains des ouvrages qu'ils utilisèrent mais globalement ils gardent une grande discrétion à ce sujet. Reina mentionne la Vulgate, l'édition de Sante Pagnino, la Bible de Ferrare et le Nouveau Testament Syriaque qu'il regrette de n'avoir pu utiliser. Robles, pour sa part, ne cite que la Bible polyglotte Complutense:

²⁰ Ni dans le prologue de l'édition officielle ni dans l'original. Cf. Nelson 1999b.

²¹ Pérez de Pineda 1556, f. [6v].

Y para interpretar mejor el texto del sancto Evangelio y más sin que ningún hombre docto ni indocto tenga que caluniar, sigo en la translación del Evangelio, más que a otros, los textos griego y latino que con tan grandes costas y diligencia mandó hazer en Alcalá el reverendísimo cardinal de Toledo don fray Francisco Ximénez por ser más corregido y más apartado de novedades que otro.²²

Tous deux ont consulté des commentaires et différentes traductions en langues étrangères mais ils n'offrent aucune précision à ce sujet. Reina écrit:

Avémosnos ayudado del juyzio y doctrina así de los bivos como de los muertos, que en la obra nos han podido dar alguna ayuda, consultando las más versiones que hasta aora ay, y muchas vezes los commentarios.²³

Il évoque ces versions soutenant que la sienne est celle qui est la plus proche du texte original après celle de la Bible de Ferrare:

que en ninguna de las versiones que avemos visto (sacada sola la Española de Ferrara) aya menos añadiduras de estas, ni más cortas las que ay, que en la nuestra, ni más diligencia en averlas señalado todas de otra letra que la del texto común...²⁴

Robles précise:

Y aún para interpretar propiamente las palabras del Evangelio fue menester mirar otros originales griegos y latinos, y todas las traducciones y anotaciones que hasta estos tiempos se han hecho porque muchas vezes el estilo de la lengua griega nos dize más claro el intento del evangelista que la latina...²⁵

²² 'Et pour mieux interpréter le texte du saint Évangile et afin qu'aucun homme savant ou non, de surcroît, ne puisse calomnier, je suis dans la traduction de l'Évangile, plus que d'autres, les textes grec et latin qu'à si grands frais et avec tant de soin le très révérend cardinal de Tolède Francisco Ximénez fit réaliser à Alcalá car il s'agit d'un texte davantage corrigé et éloigné des nouveautés qu'un autre'.

²³ 'Nous nous sommes aidé du jugement et de la doctrine aussi bien des vivants que des morts, qui dans l'œuvre nous ont pu être de quelque aide, consultant la plupart des versions qui existent jusqu'à présent, et maintes fois les commentaires', Reina 1569, f. [6r].

²⁴ Reina 1569, f. [2v].

²⁵ 'Et encore pour interpréter correctement les mots de l'Évangile il fut nécessaire de regarder d'autres originaux grecs et latins et toutes les traductions et anno-

Ils estiment d'ailleurs tous les deux que ce travail était nécessaire, les travaux de leurs prédécesseurs étant lacunaires ou imparfaits. Reina explique avoir confronté le texte latin de la Vulgate avec les textes grecs pour une partie de l'Ancien Testament (Ecclésiastique, Sagesse, Tobie et Judith): 'procuramos retener lo que la Vieja translación Latina pone de más en muchas partes, y hacer contexto de ello con lo que estava en las versiones Griegas, en lo qual no pusimos poco trabajo y diligencia' car ceux qui avaient procédé auparavant à une telle comparaison ne lui semblaient pas assez soigneux: 'porque aunque hallamos que esto mismo avían intentado otros antes de nos, no los hallamos tan diligentes que nos escusassen todo el trabajo que esta diligencia requería'.²⁶ Il considère cette précaution d'autant plus nécessaire dans le Nouveau Testament qu'il existe des différences, à certains endroits, entre les textes grecs et que, parfois, la Vulgate ajoute des choses absentes des textes grecs.²⁷ Robles estime son texte plus 'clair et intelligible' que ceux de ses prédécesseurs et même, en de nombreux endroits, 'plus clair que le texte latin'.²⁸

Ni Robles ni Casiodoro ne nomment Enzinas ou Pérez. Leur objectif est de proposer la version la plus pure (Reina) et la plus claire (Robles) à leurs lecteurs et ce à l'échelle européenne. Il ne s'agit plus seulement de livrer aux lecteurs le Nouveau Testament en langue castillane comme l'avait fait Enzinas. Sans qu'aucun des traducteurs ne cite Érasme, les allusions à la primauté du texte grec et aux annotations et commentaires renvoient toutefois directement au *Nouum Testamentum* d'Érasme et à ses *Annotationes*.

tations qui ont été écrites jusqu'à présent car très souvent le style de la langue grecque nous dit plus clairement l'intention de l'évangéliste que la latine', Robles, f. Xr. Voir ce prologue avec les différentes corrections apportées par Robles. Cf. Rabaeu 2018.

²⁶ Reina 1569, f. 3.

²⁷ 'Por quanto en los mismos textos griegos ay también esta diferencia en algunas partes, y todos parece que son de igual autoridad. Algunas vezes hallamos que la Vieja versión Latina añade sin ninguna autoridad de texto griego, ni aun esto quisimos dexar, por parecernos que no es fuera de propósito, y que fue possible aver tenido también texto griego de no menos autoridad que los que agora se hallan'.

²⁸ 'Por lo qual confío en Jesu Christo que el texto del sancto Evangelio va agora no solamente más claro y más intelligible que hasta aquí se ha visto en lengua española, mas también va en muchas partes más claro que el texto latino'.

3. Utilisation d'Érasme dans les traductions et commentaires

Préalablement à l'exposition des résultats de notre étude, deux observations sont nécessaires. La première est que, bien que les modifications d'Érasme au texte latin usuel de l'époque soient nombreuses, une assez grande partie de celles-ci n'ont pas de répercussions sur la traduction. C'est le cas ainsi de *populus* qu'Érasme substitue à *plebs* (v. 21), le *ipsius* que recommande Érasme au lieu de *eius* (v. 32) ou la formule *nacta es* qui vient remplacer *inuenisti* et que nos traducteurs rendent tous par le verbe 'hallar' (v. 30). La seconde est qu'il est assez difficile, lorsque nous traitons de question de traduction, d'identifier formellement le texte de base utilisé par le traducteur et cela particulièrement dans le cas de la Bible. En effet, la plupart des versions en langue vulgaire utilisent l'édition grecque et/ou latine érasmiennne. Il s'avère donc parfois complexe de savoir, lorsque les traductions coïncident, si le traducteur utilise le texte érasmien directement ou en hérite par le biais d'un autre traducteur.

a. Enzinas, traducteur d'Érasme

Enzinas traduit à partir du Nouveau Testament d'Érasme.²⁹ Nous n'avons pas défini à partir de quelle édition il travaille, tâche qui sera plus aisée lorsque nous disposerons de l'édition critique de l'Évangile de Luc.³⁰ Il suit presque systématiquement les modifications introduites par l'humaniste de Rotterdam dans sa nouvelle version latine. Nous ne citerons ici que quelques exemples. Il traduit: 'Pues que muchos han puesto mano en escrebir por orden la historia de aquellas cosas que son de certissima fee entre nosotros'³¹ (v. 1) suivant le: '*Quoniam complures aggressi sunt contexere narrationem earum quae inter nos certissimae fidei sunt rerum*'³² au lieu du traditionnel '*quae in nobis completae sunt*,

²⁹ Marcel Bataillon avait déjà qualifié sa traduction de 'belle version espagnole du Nouveau Testament érasmien'. Cf. Bataillon 1998, p. 591.

³⁰ Nous n'avons pas eu le temps de confronter la traduction d'Enzinas de l'Évangile de Jean pour lequel, cette fois, existe l'édition critique réalisée par Brown (ASD VI/2).

³¹ Enzinas 1543, f. 71.

³² Nous avons utilisé l'édition de Erasmus 1535, p. 83.

rerum'.³³ Érasme modifie '*secundum consuetudinem sacerdotii, sorte exiit ut incensum poneret, ingressus in templum Domini*'³⁴ (v. 9) en '*secundum consuetudinem functionis sacerdotalis, sors illi obuēnit, ut odores incenderet, ingressus in templum Domini*'³⁵ attirant l'attention, dans son commentaire, sur l'ambiguïté du verbe *exiit*:

*Sorte exiit. Graecis est ἔλαχεν, id est: 'sortitus est', quod interpret, ni fallor, uolens dilucidius reddere periphrasi uerterat 'sors exiit', quod sortibus missis in urnam sors illius aut illius exisse diceretur. Id aliquis deprauauit 'in sorte exiit'; proinde nos uertimus 'sorte illi obuēnit'. Alioqui Zacharias 'ingressus est', non 'exiit'.*³⁶

Enzinas suit la traduction érasmiennne traduisant '*segund la costumbre de la administraciōn sacerdotal, le vino por suerte de ençender el ençienso, siendo entrado en el templo del Señor*'.³⁷ Sa traduction est parfois servile. Il traduit ainsi '*siceram*' (v. 15) par '*siçera*'³⁸ qui est un terme absent de la langue espagnole. De même, le '*per omnem montanam regionem Iudaeae*' est rendu par '*por toda la montana región de Iudea*'³⁹ (v. 65).

Il retient les modifications temporelles effectuées par Érasme: '*quae dicebatur sterilis*'⁴⁰ (v. 36) est traduit par '*era llamada estéril*'⁴¹ contre le '*uocatur*'⁴² de la Vulgate; '*ut memor esset misericordiae*' (v. 54) par: '*para que se acordase de la misericordia*'⁴³ alors que les autres traducteurs espagnols adopteront un infinitif ou un gérondif; '*seruiemus ipsi*'⁴⁴ (v. 74) par: '*le sirbiésemos*',⁴⁵ les autres traduisant par un subjonctif présent ou un conditionnel.

³³ Bible polyglotte Complutense 1514, f. h3v.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Erasmus 1535, p. 83.

³⁶ ASD VI/5, p. 454.

³⁷ Enzinas 1543, f. 71v.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Enzinas 1543, f. 73v.

⁴⁰ Erasmus 1535, p. 84.

⁴¹ Enzinas 1543, f. 72v.

⁴² Bible polyglotte Complutense 1514, f. h4v.

⁴³ Enzinas 1543, f. 73.

⁴⁴ Erasmus 1535, p. 86. Dans la Vulgate: '*seruiamus*', cf. Bible polyglotte Complutense 1514, f. h5.

⁴⁵ Enzinas 1543, f. 73v.

Il tient compte des mots ajoutés par Érasme et non contenus dans la Vulgate comme nous venons de le voir dans le verset 9. Il préfère aussi suivre le *'cunctis diebus uitae nostrae'*⁴⁶ (v. 75) d'Érasme qui remplace *'omnibus diebus nostris'*⁴⁷ traduisant: *'todos los días de nuestra vida'*.⁴⁸ Enzinas conserve l'étymologie de l'édition érasmiennne: *'Vt uteretur misericordia'*⁴⁹ (v. 72) est rendu par: *'Que usaría misericordia'*⁵⁰ alors que les autres traducteurs opteront pour le verbe 'hacer' ('faire'). Il traduit *'laudans deum'* par *'loando a Dios'* alors que Casiodoro et Robles optent pour *'bendiziendo'* suivant le *'benedicens'* de la Vulgate.

Il suit Érasme dans ses corrections à la Vulgate. Il traduit ainsi *'Illa uero quum uidisset, turbata est super oratione eius, & cogitabat qualis esset illa salutatio'*⁵¹ (v. 29) par *'Y ella en viéndole se alteró con su palabra. Y estaba en su ánimo considerando qué salutación fuese ésta'*⁵² contre le *'audisset'*⁵³ de la Vulgate que Lefèvre⁵⁴ et Olivetan⁵⁵ conservent dans leur traduction de 1530 et 1535.

Par contre, il rejette les modifications érasmiennes dans les 'formules consacrées' telles que *'ministri fuerunt sermonis'*⁵⁶ (v. 2) qu'il traduit *'ministros de la palabra'*⁵⁷ alors qu'Érasme le remplaçait par: *'ac pars aliqua fuerant eorum quae narrabant'*.⁵⁸ De même, il conserve le *'Aue gratia plena'* traduit en *'Dios te salve llena de gracias'* (v. 28) face au *'Aue gratiosa'* érasmien. Il maintient aussi le *'incredulos'* (v. 17) de la Vulgate contre le *'inobedientes'* d'Érasme et traduit *'el sancto que nascerà de ti'* (v. 35) conservant le *'ex te'*⁵⁹ de la Vulgate qu'Érasme avait éli-

⁴⁶ Erasmus 1535, p. 86.

⁴⁷ Bible polyglotte Complutense 1514, f. h5r.

⁴⁸ Enzinas 1543, f. 73v.

⁴⁹ Erasmus 1535, p. 85.

⁵⁰ Enzinas 1543, f. 73v.

⁵¹ Erasmus 1535, p. 84.

⁵² Enzinas 1543, f. 72.

⁵³ Bible polyglotte Complutense 1514, f. h4r.

⁵⁴ Lefèvre d'Étaples 1530, f. 21v.

⁵⁵ 'Quand elle leut ouy', Olivetan 1535, f. 19. Tyndale et Brucioli suivent Érasme.

⁵⁶ Bible polyglotte Complutense 1514, f. [h3v].

⁵⁷ Enzinas 1543, f. 71.

⁵⁸ Erasmus 1535, p. 83.

⁵⁹ Tous les traducteurs espagnols que nous étudions suivront Enzinas. Notons

miné faisant observer dans ses *Annotationes* qu'il n'était présent ni dans les textes grecs ni dans les codex latins anciens.⁶⁰ Notons que dans tous ces cas où Enzinas se montre conservateur, il ne l'est pas moins qu'Olivetani mais davantage que Tyndale et Brucioli.⁶¹

Enzinas consulte aussi les *Annotationes* de l'humaniste hollandais puisqu'il traduit: '*Per uiscera misericordiae dei nostri, in quibus uisitauit nos oriens ex alto*' (v. 78) par: '*por las entrañas de la misericordia del Dios nuestro, con las quales nos visitó el Oriente que nasce de lo alto*'.⁶² Érasme y précisait en effet: '*Oriens. Non est hic participium, sed nomen substantiuum ἀνατολή. Quae uox significat exortum solis aut regionem unde oritur. Christum igitur ipsum solem uocat orientem*'.⁶³ On observera néanmoins qu'Enzinas opte ici pour une solution intermédiaire qui tient compte de la réflexion d'Érasme mais conserve aussi la forme verbale de la Vulgate.⁶⁴

Même si Enzinas avait été professeur de grec à Cambridge⁶⁵ et que la page de titre revendique une traduction réalisée à partir du grec, ce qui n'est d'ailleurs peut-être pas à prendre au pied de la lettre comme nous l'avons suggéré précédemment, notre brève étude nous montre qu'il utilise en fait le texte latin. Sa servilité dans la traduction révèle en effet sa dette à l'égard du latin d'Érasme.⁶⁶ Le meilleur exemple en est sa traduction de '*Puer autem crescebat & corroborabatur spiritu*' par '*y era corroborado de espíritu*'⁶⁷ (v. 80). Aucun autre traducteur ne le suivra dans cette traduction latinisante. Il n'est pas impossible

aussi que dans le texte grec de la Bible Complutense ce passage est présent. Cf. Bible polyglotte Complutense 1514, f. [h4v].

⁶⁰ ASD VI/5, p. 462.

⁶¹ Tyndale 1862 traduit, par exemple: '*ministers at the doyng*' (f. 71v) dans le verset 2 et aucun des deux ne conserve le '*ex te*' du verset 35 (Brucioli 1532, f. 25, Tyndale 1862, f. 73) que préserve Olivetan 1535 (f. 19).

⁶² Enzinas 1543, f. 73v.

⁶³ ASD VI/5, p. 472.

⁶⁴ Ni Luther, ni Lefèvre d'Étaples, ni Olivetan ni Tyndale ou Brucioli n'adoptent cette solution.

⁶⁵ Bergua Caverio 2006, p. 202.

⁶⁶ J. Bergua faisait déjà ces observations et écrivait: '*Además hay no pocos casos en que la excesiva dependencia del latín da como resultado un castellano poco comprensible*', Bergua Caverio 2006, p. 67.

⁶⁷ Enzinas 1543, f. 74.

qu'il consulte aussi le texte d'Olivetani, de Tyndale ou de Brucioli mais nous n'avons aucune preuve de cela dans l'étude de ce passage. En effet, si dans certains cas il coïncide avec Olivetan c'est pour suivre le texte traditionnel de la Vulgate plutôt que les innovations d'Érasme.

b. Pérez de Pineda, correcteur d'Enzinas
à la lumière du texte de Calvin

Pérez reprend la version d'Enzinas qu'il modifie d'un point de vue stylistique. Ces modifications étaient nécessaires puisqu'Enzinas s'était parfois montré trop proche de la version latine et des améliorations dans le domaine de la syntaxe et du lexique castillan étaient possibles et souhaitables. Ainsi le 'era corroborado' que nous venons d'évoquer devient chez Pérez 'era fortificado' ⁶⁸ (v. 80). Il modifie 'le vino por suerte' ⁶⁹ (v. 9) par: 'cúpole por suerte' ⁷⁰ et 'donde se ençendía el ençienso' ⁷¹ (v. 11) par: 'donde incensavan'. Il remplace fréquemment des mots par des synonymes sans que cela ne suppose aucune amélioration du texte d'Enzinas. Ces changements peuvent apparaître d'ailleurs souvent comme arbitraires. Ainsi, il remplace 'humildad' par 'baxeza' (v. 48), 'oýdos' par 'orejas' (v. 44), 'pero' par 'mas' (v. 60), 'demandar' par 'preguntar' (v. 62), 'pedir' par 'demandar' (v. 63). Il modifie 'y juntamente se gozaban ("se réjouissaient") con ella' (v. 90) en: 'Y alegrávanse de su bien con ella' peut-être pour éviter le terme 'gozar' qui peut avoir une acception sexuelle.⁷² Dans le domaine de la syntaxe, il transforme 'del Dios nuestro' en 'nuestro Dios' (v. 78). Il montre moins de souplesse dans l'organisation spatiale des syntagmes, évitant notamment l'emploi du sujet inversé pourtant très fréquent dans la syntaxe espagnole.

À première vue il semble juste limer la traduction de son prédécesseur au niveau stylistique et vouloir rendre plus clair le texte. Il propose certains ajouts qu'il note entre crochets modifiant

⁶⁸ Pérez de Pineda 1556, p. 172.

⁶⁹ Enzinas 1543, f. 71v.

⁷⁰ Pérez de Pineda 1556, p. 167.

⁷¹ Enzinas 1543, f. 71v.

⁷² Reina opte aussi pour le verbe 'alegrar' alors que Robles conserve le terme 'gozar'. Calvin traduisait 's'en resioyssonent avec elle', Calvin 1897, p. 187.

ainsi par exemple: 'así como habló por la boca de sus sanctos prophetas, que desde el tiempo pasado fueron que seríamos guardados de nuestros enemigos'⁷³ (v. 70-71) par: 'assí como lo habló por la boca de sus sanctos Prophetas, que han sido desde el tiempo pasado, [diziendo: que] nosotros seríamos librados de nuestros enemigos'.⁷⁴

En réalité, des modifications qui passent inaperçues et semblent dues à une simple volonté stylistique révèlent, dans les faits, l'influence de Calvin. Une confrontation des deux traductions indique que Pérez révisé, en fait, le texte d'Enzinas en utilisant celui de Calvin. Ainsi l'exemple donné ci-dessus de l'insertion entre crochets de Pérez provient de l'édition de Calvin.⁷⁵ Si parfois Pérez semble suivre les modifications érasmiennes c'est finalement probablement par le biais de Calvin qu'il les recueille. Ainsi, il tient compte de la révision de '*cognoscas*' en '*agnoscas*' (v. 4) et corrige donc le '*cognoscas*'⁷⁶ d'Enzinas par '*reconozcas*'⁷⁷ là où Calvin écrivait '*reconoissent*'.⁷⁸ De la même manière, Pérez corrige: '*Resçivió a Israel niño suio, para que se acordase de la misericordia (prometida) a Abraham y a su simiente eternamente, así como lo habló con nuestros padres*'⁷⁹ (v. 54) par: '*Ha recebido a Israel su siervo, para acordarse de su misericordia, como lo avía dicho a nuestros padres [prometiéndola] a Abraham, y a su simiente perpetuamente*'⁸⁰ influencé par la traduction de Calvin: '*Il a reçu Israel son serviteur pour avoir souvenance de la miséricorde ainsi qu'il a parlé à nos pères la promettant à Abraham, et à sa semence éternellement*'.⁸¹

Il amende le '*siçera*' (v. 15) d'Enzinas en '*cervisia*'⁸² qu'il aurait pu reprendre des *Annotationes*:

⁷³ Enzinas 1543, f. 73v.

⁷⁴ Pérez de Pineda 1556, p. 171.

⁷⁵ 'Disant que nous serions sauevez de nos ennemis'. 'Disant que' est omis dans l'édition de 1555. Nous citons à partir de la précieuse édition critique d'Édouard Reuss qui offre les différentes variantes du texte de Calvin. Cf. Calvin 1897, p. 188.

⁷⁶ Enzinas 1543, f. 71.

⁷⁷ Pérez de Pineda 1556, p. 166.

⁷⁸ Calvin 1897, p. 182.

⁷⁹ Enzinas 1543, f. 73.

⁸⁰ Pérez de Pineda 1556, p. 170.

⁸¹ Calvin 1897, p. 186.

⁸² Pérez de Pineda 1556, p. 167.

*Nec enim a cicere dicitur leguminis genere, uerum uox est Hebraica, quae per syn apud illos scribitur, a uerbo שָׁכַר, quod sonat inebriari. Vnde apud illos omnis potus factitius qui possit inebriare, sicera dicitur. [...] id quod olim Galli ceruisiam uocabant, Hispani coeliam...*⁸³

mais qu'une fois encore il reprend, à notre sens, plutôt de la version de Calvin: 'cervoyse'.⁸⁴

Il modifie: 'Y luego se abrió su boca y hablaba su lengua loando a Dios'⁸⁵ (v. 64) par: 'Y su boca fue luego abierta y su lengua [desatada,] de tal manera que hablava loando a Dios'⁸⁶ influencé par la traduction de Calvin: 'Et incontinent après, sa bouche fut ouverte, et sa langue déliée, tellement qu'il parloit en louant Dieu'.⁸⁷

Alors qu'Enzinas écrit: 'por las entrañas de la misericordia del Dios nuestro, con las quales nos visitó el Oriente que nasce de lo alto' (v. 78), Pérez corrige: 'por las entrañas de la misericordia de nuestro Dios, en las quales nos ha visitado el Oriente, que es de lo alto' suivant la traduction calviniste: 'Par les entrailles de la miséricorde de nostre Dieu, en laquelle nous a visité l'Orient qui est d'en haut'.⁸⁸

Même dans le cas des modifications concernant les temps que l'on aurait pu attribuer à une simple question stylistique, l'influence de la traduction de Calvin est perceptible. Ainsi, Pérez a tendance à transformer le passé-simple d'Enzinas en passé-composé comme dans la version calviniste. Ainsi, il modifie: 'Hizo fortaleza por su brazo: Destruió los soberbios'⁸⁹ (v. 51) par: 'Ha obrado poderosamente con su brazo, ha destruydo los soberbios'⁹⁰ reprenant probablement les passés-composés du texte

⁸³ ASD VI/5, p. 454.

⁸⁴ Calvin 1897, p. 183.

⁸⁵ Enzinas 1543, f. 73v.

⁸⁶ 'Et sa bouche fut ensuite ouverte et sa langue déliée de telle sorte qu'il parlait en louant Dieu', Pérez de Pineda 1556, p. 171.

⁸⁷ Calvin 1897, p. 197.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 188-189. Les différentes variantes de ce passage indiquent que Pérez utilise l'édition de 1555 puisque dans celle de 1546 Calvin traduit 'par l'affection miséricordieuse' qui est modifiée en 1551 par 'par les entrailles de la miséricorde'.

⁸⁹ Enzinas 1543, f. 73.

⁹⁰ Pérez de Pineda 1556, p. 170.

français de Calvin: 'Il a besogné puissamment par son bras: il a dissipé les orgueilleux'.⁹¹ Il semble aussi modifier le 'hacer fortaleza' (faire puissance) qui est une traduction trop littérale par 'obrado poderosamente' (œuvré puissamment) sous l'influence de la traduction de Calvin. Robles optera finalement pour 'mostró potencia' ('il a montré sa puissance').⁹²

Pérez semble revoir le texte d'Enzinas à partir de deux éditions de Calvin, celle de 1546, 1548 ou 1554 et celle de 1555, la dernière avant l'édition par Pérez de sa propre traduction. Consulte-t-il aussi le texte érasmien? Nous avons seulement relevé un passage qui suggérerait que Pérez jette aussi un œil au texte de l'humaniste. En effet, il corrige la version d'Enzinas: 'que el señor abía usado con ella de gran misericordia'⁹³ (v. 58) par: 'el Señor avía magníficamente usado con ella de misericordia'⁹⁴ reprenant le '*quod magnifice Dominus misericordia sua usus esset erga illam*' d'Érasme.⁹⁵

c. Casiodoro de Reina:

une traduction ouverte à différentes influences

Si Reina a les textes de Pérez et d'Enzinas sous les yeux et reprend certaines de leurs propositions,⁹⁶ il manifeste une grande indépendance à l'égard de ses prédécesseurs et innove dans chaque verset.⁹⁷ Voici le début du chapitre qui illustre bien les emprunts et les écarts entre les trois textes:⁹⁸

⁹¹ Calvin 1897, p. 186.

⁹² Il hésite traduisant d'abord: 'hizo fuerça' puis: 'puso fuerça' avant d'opter pour: 'mostró potencia', Robles, f. 279.

⁹³ Enzinas 1543, f. 73.

⁹⁴ Pérez de Pineda 1556, p. 171.

⁹⁵ Erasmus 1535, p. 85. Érasme avait légèrement modifié ici le texte de la Vulgate: *magnificauit dominus misericordiam suam cum illa*, Bible polyglotte Complutense 1514, f. [h5]. Calvin traduit par l'adverbe '*amplement*' (Calvin 1897, p. 187).

⁹⁶ Ci-dessous dans le verset 3 Reina reprend globalement Enzinas avec la correction de Pérez '*después de*'.

⁹⁷ Dans le verset 12, par exemple, nous observons comment Reina reprend certaines propositions de l'un et de l'autre mais propose une nouvelle traduction du *timor irruit super eum*.

⁹⁸ Nous indiquons en italique les nouveautés de Pérez face à la traduction d'Enzinas et les nouvelles propositions de Reina face aux deux précédentes.

Enzinas 1543

[1] Pues que muchos han puesto mano en escrebir por orden la hystoria de aquellas cosas que son de certíssima fee entre nosotros,

[2] así como nos lo han referido aquellos mismos que desde el prinçipio lo vieron, y fueron ministros de la palabra:

[3] hame pareçido también a mí, que desde el prinçipio he considerado todas las cosas con diligencias, de escrebirte por orden, o buen Theóphilo,

[4] para que tu conoscas la certidumbre de aquellas palabras en las quales tú has sido enseñado.

[5] Era en los días de Herodes rei de Iudea un çierto sacerdote por nombre Zacharías, de la familia de Abías, y su muger de las hijas de Aharon, y el nombre della Elisabeth.

[6] Y eran entrambos iustos delante de Dios, caminando en todos los preceptos y justificaciones del Señor sin reprehensión.

[7] Y no tenían hijo, porque Elisabeth era estéril, y entrambos a dos eran de creşcida edad en sus días.

Pérez 1556

[1] Pues que muchos an *començado* a escrevir por orden la hystoria de aquellas cosas que entre nosotros son certísimas,

[2] como nos *las* han *dado los que* dende el principio las *avían ellos* mismos *visto*, y *avían sido* ministros de la palabra:

[3] a me parecido también a mí, *después de avello todo* desde el principio diligentemente *comprehendido*, de escripte por orden, o *muy* buen Theóphilo,

[4] para que *reconozcas* la certidumbre de *las* palabras, en las quales has sido enseñado.

[5] En los días de Herodes rey de Iudea, *avía* un Sacerdote *llamado* Zacharías, de la familia de Abías: Y su muger de las hijas de Aaron, y *era* el nombre della Elisabeth.

[6] Y eran *ambos* justos delante de Dios, *andando* en todos los *mandamientos* y justificaciones del Señor sin reprehensión.

[7] Y no tenían hijos, porque Elisabeth era estéril, y *ambos* a dos eran *ya de antigua edad*.

Casiodoro 1569

[1] *Aviendo* muchos *tentado* a *poner* en orden la historia de *las* cosas que entre nosotros *han sido* certísimas,

[2] como nos lo *enseñaron* los que desde el principio lo vieron *de sus ojos*, y fueron ministros del *negocio*:

[3] Hame parecido también a mí, después de aver entendido todas las cosas desde el principio con diligencia, *escrevírtelas* por orden, o buen Theóphilo,

[4] para que conozcas *la verdad* de *las cosas*, en las quales has sido enseñado.

[5] *Uvo* en los días de Herodes rey de Iudea un Sacerdote llamado Zacharías *de la suerte* de Abías y su muger, de las hijas de Aaron, *llamada* Elisabeth.

[6] Y eran ambos justos delante de Dios, *andando* en todos los *mandamientos* y *estatutos* del Señor sin reprehensión.

[7] Y no tenían *generación* porque Elisabeth era estéril, y ambos eran *venidos en días*.

[8] Y aconteció que estando Zacharías sacrificando delante de Dios en la orden de su familia,

[8] Y aconteció que estando Zacharías sacrificando delante de Dios en la orden de su familia,

[8] Y aconteció que *administrando* Zacharías *el Sacerdocio* delante de Dios *por el orden de su vez*,

[9] segund la costumbre de la administración saçerdotal, le vino por suerte de ençender el ençienso, siendo entrado en el templo del Señor.

[9] *y según la costumbre de la administración sacerdotal, cupole por suerte de encender el encienso. Él* entrado en el templo del Señor,

[9] *conforme a la costumbre del Sacerdocio, salió en su vez a poner el perfume*, entrado en el templo del Señor.

[10] Y toda la multitud del pueblo estaba de fuera orando en la ora del ençienso.

[10] toda la multitud del pueblo estaba de fuera orando, a la hora *de incensar*.

[10] Y toda la multitud del pueblo estaba fuera orando a la hora *del perfume*.

[11] Y aparecióle el Angel del Señor estando a la diestra del altar donde se ençendía el ençienso.

[11] *Entonces* el Angel del Señor le apareció, a la diestra del altar donde *incensauan*.

[11] Y aparecióle el Angel del Señor *que estaba a la manderecha* del altar *del perfume*.

[12] Y viéndole Zacharías fue turbado, y le sobrevino un temor

[12] Y *quando lo vio* Zacharías, *turbósse, y fue ocupado de temor*

[12] Y turbóse Zacharías viéndole y *cayó* temor *sobre él*

Il recueille donc certaines modifications érasmiennes par le biais d'Enzinas ou de Pérez. Toutefois, il semble aussi consulter les textes d'Érasme. Nous avons relevé trois cas où il se détache d'Enzinas et des autres traducteurs espagnols pour suivre au plus près le texte érasmien.

Il traduit: 'como nos lo enseñaron los que desde el principio lo vieron de sus ojos'⁹⁹ (v. 2) suivant le: '*sicuti tradiderunt nobis hi qui ab initio suis oculis uiderant*'.¹⁰⁰ Aucun des autres traducteurs espagnols ou étrangers que nous avons consultés ne traduit de cette manière, excepté Tyndale.¹⁰¹

Il traduit le '*ut odores incenderet*' érasmien¹⁰² (v. 9) par: 'poner el perfume'¹⁰³ (littéralement: 'mettre le parfum') et dans le verset

⁹⁹ Reina 1569, col. 105.

¹⁰⁰ Erasmus 1535, p. 83.

¹⁰¹ 'saw them with their eyes', Tyndale 1862, f. 71v.

¹⁰² Erasmus 1535, p. 83.

¹⁰³ Reina 1569, col. 105.

suivant ‘a la hora del perfume’¹⁰⁴ (‘à l’heure du parfum’) (v. 10) suivant le ‘*tempore thymiamatis*’.¹⁰⁵ Érasme précisait dans ses *Annotationes*:

*Vt incensum poneret. Τοῦ θυμιάσαι, id est: ‘ut adoleret thymiamata’ siue ‘odores incenderet’. Nam ‘incensum’ non probatur Laurentio, quod ea uox non per omnia respondeat huic rei; Latini suffitum uocant. Quanquam mox quoque ‘hora incensi’ uertit, θυμιάματος, et paulo post denuo ‘a dextris altaris incensi’.*¹⁰⁶

Reina est, ici encore, le seul traducteur espagnol parmi les quatre traductions étudiées à rejeter, à l’instar d’Érasme, le terme ‘*incensum*’ de la Vulgate. Il coïncide là avec Castellion dans sa version française qui traduit d’abord par ‘parfumer’ (v. 9) puis ‘à l’heure du parfum’ (v. 10).¹⁰⁷ C’est aussi l’option que retiendra Théodore de Bèze dans sa révision de la traduction de Calvin de 1588.¹⁰⁸

Reina traduit: ‘para convertir los coraçones de los padres a los hijos y los rebelles a la prudencia de los justos’¹⁰⁹ (v. 17) suivant le ‘*ut conuertat corda patrum in filios, & inobedientes ad prudentiam iustorum*’¹¹⁰ d’Érasme. Les trois autres traducteurs espagnols maintiennent le ‘*incredulos*’ de la Vulgate. Reina coïncide là avec Calvin qui retient aussi cette lecture érasmiennne et traduit par ‘rebelles’ à partir de son édition de 1561.¹¹¹

Enfin Reina put aussi être influencé par Érasme au moment de traduire le verset 28 qu’il rend par: ‘Gozo ayas amada’.¹¹² Érasme avait été pionnier dans sa nouvelle version latine proposant

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Erasmus 1535, p. 83.

¹⁰⁶ ASD VI/5, p. 454.

¹⁰⁷ Nous suivons l’édition moderne Castellion 2005, p. 2420 et l’édition latine Castellion 1551. Dans sa version latine, il avait opté pour ‘*suffiendi*’ puis la forme verbale ‘*suffitionis*’, f. k3.

¹⁰⁸ Il traduit ‘offrir le parfum’ puis ‘à l’heure qu’on offroit le parfum’, cf. de Bèze 1588, f. 27v.

¹⁰⁹ Reina 1569, col. 106.

¹¹⁰ Erasmus 1535, p. 83.

¹¹¹ Calvin 1897, p. 183. Castellion opte, lui, pour ‘désobéissants’, Castellion 2005, p. 2421.

¹¹² Reina 1569, col. 107.

'*Aue gratiosa*'¹¹³ pour remplacer le traditionnel '*Aue gratia plena*'. Il expliquait dans ses *Annotationes*:

*Aue gratia plena. Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη. Idem uerbum χαίρειν apud Graecos tria significat, gaudere, saluere et ualere. Vnde nihil referebat 'salue' uertisset an 'aue'. Nec est gratia plena, sed, ut ad uerbum reddam, 'gratificata'.*¹¹⁴

Cette modification lui avait valu bien des déboires comme il le rappelle dans ce passage des *Annotationes*:

*Quum ego tribus uerbis annotassem angeli salutationem amatorium quiddam ac procorum prae se tulisse et ob id Mariam principio fuisse turbatam, – Deum immortalem! – quas hic traegodias excitauit quidam et alius ab integro renouauit, quum haec retulerit diuus Thomas in Catena sua, nequaquam relaturus, si blasphema essent et impia! Ego dixeram amatorium quiddam ac nescio quid procorum, extenuans utrunque, hic plus ausus meminit libidinis...*¹¹⁵

Calvin traduisait ce passage par: 'Joye te soit, pleine de grace'¹¹⁶ et la Bible anglaise de Genève par: 'Haile thou that art freely beloved'.¹¹⁷ Tandis que Castellion traduit pour sa part: 'Dieu-gard agréable'¹¹⁸ dans sa version française et '*Salue accepta*'¹¹⁹ dans sa version latine. Reina fait, ici, preuve d'originalité et après avoir confronté les différentes propositions, il offre la sienne qui 'mixe' les deux traductions calvinistes reprenant le début de celle de Calvin¹²⁰ qui correspondrait mieux au 'gozo' espagnol et le 'beloved' de la Bible anglaise de Genève de 1560. Notons qu'il s'agit de la traduction la plus audacieuse car Reina associe 'gozo' pouvant avoir une acception sexuelle à 'amada'.

Assez fréquemment, dans le chapitre que nous étudions, nous observons que Casiodoro de Reina préfère à la version érasmienn

¹¹³ Erasmus 1535, p. 84.

¹¹⁴ ASD VI/5, p. 458.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. À ce sujet voir Rummel 1986, p. 167-169.

¹¹⁶ Calvin 1897, p. 185.

¹¹⁷ Bible anglaise de Genève 1560, f. 27.

¹¹⁸ Castellion 2005, p. 2420.

¹¹⁹ Castellion 1551, f. k3v.

¹²⁰ Calvin 1897, p. 185.

celle de la Vulgate coïncidant de la sorte avec Juan de Robles. Dans son prologue, il y faisait allusion affirmant ne pas l'avoir suivie 'en tout et pour tout' car, disait-il, 'bien qu'il s'agisse d'une autorité que lui confère son ancienneté et qu'il s'agisse de la version communément utilisée cela n'excuse pas les nombreuses erreurs qu'elle comporte s'éloignant totalement, d'innombrables fois, de la vérité du texte hébraïque, parfois ajoutant, parfois déplaçant des éléments de certains endroits à d'autres, ce qui, même si on peut bien en disputer, ne peut être nié'.¹²¹ Il la relègue donc au même rang que les autres exemplaires qu'il a consultés. Nous ne savons pas exactement quelle version de la Vulgate il utilise. Il cite l'édition de Sante Pagnini dans le cas de l'Ancien Testament¹²² mais il ne semble pas s'agir de son texte de référence pour le Nouveau Testament. En tous les cas, dans le passage que nous étudions, il ne coïncide pas avec la version du dominicain qui reprend très souvent les lectures érasmiennes mais avec la Vulgate traditionnelle de la Bible Complutense.

Ainsi il traduit: 'para que conozcas la verdad de las cosas, en las quales has sido enseñado'.¹²³ (v. 4) suivant la Vulgate traditionnelle: '*ut cognoscas eorum uerborum, de quibus eruditus es, ueritatem*'¹²⁴ et non le '*certitudinem*' érasmien suivi à la fois par Enzinas et Pérez mais aussi par Calvin.¹²⁵

¹²¹ 'Primeramente declaramos no aver seguido en esta Translación en todo y por todo la vieja Translación Latina que está en el común uso porque aunque su autoridad por la antigüedad sea grande, ni lo uno ni lo otro le escusan los muchos yerros que tiene, apartándose del todo innumerables vezes de la verdad del texto Hebraico; otras, añadiendo; otras, trasponiendo de unos lugares en otros, todo lo qual aunque se puede bien porfiar, no se puede negar. Ansí que pretendiendo dar la pura palabra de Dios en quanto se puede hazer, menester fue que esta no fuesse nuestra común regla (aunque la consultamos como a qualquiera de los otros exemplares que tuvimos)...', Robles, f. 1v-2.

¹²² 'lo qual hezimos siguiendo comúnmente la translación de Santes Pagnino, que al voto de todos los doctos en la lengua hebraica es tenuta por la más pura que hasta aora ay', *ibid.*, f. 2.

¹²³ Reina 1569, col. 105.

¹²⁴ Nous citons à partir de l'édition de Louvain de Henten de 1547. Le texte se situe aux feuillets f. 21r-v.

¹²⁵ Il évolue ensuite en 'certaineté' dans l'édition de 1561. Castellion opte pour l'adverbe '*certo*' dans sa version latine (Castellion 1551, f. [k2v]) et 'certainement' dans la version française (Castellion 2005, p. 2420).

Il préfère conserver 'conforme a la costumbre del Sacerdocio' (v. 9) traduction du '*secundum consuetudinem sacerdotii*' que de suivre le: '*secundum consuetudinem functionis sacerdotalis*' d'Érasme et Sante Pagnini.¹²⁶ Il put être influencé par Castellion qui traduit 'selon la coutume de prêtrise'¹²⁷ et dans sa version latine '*ex more sacerdotii*'.¹²⁸ Reina traduit '*salio en su vez*' maintenant le '*sorte exiit*' (v. 9) de la Vulgate qu'Érasme rejetait pour son ambiguïté et auquel il préférerait '*sors obuenit*'. Castellion dans la même ligne qu'Érasme proposait '*sors obtingeret*'.

Reina maintient le temps présent de la Vulgate dans '*asto*' (v. 19) plutôt que le passé-simple '*astiti*' d'Érasme traduisant: 'Yo soy Gabriel que *estoy* delante de Dios'.¹²⁹ Ici aussi la lecture de la version française de Castellion put l'y inciter: 'qui me tiens devant Dieu'¹³⁰ plus que celle de sa version latine '*qui Deo appareo*'.¹³¹ Il traduit 'Y éste es el sexto mes a ella que *es* llamada la estéril'¹³² (v. 36) suivant le '*vocatur*' de la Vulgate de Louvain et de Pagnini et rejetant le '*dicebatur*' d'Érasme.¹³³

Il traduit littéralement '*salutem ex inimicis nostris*' (v. 71) par: '*salud* de nuestros enemigos'¹³⁴ face au '*Fore ut seruaremur ab inimicis nostris*'¹³⁵ d'Érasme.¹³⁶ Même Robles rejette une telle littéralité hésitant dans sa traduction entre '*salvación*' ('salut') qu'il propose dans un premier temps et qu'il corrige en: '*salvándonos* de nuestros enemigos'¹³⁷ ('en nous sauvant de nos ennemis').

¹²⁶ Pagnini 1528, f. 23v. Calvin suit Érasme: 'selon la coustume de l'office de Sacrificature', Calvin 1897, p. 183.

¹²⁷ Castellion 2005, p. 2420.

¹²⁸ Castellion 1551, f. [k2v].

¹²⁹ Reina 1569, col. 106.

¹³⁰ Castellion 2005, p. 2421.

¹³¹ Castellion 1551, f. k3.

¹³² Reina 1569, col. 107.

¹³³ Calvin suit l'imparfait d'Érasme 'qui estoit appelée' et Castellion utilise aussi le passé '*diceretur*' en latin et l'imparfait de l'indicatif en français: 'on l'appelait'.

¹³⁴ Reina 1569, col. 109.

¹³⁵ Erasmus 1535, p. 85.

¹³⁶ Calvin traduit: 'que nous serions sauvez' et Castellion 'pour être garantis de nos ennemis' dans la version française (Castellion 2005, p. 2423) et '*quo uindicemur ab hostibus*' dans son édition latine.

¹³⁷ Robles, f. 280v.

On peut s'interroger sur l'usage que Reina fait du terme 'salud' qui lui semble propre car nous observons aussi qu'il est le seul à traduire le '*salutari*' de la Vulgate corrigé en '*servatore*' par Érasme par: 'salud' dans le verset 47: '*Et exultavit spiritus meus in deo salutari meo*'.¹³⁸

y mi espíritu se alegró en el Dios Salvador mío. Enzinas 1543, f. 73	y mi espíritu <i>se ha</i> <i>alegrado</i> en Dios Salvador mío. Pérez de Pineda 1556, p. 170	y el mi espíritu <i>se</i> <i>regozijó</i> en Dios <i>el</i> <i>mi</i> Salvador. Robles, f. 278	y mi espíritu se alegró en Dios mi salud. Reina 1569, col. 107-108
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Reina suit probablement aussi le texte de la Vulgate au plus près dans le verset 80 traduisant '*crescebat et confortabatur spiritu*' par: 'Y el niño crecía, y era confortado del Espíritu', là où Enzinas suivait le '*corroborabatur*' d'Érasme,¹³⁹ Pérez le 'estoit fortifié' de Calvin et Robles hésitait entre 'se esforçava' et 'arzeiava'.

Globalement c'est le traducteur qui se montre le plus original et le plus indépendant ne se sentant soumis à aucune fidélité stricte à un texte en particulier. Il affirmait cette liberté – si fondamentale dans son œuvre et dans sa vie –¹⁴⁰ à l'intérieur de son prologue lorsqu'il évoquait sa traduction de l'Ancien Testament: 'hemos usado de nuestra libertad de escoger lo que nos ha parecido lo más conveniente, sin obligarnos en esto a una versión más que a otra'.¹⁴¹

Reina retient donc des lectures d'autres traducteurs et, plus qu'Érasme, ce sont les versions principalement de Calvin et de Castellion qu'il semble utiliser. Nous ne reviendrons pas sur les cas déjà cités de convergences. Reina consulte l'édition de 1561

¹³⁸ Aucun traducteur étranger de ceux que nous avons consultés ne traduit comme Reina. Tous coïncident sur le terme 'Sauveur'.

¹³⁹ Castellion traduit 'se fortifiait' (Castellion 2005, p. 2424) et en latin '*confirmabatur*' (Castellion 1551, f. k5).

¹⁴⁰ À ce sujet, le titre de la partie que C. Gilly consacre à Casiodoro de Reyna: 'la lutte pour la parole libre' est tout à fait emblématique de ce personnage. Nous remercions le professeur Gilly de nous avoir donné accès à ce passionnant chapitre consacré à l'influence de S. Castellion sur les hétérodoxes espagnols du XVI^e siècle qui était encore sous presse au moment de la rédaction de cet article. Cf. Gilly 2017.

¹⁴¹ 'nous avons usé de notre liberté de choisir ce qui nous a semblé le plus correct, sans nous soumettre en cela plus à une version qu'à une autre', Robles, f. 2.

de Calvin coïncidant avec le réformateur français pour traduire '*omnes generationes*' (v. 48) par: '*todas las edades*'.¹⁴² Il traduit: '*in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus Domini*' (v. 6) par: '*andando en todos los mandamientos y estatutos del Señor*'¹⁴³ rejetant la modification érasmienne de '*praeceptis*' pour remplacer '*mandatis*' que suit Enzinas. Il est également le seul à ne pas traduire le '*iustificationibus*' en '*justificaciones*', qui faisait l'unanimité, rejoignant la traduction de Calvin qui à partir de l'édition de 1561 propose: '*les commandements et es ordonnances*'.¹⁴⁴

Il consulte aussi les textes de Castellion: la version latine si fondamentale pour les Espagnols exilés comme l'a montré C. Gilly¹⁴⁵ mais aussi sa version française.¹⁴⁶ En effet, dans quelques cas le texte espagnol est plus proche du texte français que du texte latin. Nous avons déjà évoqué le cas des versets 19 '*estoy*' et 10 '*perfume*'. Il est le seul traducteur espagnol à rejeter le '*ministri fuerunt sermonis*' de la Vulgate rendu littéralement par les trois autres traducteurs espagnols ainsi que par Calvin et à traduire '*como nos lo enseñaron los que desde el principio lo vieron de sus ojos, y fueron ministros del negocio*'¹⁴⁷ (v. 2) reprenant ici le terme utilisé par Castellion qui traduisait: '*comme nous ont enseignés ceux qui, dès le commencement, ont et vu et manié l'affaire*'.¹⁴⁸ Il reprend aussi le '*res*' de Castellion et peut-être aussi sous son influence le '*cognoscas*'¹⁴⁹ de la Vulgate traduisant: '*para que conozcas la verdad de las cosas, en las quales has sido enseñado*'.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴² Dans l'édition de 1561 '*toutes générations*' est modifié par: '*en tous aages*', Calvin 1897, p. 186.

¹⁴³ Reina 1569, col. 105.

¹⁴⁴ Calvin 1897, p. 183.

¹⁴⁵ Voir Gilly 2017.

¹⁴⁶ Reina dominait le français et il exerça comme prédicateur de langue française de confession luthérienne à Anvers puis à Francfort à la fin de sa vie. Il n'y a donc rien d'étonnant à ce qu'il consulte la version française de Castellion qu'il put d'ailleurs utiliser dans ses sermons.

¹⁴⁷ Reina 1569, col. 105.

¹⁴⁸ Castellion 2005, p. 2420. Dans la version latine '*rei*', Castellion 1551, f. k2v.

¹⁴⁹ Castellion écrivait: '*ut quas auditione accepisti res, eas certo cognoscas*' (Castellion 1551, f. k2v).

¹⁵⁰ Reina 1569, col. 105.

Reina est le seul à traduire le futur qui faisait consensus du ‘*quia non erit impossibile apud Deum omne uerbum*’ (v. 37) par un présent: ‘porque ninguna cosa es imposible acerca de Dios’¹⁵¹ se rapprochant ainsi de la version de Castellion ‘tant rien n’est qui à Dieu soit impossible’¹⁵² et de celle de Luther ‘bey Gott ist keyn ding unmöglich’.¹⁵³

Reina rend le ‘*qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent*’ (v. 79) par: ‘*habitan en tinieblas y en sombra de muerte*’¹⁵⁴ influencé probablement par la version française de Castellion: ‘à ceux qui se tiennent en ténèbres’¹⁵⁵ et par le ‘*degunt*’ de sa version latine.

Enfin, il traduit: ‘*Detrahit potentes de sedibus*’ (v. 52)¹⁵⁶ qui dans l’édition érasmienne venait corriger le ‘*Deposuit potentes de sede*’ de la Vulgate par: ‘Quitó los poderosos de los *thronos*’.¹⁵⁷ Si dans la version française Castellion conserve ‘sièges’,¹⁵⁸ sa version latine put influencer Reina puisqu’il utilise le terme ‘*solis*’.¹⁵⁹ Théodore de Bèze à son tour, corrigera la version de Calvin remplaçant le substantif ‘sièges’ par ‘trônes’.¹⁶⁰

Nous sommes face à une traduction qui présente des caractéristiques que nous ne retrouvons chez aucun des autres traducteurs espagnols. Beaucoup des originalités de Reina à l’égard des trois autres versions espagnoles s’expliquent par l’utilisation du texte de Castellion. Néanmoins certains choix de Reina lui sont propres. Nous avons déjà montré comment dans sa traduction du ‘*Aue gratia plena*’ il faisait preuve d’indépendance. Nous lui devons aussi d’autres propositions qui confirment la liberté avec laquelle il travaille. Ainsi il traduit, par exemple, ‘*et posuerunt omnes qui audierant in corde suo*’ (v. 66) par: ‘Y todos los que lo

¹⁵¹ Reina 1569, col. 107. Il conserve le ‘ninguna cosa’ de Pérez face au ‘ninguna palabra’ d’Enzinas et de Robles.

¹⁵² Castellion 2005, p. 2422. Dans la version latine ‘*adeo nulla res est, quam Deus facere non possit*’, Castellion 1551, f. k4.

¹⁵³ Traduction de Luther révisée par Emser 1527, f. 39.

¹⁵⁴ Reina 1569, col. 109.

¹⁵⁵ Castellion 2005, p. 2424.

¹⁵⁶ Erasmus 1535, p. 85.

¹⁵⁷ Reina 1569, col. 108.

¹⁵⁸ Castellion 2005, p. 2422.

¹⁵⁹ Castellion 1551, f. k4v.

¹⁶⁰ De Bèze 1588, p. 28.

oýan se marayillavan' ('s'émervillaient')¹⁶¹ faisant disparaître le terme 'cœur' que tous les autres traducteurs espagnols et étrangers que nous avons consultés maintiennent.¹⁶² Il ajoute l'adverbe 'finalmente' dans sa traduction de '*ut conuertat corda patrum in filios, et incredulos ad prudentiam justorum, parare Domino plebem perfectam*' (v. 17): 'para convertir los coraçones de los padres a los hijos y los rebelles a la prudencia de los justos finalmente para aparejar al Señor pueblo perfecto'. Il ne sera suivi, ici non plus, par aucun traducteur et même Cipriano de Valera ne conservera pas cette innovation. '*in quibus uisitauit nos, oriens ex alto*' (v. 78) est traduit par 'con que nos visitó de lo alto el Oriente'.¹⁶³ influencé probablement par la traduction de Calvin de 1561 'de laquelle nous a visité l'Orient d'en haut'.¹⁶⁴ Notons toutefois l'originalité de Reina qui traduit par la préposition 'con' ('avec').¹⁶⁵ Reina traduit '*usque in diem ostensionis suae ad Israel*' (v. 80) par 'hasta el día que se mostró a Israel'¹⁶⁶ probablement influencé par Castellion dans le choix du verbe,¹⁶⁷ même si Reina préfère un passé-simple.

Reina coïncide avec Robles à plusieurs reprises notamment lorsqu'il conserve la lecture de la Vulgate. Ils retiennent la même option de traduire '*siceram*' par 'sidra'¹⁶⁸ alors qu'Enzinas le rendait par un néologisme et Pérez par 'cervisia', terme qui semble cohabiter avec le 'cerveza' actuel à l'époque. Ils traduisent le

¹⁶¹ Reina 1569, col. 108.

¹⁶² Castellion: 'le prenaient à cœur' (Castellion 2005, p. 2423); Calvin: 'les mirent en leur cœur' (Calvin 1897, p. 188); Luther corrigé par Emser (1527, f. 39v): 'und alle die es horeten namens zuhertzen'. Tyndale et Bible anglaise de Genève 1560: 'laid them up in their hearts', f. 27v.

¹⁶³ Reina 1569, col. 109.

¹⁶⁴ Calvin 1897, p. 189. Castellion traduit: 'Par laquelle le levant nous a visités d'en haut', Castellion 2005, p. 2424. Dans sa version latine: '*ex alto uisit, ortus*', Castellion 1551, f. k 5.

¹⁶⁵ La traduction calviniste avait hésité entre 'en laquelle', 'esquelles' (1555) et 'de laquelle' (1561). Bèze traduit par la suite: 'desquelles nous a visité l'Orient d'en haut' (De Bèze 1588, f. 28) accordant avec 'les entrailles' et non plus avec 'la miséricorde'.

¹⁶⁶ Reina 1569, col. 109.

¹⁶⁷ Castellion: 'jusqu'à tant qu'il se montrerait', Castellion 2005, p. 2424. Dans sa version latine '*ostenderetur*', Castellion 1551, f. k 5.

¹⁶⁸ Robles, f. 274v; Reina, col. 106.

‘*cognouerunt*’ (v. 22) par ‘entendieron’ contrairement à Enzinas et Pérez qui conservent le verbe ‘connaître’ :

Y <i>salido</i> no podía hablar con ellos y <u>entendieron</u> que abía visto alguna visión <i>celestial o grande</i> en el templo (Robles, f. 275v)	Y <i>saliendo</i> , no les podía hablar y <u>entendieron</u> que avía visto visión en el templo (Reina 1569, col. 106)
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Ils coïncident parfois sur des options plus proches du texte latin. Ainsi, ils traduisent tous les deux ‘*uocabis nomen*’ (v. 32) par: ‘llamarás su nombre’¹⁶⁹ plutôt que par: ‘pondrásle por nombre’ de la version d’Enzinas et la variante ‘ponerleas’ de Pérez. De même, ils rendent ‘*et dabit illi Dominus Deus sedem David patris eius*’ (v. 32) par: ‘Y darleha el Señor Dios la silla (“siège”) de David su padre’¹⁷⁰ face au ‘*throno*’ (‘trône’), employé chez Enzinas et Pérez. Ils traduisent: ‘*Ideo que et quod nascetur ex te sanctum, uocabitur filius dei*’ (v. 35) recourant à la même forme: ‘lo sancto’ :

Y por <i>esto lo sancto</i> que de ti nacerá, será llamado hijo de Dios (Robles, f. 277)	por <i>lo qual</i> también <u>lo sancto</u> que de ti nacerá será llamado hijo de Dios (Reina 1569, col. 107)
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‘*Deposuit potentes de sede*’ (v. 52) est traduit par le verbe ‘quitar’ (‘enlever, ôter’) face au ‘derribar’ (‘faire tomber, mettre à bas’) d’Enzinas et de Pérez.

‘ <u>Quitó</u> a los poderosos de <i>su silla</i> ’ (Robles, f. 279)	‘ <u>Quitó</u> los poderosos de <i>los thronos</i> ’ (Reina 1569, col. 108)
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Ils traduisent de la même manière: ‘*Suscepit Israel puerum suum, recordatus misericordiae suae*’ (v. 54), Reina rejetant seulement le ‘*suae*’ comme Érasme.

Resçivió a Israel <i>niño suio, para que se acordase de la misericordia</i> (Enzinas 1543, f. 73)	<i>Ha recibido</i> a Israel <i>su siervo, para acordarse de su misericordia</i> (Pérez de Pineda 1556, p. 170)	Recibió a Israel su <i>criado acordándose de su misericordia</i> (Robles, f. 279v)	Recibió a Israel su <i>criado acordándose de la misericordia</i> (Reina 1569, col. 108)
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¹⁶⁹ Reina 1569, col. 107; Robles, f. 276v.

¹⁷⁰ Reina 1569, col. 107; Robles, f. 276v.

Ces coïncidences ne nous permettent pas d'affirmer que Reina ait eu accès au texte de Robles – ce qui, a priori, paraît difficile dans la mesure où ils n'appartenaient pas aux mêmes cercles et la version de Robles, rédigée en Espagne resta manuscrite. Seule une analyse comparative des deux textes sur un nombre significatif de chapitres pourra nous aider à déterminer s'il s'agit de simples coïncidences ou si Reina put avoir une copie de la traduction du bénédictin.

Un autre trait qui leur est commun est la qualité de leur traduction réalisée dans un espagnol authentique face à la traduction d'Enzinas qui avait l'immense mérite d'ouvrir le chemin mais qui, en de nombreux endroits, se montrait trop servile à l'égard du texte latin. Enfin, ils convergent dans leur démarche de signaler les ajouts au texte original par le biais de l'italique chez Reina¹⁷¹ et par le soulignage chez Robles,¹⁷² même si dans le cas de ce dernier, ce système ne fut appliqué que jusqu'à la fin du chapitre 2 de Luc.

Les traits de caractère spécifiques de la traduction de Reina que nous venons d'énoncer ne seront pas modifiés par Cipriano de Valera. Ce dernier n'apportera que sept modifications légères coïncidant presque systématiquement avec la traduction de Pérez de Pineda.¹⁷³

d. Robles: une traduction de la Vulgate

La traduction de Robles se distingue des trois autres par son texte de référence: la version latine traditionnelle. Il traduit '*quae*

¹⁷¹ Cf. supra, note 18.

¹⁷² 'mas aun las palabras que necessariamente añadimos por cumplir con el estilo castellano (aunque según buena translación no sobran) van señaladas con una raya debaxo para que por aquella raya se conozca que aquella palabra no es la letra del texto latino sino que se añadió porque hiziesse perfecta sentencia en castellano, la que sin ello no hiziera', Robles, f. Xr.

¹⁷³ Cf. Reina (Valera) 1602, f. 19: 'buen Theóphilo' est corrigé en 'muy buen Theóphilo' (v. 3). Il restitue le pronom que Reina avait supprimé dans v. 29: 'Mas ella como lo vido túrbese de su hablar' (f. 19v) ainsi que le pronominal dans v. 39: 'Y en aquellos días levantándose María se fue a la montaña' (f. 19v) et l'article défini dans v. 67: 'Y Zacharías su padre fue lleno del Espíritu Sancto' (f. 19v). Notons que Reina et Robles avaient tous deux opté pour ces trois suppressions.

in nobis completae sunt’ (v. 1) par: ‘que en nosotros se cumplirón’,¹⁷⁴ Il est le seul à traduire ‘*Deposuit potentes de sede*’ (v. 52) par: ‘Quitó a los poderosos de su silla’, tous les autres traducteurs utilisant le pluriel ‘*de sedibus*’ recommandé par Érasme. Nous avons vu d’autres exemples précédemment.

Dans ce chapitre Robles se montre particulièrement conservateur aussi bien dans sa traduction que dans ses commentaires. Si nous reprenons l’exemple du verset 19, il apparaît clairement que Robles suit la Vulgate traduisant le ‘*secundum consuetudinem sacerdotii, sorte exiit ut incensum poneret, ingressus in templum Domini*’ (v. 9) par ‘según la costumbre del sacerdotio entrando en el templo del Señor salió por su suerte a poner encienso’.

Toutefois si sa traduction reste très conservatrice, dans la partie de son commentaire lorsqu’il reprend la traduction pour la commenter, il se montre plus ouvert. Ainsi même s’il ne commente pas le ‘*exiit*’ qu’il a conservé, il insiste sur le fait que Zacharie se trouve à l’intérieur du temple et le peuple à l’extérieur et il écrit: ‘Zacharías era (como sant Ambrosio dize) summo sacerdote, esto es uno de los summos sacerdotes al qual cupo por la suerte (“auquel il échut”) que los sacerdotes summos echavan entre sí de hazer officio este día...’¹⁷⁵ modifiant son ‘salió por su suerte’ par ‘cupo por la suerte’ reprenant la même expression que Pérez.

Il est le seul à maintenir le: ‘*Quae cum audisset, turbata est in sermone eius*’ au lieu du ‘*quum uidisset*’ (v. 29) qu’adoptent les autres traducteurs.

Y ella en <u>viéndole</u> se alteró con su palabra (Enzinas 1543, f. 72)	Y ella como lo <u>vido</u> , turbósse con su palabra (Pérez de Pineda 1556, p. 169)	Mas ella como <u>vido</u> turbóse de su hablar. (Reina 1569, col. 107)	la qual <u>como</u> <u>oyesse</u> turbósse en el razonamiento dél (Robles, f. 276)
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Érasme écrivait dans ses *Annotationes*:

Quae cum audisset. Graeci secus habent: ‘H δὲ ἰδοῦσα, id est: ‘at illa cum uidisset’. Ita scriptum fuisse in nonnullis uetustis codicibus attestatur Valla. [...] ... illud mihi satis est, quod lege-

¹⁷⁴ Robles, f. 273v.

¹⁷⁵ Robles, f. 274.

*rit 'quum uidisset'. Alioqui friuolum erat annotare uirginem sermone fuisse turbatam, non aspectu, nisi aspectus simul et uisionis facta fuisset mentio.*¹⁷⁶

Robles reconnaît dans son commentaire que dans les textes grecs se trouve le verbe 'voir' et non 'entendre' mais, selon lui, cela provient d'un 'abus de langage' :

los textos griegos no dicen: 'como lo oyese' sino 'como lo vyesse' usando de aquella común manera de hablar por la qual solemos atribuyr todas las operaciones de los otros sentidos al sentido de la vista quando dezimos que: 'vimos que fulano dezía tal cosa' y que 'vimos que tal cosa era blanda o dura, suave o de mal olor' etc. Mas el intérprete latino dexó la figura y tomó la propiedad y dixo: 'la qual como lo oyese' porque propiamente hablando las palabras óyense y no se veen. Y que se turbasse de lo que, oya y no de lo que vea decláralo luego diziendo: 'turbósse en el razonamiento dél' ...¹⁷⁷

Robles consulte probablement les *Annotationes* même si les références communes avec Érasme peuvent aussi être de simples coïncidences. À propos de '*Apparuit autem illi angelus*' (v. 11), Érasme rappelle dans ses *Annotationes* ce qu'en dit Augustin:

*Apparuit autem. Non est ἐφάνη, sed ὤφθη, id est 'uisus est' siue 'conspectus est'. Nam apparent et quae non sunt; quanquam non reprehendo quod transtulit interpres. Hoc indicare uisum, quod Augustinus epistola centesimaduodecima sequutus Ambrosium philosophatur de uerbo 'apparuit', quae non admodum ad rem pertinent.*¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ ASD VI/5, p. 460.

¹⁷⁷ Les textes grecs ne disent pas 'comme elle l'entendit' mais 'comme elle le vit' usant de cette commune manière de parler par laquelle nous avons l'habitude d'attribuer toutes les opérations des autres sens au sens de la vue quand nous disons que 'nous avons vu qu'un tel disait telle chose' et que 'nous avons vu que telle chose était molle ou dure, douce ou malodorante' ... etc. Mais l'interprète latin n'a pas gardé l'image et a retenu le sens propre et a dit: 'laquelle comme elle l'entendit' parce que à proprement parler les mots s'entendent et ne se voient pas. Et qu'elle soit troublée de ce qu'elle entendait et non de ce qu'elle voyait il l'explique ensuite en disant: 'elle fut troublée de ses mots', Robles, f. 276.

¹⁷⁸ ASD VI/5, p. 454.

Robles s'arrête sur le même terme et renvoie aussi à Augustin:

Apparecer la criatura intellectual es manifestarse súbitamente estando en su poder mostrarse quando quiere [...] mas que le vean o no le vean, esto está en su mano porque puede (como Aug. dize) tomar forma y figura de cuerpo visible y así quando el ángel se manifesta súbitamente toma aquella figura en que le vean y esto se llama aparecer el ángel.¹⁷⁹

Robles utilise probablement le commentaire d'Érasme pour expliciter le terme '*siceram*' (v. 15):

y sicera aquí es vocablo hebreo que quiere dezir sidra y qualquier otra cosa que se puede beber y tiene fuerça para embo rrachar de manera que quiere el ángel dezir que san Juan ni beberá vino ni otra cosa alguna que le saque del uso de la razón y de la virtud.¹⁸⁰

À propos de '*Et permansit mutus*' (v. 22), Érasme commentait:

*Mirum cur Laurentium offendat 'mutus', quasi κωφός tantum significet surdum. Vnde igitur prouerbium illud κωφὸν πρόσωπον, id est 'muta persona'? Is qui collegit Graecarum uocum etymologias, citatis autoribus docet κωφὸν dici Graecis non solum qui surdus sit, uerumetiam qui mutus, quem ἄλαλον uocant, neque quicquam interesse, nisi quod ἄλαλος dicatur qui fari per aetatem non possit, uelut infantes, κωφός cui nulla sit omnino uox.*¹⁸¹

Robles se réfère aussi à la surdité de Zacharie dans son commentaire même si l'autorité qu'il allègue ici est celle de saint Ambroise: 'Y es de notar que, según san Ambrosio dize, no solamente quedó Zacharías mudo sino también sordo lo qual se confirma por lo que adelante se dize...' ¹⁸²

Même si Robles se montre conservateur, le travail d'Érasme reste une référence pour lui. Dans le commentaire de '*Aue gratiosa*' (v. 28), comme nous l'avons déjà évoqué, Érasme signalait trois sens possibles au terme grec χαίρειν. Robles semble viser Érasme et ceux qui ont pu lui emboîter le pas lorsqu'il affirme:

¹⁷⁹ Robles, f. 274v.

¹⁸⁰ Robles, f. 274v.

¹⁸¹ ASD VI/5, p. 456.

¹⁸² Robles, f. 275.

y lo que en su entrada dixo fueron palabras de salutación quales entendiesse la Virgen según el estilo de la lengua hebrea y así le devió dezir 'Salmi' o 'Alzi' que son verbos propios para salutar en aquella lengua hebrea por lo qual en lengua griega pusieron los intérpretes o 'Chere' y los latinos dizen: 'Aue' o 'Salue' y la lengua española no tiene propio vocablo para salutar sino que usa de rodeos o circunloquios diciendo: 'Dios te salve' o 'En horabuena estés' o 'Dios te guarde', etc. y de aquí parece el descuydo manifesto de los que quieren sacar grandes mysterios desta palabra 'Aue' que es verbo para salutar según sola la lengua latina como sea cierto que el ángel no dixo 'Aue' como dize el latino ni 'Chere' como dize el griego sino 'Salmi' o 'Alzi' como dize el hebreo.¹⁸³

Robles contredit parfois Érasme. À propos du passage '*Isque postulatis tabellis scripsit, dicens: Ioannes est nomen eius*'¹⁸⁴ (v. 63) Érasme qui avait inséré une virgule dans sa version commentait:

*Scripsit dicens. Si dixit, quid opus erat scribere? Vnde 'dicens' hoc loco referendum est non ad Zachariam loquentem, sed scripturam loquentem aut, ut dicam apertius, ad Zachariam non lingua, sed scripto loquentem. Nam mox subditur apertam fuisse linguam illius et coepisse loqui.*¹⁸⁵

Au départ Robles traduisait: 'escribió diciendo' ('il écrivit en disant') comme les trois autres traducteurs puis il barra 'diziendo'. Mais dans une note il attire l'attention sur ce passage et remet en cause l'interprétation d'Érasme:

Pero es aquí de notar que en dezir 'escribió diciendo' no quiere dar a entender que juntamente lo escribió y lo habló

¹⁸³ 'Et ce qu'il dit lors de son apparition furent des paroles de salutation telles que la Vierge dut les comprendre selon le style de la langue hébraïque et ainsi il dut dire 'Salmi' ou 'Alzi' qui sont les verbes adaptés pour saluer dans cette langue hébraïque. C'est pourquoi en langue grecque les interprètes mirent 'Chere' et les latins 'Aue' o 'Salue' et la langue espagnole n'a pas de mot propre pour saluer mais elle utilise des périphrases ou circonlocutions disant 'Dios te salve' o 'En horabuena estés' o 'Dios te guarde' etc et de là apparaît la négligence manifeste de ceux qui veulent tirer de grands mystères de ce mot 'Aue' qui est un verbe pour saluer d'après la seule langue latine puisqu'il est évident que l'ange ne dit pas 'Aue' comme dit le latin ni 'Chere' comme dit le grec mais 'Salmi' ou 'Alzi' comme dit l'hébreu', Robles, f. 276.

¹⁸⁴ Erasmus 1535, p. 85.

¹⁸⁵ ASD VI/5, p. 470.

sino que Zacharías no pudiendo hablar con la lengua habló con una escritura que dezía ‘Juan es su nombre’ y es este modo de hablar conforme a lo que comúnmente usamos quando dezimos ‘dixeos en la carta que os escriví’ o ‘dixístesme en la carta que me escrivistes’. Y esto convino notar supra porque algunos theólogos modernos se han aquí engañado queriendo que esta palabra ‘diziendo’ fuesse caso acusativo y quisiesse dezir: ‘escribió una escritura que dezía’, engañados no mirando que aquí habla el evangelista según el común uso de hablar ...¹⁸⁶

Une comparaison stricte entre les commentaires de Robles et d’Érasme n’offre toutefois pas toujours de résultat car dans plusieurs cas Robles ne commente pas sa traduction. Ainsi, il ne dit rien du ‘*credidisti*’ (v. 45) qu’il conserve de la Vulgate face au ‘*credidit*’ d’Érasme¹⁸⁷ ni du possessif ‘*suae*’ (v. 54) qu’Érasme signalait comme un ajout.¹⁸⁸

Le silence de Robles est compréhensible dans la mesure où il ne poursuit pas le même objectif qu’Érasme. Il utilise les *Annotationes* de l’humaniste de Rotterdam quand elles lui permettent d’explicitier le texte biblique: note de vocabulaire, éléments historiques ou philologiques qui viendront éclairer le texte biblique et le rendre plus accessible. Ses commentaires n’ont pas du tout la même visée que ceux d’Érasme, l’objectif de ce dernier étant de justifier sa nouvelle traduction latine alors que pour Robles

¹⁸⁶ ‘Mais il faut ici noter que lorsqu’il dit ‘il écrivit en disant’ il ne veut pas faire comprendre qu’il l’écrivit et le dit en même temps mais que Zacharie ne pouvant parler avec sa langue parla par le biais d’une écriture qui disait ‘Jean est son nom’ et cette façon de parler est conforme à l’usage courant que nous en faisons quand nous disons ‘je vous ai dit dans la lettre que je vous ai écrite’ ou ‘vous m’avez dit dans la lettre que vous m’avez écrite’. Et il a été nécessaire de faire cette remarque au-dessus car quelques théologiens modernes se sont ici trompés voulant que ce mot ‘disant’ soit un accusatif et veuille dire ‘il écrivit une écriture qui disait’, leurrés, perdant de vue qu’ici l’évangéliste parle selon l’usage courant’, Robles, f. 280.

¹⁸⁷ Érasme expliquait: *Et beata quae credidisti. Quoniam Graece participium est ἡ πιστεύσασα, poterat et ad secundam personam sermo referri, quemadmodum fecit interpres. [...] Nos itaque uertimus per tertiam personam, non quod damnemus id quod uertit interpres, sed quod hic sermo uideatur habere quiddam propheticum*, ASD VI/5, p. 462.

¹⁸⁸ *At chorus ecclesiasticus hodie canit: ‘recordatus misericordiae suae’. Nec suae additur apud Graecos, sed tantum est ‘misericordiae’, licet reclamantibus cunctis Latinis quae sane uiderim, exemplaribus*, ASD VI/5, p. 468.

le commentaire doit permettre à tous de lire et de comprendre correctement le texte biblique.¹⁸⁹ Le commentaire de Robles peut donc parfois verser dans des considérations très triviales – ce qui n'est d'ailleurs pas exclu aussi dans les digressions érasmienne. Ainsi, le verset 31 chez Érasme ne fait l'objet d'aucun commentaire alors que Robles écrit:

concebirás en el vientre que es en el lugar natural donde se concibe la criatura porque no digan erejes que le concebiste solamente en el corazón como le conciben todos los que en él creen [...] y dize: 'parirás' porque no salió este su hijo por los ojos ni por otras partes que algunos hombres desvariados sonnaron y predicaron.¹⁹⁰

La cible très large de Robles est évidente, non seulement, au travers de ses commentaires mais aussi dans ses options de traduction. Sa version est la plus simple et claire des quatre traductions espagnoles ici étudiées. Il est ainsi le seul à sentir le besoin d'explicitier le '*cornu salutis*' (v. 69) que les autres traducteurs rendent littéralement par '*cuerno de salvación*' ('corne de salut') et il propose: '*potencia de salvación*' ('puissance de salut'). Il recherche la simplicité et évite ainsi le terme '*diestra*' d'Enzinas et de Pérez et il rend le '*dextris altaris*' (v. 11) par '*parte derecha del altar*'.¹⁹¹ Il opte pour traduire '*faciem Domini*' (v. 76) par: '*car*' plutôt que '*haz*' (Enzinas) ou la variante '*faz*' (Pérez et Reina) et '*remissionem*' (v. 77) par: '*perdón*' plutôt que '*remisión*' qui fait l'unanimité chez les trois autres traducteurs. Il est aussi le seul à hispaniser le nom d' '*Elisabeth*' en '*Isabel*'.

Robles a la traduction d'Enzinas sous les yeux. Il y a une probable allusion à celle-ci dans son prologue lorsqu'il affirme:

Pero hasta hoy ninguno ha emprendido darnos toda y ver-
dadera la letra de los Santos Evangelios en lengua española,
y aun en latín pocos; y aun éstos dexan por declarar muchas

¹⁸⁹ Rabae 2020.

¹⁹⁰ 'Tu concevras dans ton ventre qui est l'endroit naturel où est conçu l'enfant pour que les hérétiques ne disent pas que tu l'as conçu seulement dans ton cœur comme le conçoivent tous ceux qui croient en lui [...] et il dit que: "tu accoucheras" parce que son fils ne sortit pas de ses yeux ni d'autres parties comme quelques hommes déments le proférèrent et prêchèrent', Robles, f. 276v.

¹⁹¹ Reina 1569, col. 105: '*a la manderecha del altar*'.

cosas, por tenerlas para sí por claras, y muchas passan con tanta brevedad, que el lector que no fuere muy enseñado, no quedará muy satisfecho.¹⁹²

Dans sa traduction Robles propose parfois plusieurs possibilités. Dans ce premier chapitre de Luc, très souvent les variantes proposées coïncident avec la traduction d'Enzinas. Il est vraisemblable que Robles traduise puis confronte sa traduction à celle d'Enzinas. Ainsi, dans un premier temps il avait traduit 'llamarle has' à la fin du verset 13 ce qu'il barre et corrige par: 'pornásle' ¹⁹³ variante du 'le pondrás' d'Enzinas (f. 71v). Dans le verset suivant, il traduit d'abord 'Y havrás gozo' qu'il rectifie en 'será para ti gozo' suivant la version d'Enzinas: 'te será gozo'. Il corrige 'Verná delante dél con espíritu' en 'yrá delante dél en espíritu' reprenant la traduction d'Enzinas.

Conclusion

Toutes nos traductions espagnoles ont une dette à l'égard d'Érasme comme presque toutes les traductions bibliques de cette époque. Celle qui suit de plus près le texte érasmien est celle d'Enzinas pour lequel le Nouveau Testament érasmien est le texte source. Il se réfère, semble-t-il, ponctuellement à ses *Annotationes* et conserve ou non les innovations mais il ne semble pas utiliser d'autres sources comme la traduction d'Olivetani, de Tyndale ou de Brucioli. Pour Pérez le texte d'Enzinas est son texte de base qu'il corrige essentiellement à partir de celui de Calvin dans deux éditions et particulièrement la dernière (1555) dont il dispose avant de publier sa traduction en 1556. Il hérite donc du texte érasmien essentiellement par le biais de son compatriote mais aussi par la traduction de Calvin. Nous ne croyons pas que Pérez prenne la peine d'aller voir le texte érasmien même si nous avons décelé un cas douteux. Il s'agit d'un travail relativement

¹⁹² 'Mais jusqu'à aujourd'hui personne n'a entrepris de nous donner intégralement le véritable texte des saints Évangiles en langue espagnole, et même en latin ils sont peu; et même ceux-là laissent beaucoup de choses de côté sans les expliquer, les considérant claires, et ils passent si brièvement sur beaucoup d'autres que le lecteur novice ne sera pas très satisfait'.

¹⁹³ Robles, f. 274v.

simple de sa part – et qui correspond par ailleurs à son profil de traducteur, éditeur plus que de théologien – si on le compare à ceux de Robles et de Reina beaucoup plus élaborés. Dans le cas de Reina, la dette envers Érasme est plus diffuse et plus difficile à identifier dans la mesure où il utilise, lui aussi, des traductions protestantes qui avaient elles-mêmes pris comme base le texte érasmien. Il est plus plausible qu'il ait consulté Érasme que Pérez dans la mesure où il effectue un vrai travail de philologie mais il faudra une confrontation de passages plus longs pour pouvoir le déterminer. Il se distingue clairement des deux traducteurs précédents rejetant certaines lectures d'Érasme et leur préférant celles de la Vulgate, probablement influencé en cela par l'exégèse biblique espagnole car s'il n'évoque pas directement la Bible polyglotte d'Alcalá, elle fait sans nul doute partie des œuvres consultées.¹⁹⁴ Enfin la traduction de Robles est celle qui montre le moins l'empreinte de l'humaniste de Rotterdam car il suit scrupuleusement le texte de la Vulgate se situant de la sorte – comme il s'en réclame – dans la ligne des biblistes d'Alcalá. Précisons tout de même qu'il se montre plus conservateur ici que dans d'autres passages mais cela provient, en partie probablement, du fait que ce chapitre comporte deux 'épisodes' extrêmement populaires que sont l'Annonciation et la Visitation. Ses commentaires laissent penser qu'il consulte les *Annotationes* et que, même s'il s'affirme parfois en désaccord avec la traduction érasmiennne, celle-ci demeure pour lui un texte de référence. Enfin, il ressort de notre étude que toutes nos traductions sont redevables – dans une proportion plus ou moins importante – à celle d'Enzinas qu'ils semblent tous avoir sous les yeux, y compris Juan de Robles. Cela confère à la version d'Enzinas, première traduction espagnole éditée du Nouveau Testament qui ne suit pas le texte de la Vulgate, un poids considérable qui n'a pas été suffisamment souligné et fait de lui l'émule de Luther, Tyndale et Olivetan comme l'observait très justement J. Bergua.¹⁹⁵ Le fait que le nom d'Érasme soit passé sous silence, aussi bien chez les traducteurs réformés

¹⁹⁴ Sur l'utilisation de la *Bible polyglotte Complutense* par Reina la thèse doctorale de Bada Prendes 2017 que nous n'avons malheureusement pas pu consulter apportera sûrement des éléments nouveaux.

¹⁹⁵ Bergua Caverio 2006, p. 208.

que les catholiques, est révélateur de cette nouvelle époque où les textes bibliques et les traductions se trouvent au cœur des débats, à la base du dogme des nouvelles Églises et où une figure médiane comme celle d'Érasme se trouve rejetée de part et d'autre.

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Abstract

This study deals with four Castilian translations of the Gospel made by Francisco de Enzinas (1543), Juan Pérez de Pineda (1556), Juan de Robles (written approximately between 1540 and 1558) and Casiodoro de Reina (1569). We have examined how these different translators translated the first chapter of Luke's Gospel and to what extent they follow or not the Erasmian text of *Nouum Testamentum* and the comment that Erasmus made on his translation in his *Annotationes*. The goal is to highlight how the translators worked, the relationship between the Castilian versions and the texts used by the Catholics through the Juan de Robles' translation and comments as well as by the Protestants through the other three translations.

Résumé

Notre étude porte sur quatre traductions castillanes des Évangiles réalisées par Francisco de Enzinas (1543), Juan Pérez de Pineda (1556), Juan de Robles (redigée approximativement entre 1540 et 1558) et Casiodoro de Reina (1569). Nous avons examiné comment ces différents traducteurs ont traduit le premier chapitre de l'Évangile de saint Luc et dans quelle mesure ils suivent ou non le texte érasmien du *Nouum Testamentum* ainsi que les commentaires qu'Érasme avait faits à sa traduction dans ses *Annotationes*. L'intérêt est de mettre en lumière comment ont travaillé les traducteurs, le rapport de filiation entre les versions castillanes et les textes utilisés tant du côté catholique, au travers de la traduction et des commentaires de Juan de Robles, que du côté des réformés au travers des trois autres traductions.

ERASMUS ON I AD CORINTHIOS 14. 15-19: THE ERASMIAN THEOLOGY OF MUSIC AND ITS LEGACY IN REFORMATION ENGLAND

1. *Introduction:* *Defining the Erasmian Theology of Music*

If anyone should wonder if the title ‘Erasmian theology of music’ is an adequate designation, we might note that the term ‘Erasmian’ was coined in the sixteenth century. In 1514, the Louvain theologian Maarten van Dorp claimed that ‘*hoc solum nomen ita nunc est doctrinae excellentiaeque nomen*’ – ‘this mere name’, that is, the name of Erasmus, ‘is now synonymous with excellence and learning’.¹ This usage was grounded in admiration of Erasmus’s scope of learning, particularly of his language skills and rhetorical power.² As Erika Rummel illustrates, Erasmus’s contemporaries had already formed a notion of what constituted the core of his teachings on education, ethics, religion, and the like.³

One might also ask whether any specifically *theological* trend can be labelled as Erasmian. The scholastic theologians of Paris did not acknowledge Erasmus as a theologian, and doubted the value of his doctorate.⁴ They often called Erasmus a mere grammarian or rhetorician instead. His emphasis on the study of classical languages, particularly the original languages of the Bible, did not appeal to the scholastic theologians, for whom such a linguistic training was not essential for theology, the supreme disci-

¹ Allen II (1910), p. 11.

² For modern discourses on Erasmianism, see Mout, Smolinsky & Trapman 1997.

³ Rummel 2004, p. 106.

⁴ Rummel 2004, p. 12; Grendler 1998.

pline of logical speculation on the divine. According to Erasmus, however, scholastic theology, ruled by Aristotelian syllogism, had turned into a sort of sophistry; besides, divorced from moral philosophy, it was irrelevant to the Christian life. For the benefit of theology students, Erasmus thus wrote *Methodus perueniendi ad ueram theologiam* (*The Systematic Way to True Theology*, 1516), in which he advocated a philological approach to the interpretation of texts, stressing the importance of having a knowledge of the Biblical languages as a prerequisite for being a theologian.⁵ This innovative theological method placed the Bible in the focus of Christian scholarship. Centring on philology and textual criticism, the new theological method was based on the studies of rhetoric and grammar that underlie every form of literary and pedagogical exercise. Erasmus's Christian scholarship epitomises the humanist tradition of 'rhetorical theology' (*theologia rhetorica*), the eloquent presentation of theological concepts intended to move the hearer or reader to embrace them as effectively as possible.⁶ For Erasmus, as for earlier Christian humanists like Valla, rhetoric was not simply the art of skilled speaking; it concerned philosophy, particularly moral philosophy. In numerous works, Erasmus adopted the principle of rhetoric as a framework of theological discourse, geared towards Christian education and ethics. His goal as a rhetorical theologian lay in teaching effectively the core of Christianity that he sought in the *philosophia Christi* and inner piety, coupled with human diligence in learning, both Christian and classical.

What about the Erasmian theology of music then? Erasmus never wrote any work explicitly devoted to expounding his theology of music.⁷ In various places, however, he expressed his thoughts on ecclesiastical music, from the humanist viewpoint of rhetorical theology. This is obvious when he defends his posi-

⁵ This appeared first under that title among the prolegomena to his *Nouum Instrumentum* (1516a) and was published separately from 1518 onwards, under the title *Ratio uerae theologiae*. For a modern edition of the text, see Holborn 1933.

⁶ Trinkaas 1970/95, vol. 1, p. xvii; Augustijn 1996.

⁷ For earlier studies of Erasmus's views on music, Margolin 1965; 1969, p. 85-97; Miller 1966, p. 332-349; Fleinghaus 1984; Passadore 1996, p. 166-183; Wegman 2005, p. 108-120, 183-184; Kim 2006.

tions against the *censurae* of scholastic theologians attacking his annotation on I Cor. 14. 15-19, one of the most important Biblical passages regarding Christian singing. In the annotation, Erasmus discusses music as a moralist and as a pedagogue.⁸ When he considers ecclesiastical music, his moral and pedagogical concern in music is inseparable from his rhetorical theology, which centres on the edification of the Church. In this respect, Erasmus's theological outlook on ecclesiastical music is fundamentally different from its scholastic counterpart. As will be demonstrated, Erasmus's theology of music is evident in his emphasis on the *pronuntiatio* of divine worship, which is reflected in his translation of the Greek New Testament.

This essay attempts to reconstruct the Erasmian theology of music, rooted in the humanist philological and rhetorical approach to the interpretation of the Biblical text. Furthermore, it illustrates the way in which the Erasmian theology of music was embodied in the early Anglican reform of liturgical music. Existing studies of Erasmus have demonstrated the reciprocal relationship between Erasmus and Tudor England. This is suggested not only by his close ties with leading English scholars of the day, including John Colet, Thomas More, William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre and John Fisher, but also by his long-lasting influence on a much broader range of English intellectuals.⁹

Focusing on Erasmus's annotation to I Cor. 14. 15-19, the essay therefore explores the reception of Erasmus's theology of music in Reformation England, with two foci: first, his polemics against contemporary church music, particularly in England; second, his Latin translation of ψαλῶ as *canere* in the *Nouum Instrumentum*. The essay analyses Erasmus's musical polemics in the annotation and his defence of it against the criticisms of scholastic theologians. It elucidates why he translated ψαλῶ as

⁸ For Erasmus's criticism of contemporary ecclesiastical music, see *Inst. Christ. Matrim.*, ASD V/6, p. 239, l. 293 – p. 240, l. 321; *Eccles.*, ASD V/4, p. 450, l. 26-31; *Annot. in Mt.* 6, 7, ASD VI/5, p. 154, l. 56-57; and *Annot. in I. Cor.* 14:19, ASD VI/8, p. 274, l. 158-278, l. 220, and notes; and the defence of those remarks in *Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.*, LB IX, 897F-902C.

Cf. also *Epist. c. pseudeuang.*, ASD IX/1, p. 306, l. 654-665. For an overview of the passages in Erasmus's works related to music, see Fleinghaus 1984, p. 6-10.

⁹ McConica 1965; Thompson 1971; Dodds 2009; 2013; Galle 2012.

canere, instead of *psallere* or *cantare*, by considering the classical background to his choice. I will first discuss Erasmus's denunciation of English church music, which eventually led to an institutional reform of its choral foundations; I then move to his Latin translation of the Greek word $\psiαλ\omega$ and its liturgical and moral implications, and how early Anglican reformers applied it to their musical practice.¹⁰ It will become clear that by giving new, concrete theological instructions on ecclesiastical music, Erasmus's interpretation of I Cor. 14. 15-19, rooted in the ancient theology of music and framed by the humanist rhetoric, bore considerable fruit in the Anglican reform of liturgical music.

2. *From Dionysian to Apollonian*

While modern performers of medieval church music often invite their audience to the realm of serene and pure sound, there is much we do not know about how music actually sounded in the late Middle Ages. Humanist and scholastic writings on contemporary ecclesiastical music alike suggest that it was far from quiet and contemplative. Erasmus vehemently criticised the loud performance of liturgical music in which the organ and other musical instruments were used.¹¹ Like the ancient theologians

¹⁰ No English translation of Erasmus's musical polemics in the annotation was published in the sixteenth century; but this does not mean that the English humanists and reformers were not interested in it; rather, they took it so seriously that the Anglican reform of liturgical music was thoroughly Erasmian in form and substance. The only portion of Erasmus's annotation to the New Testament translated into English during the sixteenth century is I Cor. 7. 36-38 (on divorce): *The censure and iudgement of the famous clark Erasmus of Rotterdam: whyther dyuorsemente betwene man and wyfe stondeith with the lawe of God*, London: In Aldersgate strete, by the wydowe of Ihon Herforde, for Robert Stoughton, dwellyng by Ludgate at the sygne of the Byshops Myter [1550?].

¹¹ In his *Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae uulgatas sub nomine facultatis theologiae Parisiensis* (1532), for instance, Erasmus gives an important witness to various musical instruments used for the Mass: *Bombos appello sonitum pene bellicum, organorum, tubarum, cornuum, lituorum, atque etiam bombardarum, quando hae quoque receptae sunt ad cultum diuinum* ('I call booming the almost warlike sound of organs, straight trumpets, curved trumpets, horns and also bombards [of the shawm family], since these have been admitted to divine worship'). LB IX, 899B; see also LB VI, 731F. Cf. Korrick 1990. In this article, Korrick, challenging the widely accepted assumption that the organ was the only instrument used in the early sixteenth-century Mass, quoted Erasmus as evidence for the participation of other musical instruments as well.

and philosophers, he was fundamentally negative towards such instrumental music, which he, like early church writers, associated with theatres and sexual immorality.¹² Like Jerome, his favourite Church Father, Erasmus also denounced lascivious songs and their harmful effects – especially on girls – when such music was combined with dancing.¹³ Later English polemicists made the same point as Erasmus, though usually without acknowledging him as their source.¹⁴ In Tudor England, as nowhere else, Erasmus was highly respected as a scholar and as an educator, above all as one of the greatest living authorities in Biblical and patristic studies. What is more, the nexus of Erasmus and England is arguable from an ethical perspective as well.

Contemporary humanists often associated Erasmus with *ciuilitas* and moderation. Regarding Erasmian civility, Ralf Dahrendorf characterises it as the quality which allows human beings to avoid the hazards of extremism, and associates this quality with a specific nation, the English, who, according to Dahrendorf, represent the virtues embodied by Erasmus.¹⁵ Whether or not one agrees with this appreciation, Tudor Erasmian zeal is most evident in Protestant humanist circles, which played a major role in disseminating his work in England.¹⁶ Tudor Protestant humanists often regarded Erasmus as an authority comparable to the Church Fathers. In their books, he is frequently the only contemporary author listed alongside the Church Fathers. Such a strong Erasmian tendency is evident in the early Anglican reform of music, which was rooted in the patristic theology of music. Tudor polemics against existing musical practice resonate with Erasmus's views on the same topic. Besides, Erasmus criticised English church music more than any other writer, openly censuring church music where his authority as a Christian scholar and teacher was best secured in institutional terms. In annotat-

¹² On the ancient Christian view of instrumental music, see McKinnon 1987, *passim*; Smith 2011.

¹³ See LB V, 718BC (*Christiani Matrimonii Institutio*).

¹⁴ For instance, see the Puritan propagandist Phillip Stubbes 1583, f. O3v-O6r.

¹⁵ Dahrendorf 1999, p. 1063, 1068. The Dutch historian Johan Huizinga translated these qualities into 'gentleness, kindness, moderation', which he also ascribed to his own Dutch people. Huizinga 1952, p. 192.

¹⁶ For instance, see Taverner 1539; Udall 1542.

ing I Cor. 14. 19, for example, Erasmus singled out English choral foundations as a typical case of the abuse of music in contemporary churches. As will be discussed, the education of choristers, the moral and intellectual status of singers, barbarism¹⁷ in the performance of chant, and an overly theatrical manner of musical performance, all of which Erasmus criticised in English ecclesiastical institutions, were also at the centre of the Tudor Anglican reform of liturgical practice.

Erasmus's criticism of contemporary church music concerns musicians as well as performance, targeting their tendency to anti-intellectualism and immorality. Below is a summary of his musical polemics stressing decorum and moderation in the use of music:

1. Musical performance

- a. Unintelligibility of text in the performance of music (evidence of barbarism, especially incorrect accentuation in chanting and singing);
- b. Improvisational music (mere aural titillation, devoid of intellectual content);
- c. Excessive use of musical instruments, including the organ, during the Mass;

¹⁷ The term barbarism in humanist writings meant, basically, inaccuracies in speech and writing, i.e. errors in grammar, pronunciation and accentuation. A barbarism is committed, for example, if a short syllable is set in the place of a long one or the other way round. Regarding stresses, it is committed if the accent is displaced to another syllable. The opposite concept of the barbarism is elegance (*elegantia*), and the first step to achieve elegance was to rectify the 'corrupted' usage of both Latin and the vernaculars. The humanists and humanistic musical theorists alike pursued music written and performed 'correctly' (*rectè*) and 'elegantly' (*ornatè*), and they used the term barbarism to designate inaccuracies in the musical setting of the text such as faulty accentuation. In *Compendium musices* (1552, f. B iii v), for instance, Coclico quotes Josquin, who defines music as the 'art of singing and composing correctly and elegantly' (*Musica secundum Josquinum, est rectè et ornatè canendi atque componendi ratio*); more importantly, the first rule of humanist text placement stipulated in Zarlino's *Le Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558, p. 341) concerns accentuation in line with quantitative versification: 'always to place a suitable note on a long or short syllable in order that no barbarism may be heard' ('La Prima Regola adunque sarà, di porre sempre sotto la sillaba longa, o breve una figura conveniente, di maniera, che non si odi alcuno barbarismo'). For further discussions about barbarism in music, particularly in chant practice, see Kim 2008, p. 147-148. For more general discussions about the usage of the term barbarism in Tudor England, see Almási & Pincombe 2009.

- d. Endless singing (particularly in repetition) at the expense of pious sermons;
- e. Omission or reduction of the most essential part of the liturgy, namely the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.

2. Musicians

- a. Immorality and ignorance of singing men;
- b. The excessive expense of employing singing men and organists in church.

Commenting on I Cor. 14. 19, Erasmus addresses these issues, especially in relation to contemporary English churches:

... operosam quandam ac theatricam musicam in sacras aedes induximus, tumultuosum diuersarum uocum garritum, qualem non opinor in Graecorum aut Romanorum theatris unquam auditum fuisse. Omnia tubis, lituis, fistulis ac sambucis perstre-punt cumque his certant hominum uoces. Audiuntur amatoriae foedaeque cantilenae, ad quas scorta mimi- que saltitant. In sacram aedem uelut in theatrum concurritur ad deliniendas aures. Et in hunc usum magnis salariis aluntur organorum opifices, puerorum greges, quorum omnis aetas in perdiscendis huiusmodi gannitibus consumitur, nihil interim bonae rei dis-centium. Alitur sordidorum ac leuium, ut plerique sunt Diony-siaci, hominum colluui- es ac tantis sumptibus oneratur ecclesia ob rem pestiferam etiam. Quaeso te ut rationem ineas, quot pauperes de uita periclitantes poterant ali cantorum salariis? Haec adeo placent, ut monachi nihil aliud agant, praesertim apud Britannos [...]. In hunc vsum etiam in Benedictinorum collegiis apud Britannos aluntur ephebi puerique et uocum artifices, qui mane uirgini matri modulatissimo uocum garritu ac musicis organis sacrum decantent. Huiusmodi choros epis-copi coguntur alere domi.

... we have introduced into churches a certain elaborate and theatrical music, a loud chattering of diverse voices, which I do not think was ever heard in Greek or Roman theatres. Straight trumpets, curved trumpets, pipes and harps make great noise everywhere, and human voices compete with them. Erotic and foul songs are heard, to which harlots and mimes dance. People flock to churches as to theatre, to delight their ears. To support this practice, great salaries are paid to organists and herds of boys, whose entire time is consumed in learning thoroughly this manner of yelping, meanwhile

learning nothing good. The dregs of the filthy *and capricious* – most of whom are *Dionysiaci* – are nourished, and because of this destructive custom, the church is burdened with great expense. I invite you to calculate how many paupers, despairing of their lives, could be supported by the salaries of singers. These activities are so pleasing to monks, especially the English, that they do nothing else [...]. *In Britain, young boys, adolescents and professional singers are supported for this practice, even in Benedictine monasteries, who every morning sing a service to the Virgin mother with a very melodic chattering of voices and organs. Bishops are compelled to support such choirs in their own households.*¹⁸

This criticism was based on extended observations of the practice of church music in England, where Erasmus spent almost seven years between 1499 and 1517.¹⁹ Erasmus was not always consistent on ecclesiastical matters, but as far as church music is concerned, he invariably favours what may be called the ‘Apolonian’ kind.²⁰ In his third edition of the annotation (1527) he added the word *Dionysiaci* to describe immoral church musicians and to elaborate his thought on English practice. The word *Dionysiaci* remains in his later writings concerning music. In his *Declarationes* (1532) to the Scholastic *censurae* against his annotation on I Cor. 14. 19, for example, Erasmus wrote: *Interim in mediis sacris auditur indecorus ac dissolutus strepitus*

¹⁸ *In epistolam Pauli ad Corinthios priorem annotationes des. Erasmi Roterdami*, I cap. 14. ASD VI/8, p. 276, l. 187-199. See also Erasmus 1990, p. 508. The italics (my emphasis) were added in the 1527 edition of the annotation. All the translation, including this quotation, is mine unless noted otherwise. Throughout this essay, I have also modified the standard-modern English translation of Erasmus’s Latin texts (CWE) whenever necessary.

¹⁹ During his third visit to England (1509-1514) Erasmus prepared four of his major works: *Morae encomium*, a new edition of the *Adagia*, editions of Jerome’s epistles and the Greek New Testament. He was then appointed to the lectureship in divinity established by Lady Margaret Beaufort at Cambridge. Erasmus was allowed to lecture on the epistles of Jerome he was editing then. The italics in the quotation above indicate the words added in the 1527 edition of Erasmus’s commentary.

²⁰ It is not my intention here to trace whether or not Erasmus’s view on music changed over time and to present how consistent it was throughout his life, which would require another lengthy essay or a monograph analysing Erasmus’s expositions of the Psalms, particularly those dating from his closing years of career, and *Ecclesiastes* (1535). The focus of this essay is on his thought on church music presented in his annotation of I Cor. 14 specifically.

Dionysiacorum et salariis non necessariis grauatur ecclesia ('right in the middle of the service, you hear the unseemly and indecent noise made by the devotees of Dionysus, and the church is burdened by unnecessary salaries').²¹ Against scholastic criticism of his annotation on Mt. 6, i.e. *cantiuncularum, clamorum, murmurum, ac bomborum ubique plus satis est* ('everywhere there are more than enough ditties, shouts, murmurs, and boomings'), Erasmus elaborates his criticism of the meaningless musical sounds as follows:²²

Porro ubi nihil est praeter uocum strepitus, periculum est ne audiant illud ex euangelio: 'hic populus labiis me honorat; cor autem eorum longe est a me'. Quanquam ibi non tam loquor de cantu quouis ecclesiastico quam de cantu indecoro et de cantiunculis quas muliercularum aut simplicium hominum affectus adiecit solenni cultui. Clamorum uocabulo notantur qui nunc in plerisque templis atque etiam monasteriis rauco boatu detonantes et templum implent et sic uoces obscurant omnium ut nulla possit intelligi. 'Murmur' appello preces praecipitanter ac sine mente dictas; hoc enim est murmurare uerius quam orare. 'Bombos' appello sonitum pene bellicum organorum, tubarum, cornuum, lituorum atque etiam bombardarum, quando hae quoque receptae sunt ad cultum diuinum.

Furthermore, where there is nothing but the din of voices, there is a danger that people will not hear that saying from the Gospel: 'This people honours me with their lips but their hearts are far from me.' However, in that passage I am not talking so much about all singing in church indiscriminately as about inappropriate singing and ditties which the feelings of empty-headed women and simple-minded men have tacked on to solemn worship. By the word 'shouts' I mean those who nowadays in many churches and even monasteries thunder and roar, both filling the church with their bel-

²¹ LB IX, 902C; ASD IX/7, p. 186, l. 255-257; CWE 82, p. 206. In 1531 the scholastic theologians of Paris published their *determinatio*, in which they censured Erasmus's views on church music in his commentary on Mt. 5 and I Cor. 14. In defence of his positions to the *determinatio* Erasmus published his critique of Scholasticism, entitled *Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae uulgatas sub nomine facultatis theologiae Parisiensis* (1532), ASD IX/7, p. 25-228. For the *censurae* and Erasmus's declarations to them, see ASD IX/7, p. 179, l. 23 – p. 182, l. 110; IX/7, p. 182, l. 112 – p. 186, l. 260.

²² LB IX, 897F; ASD IX/7, p. 179, l. 24; CWE 82, p. 196.

lowing and obscuring everyone's voice so that nothing can be understood. I call 'murmuring' those prayers said hastily and without thought, for to do this is more properly described as murmuring rather than praying. I apply the word 'booming' to the almost warlike sound of organs, straight and curved trumpets, cornets and also shawms, when these have been admitted to divine worship.²³

Scholastic theologians defended the performance of loud church music by appealing to the singing of Paul and Silas in Act. 16. 25, and claimed that God is pleased by hymns and praises sung in a loud voice.²⁴ The singing of Paul and Silas, according to Erasmus, however, was prayer in praise of God, which was neither incomprehensible nor noisy.²⁵

Most of all, Erasmus condemned the immorality of musicians as the cause of decadence in both liturgical and secular music. In his *Adagia*, he uses the classical proverb *Tibicinis uitam uiuis* ('You live the life of a flute-player') as a starting point for a discussion of the immorality of musicians. A *tibicen* was a player

²³ LB, 899; ASD IX/7, p. 181, l. 91 – p. 182, l. 101; CWE 82, p. 199-200.

²⁴ *Suasit et Paulus et Sylas, qui in carcere positi tam alta uoce Deum laudabant ut audirent qui in custodia erant. Unde et terrae motu facto motisue carceris fundamentis aperta sunt ostia et soluta captiuorum uincula, id quod magnopere placere Deo hymnos ac diuinas laudes ostendit, praesertim ubi altis uocibus cantantur, cum tantae efficaciae fuerint deprompti huiusmodi hymni ac laudes diuinae a Paulo et Sylas. Suasit demum mos antiquissimus ab exordio ecclesiae ab apostolis inductus quo hymni a Christianis simul congregatis solebant decantari, interdum etiam ante lucem.* ('The church was persuaded by Paul and Silas, who, after they were thrown in prison, praised God in such a loud voice that they were heard by those who were posted as guards. Then after an earthquake had shaken the foundation of the prison, the gates were thrown open and the shackles of the prisoners were loosened; this shows how mightily God was pleased by hymns and divine praises, especially when they are sung in a loud voice, since hymns and praises of God such as were sent forth by Paul and Silas were of such great efficacy. Finally, she was persuaded by the most ancient custom introduced by the apostles when the church began, when gatherings of Christians used to sing hymns, sometimes even before dawn'). ASD IX/7, p. 180, l. 42-49; CWE 82, p. 197.

²⁵ *Utinam sic caneretur in omnibus templis quemadmodum Christus cecinit hymnum cum discipulis suis et quemadmodum Paulus et Sylas in carcere orantes laudabant Dominum. Non enim sonabant uoces non intellectas neque boatu indecoro neque auium garritu perstrepebant.* ('I wish that the singing in all churches were like that of Christ when he sang a hymn with his disciples, and that of Paul and Silas when they prayed in prison, praising the Lord. For they did not belt out words not understood, or bellow indecently, or make a great noise like chattering birds'). ASD IX/7, p. 186, l. 244-247; CWE 82, p. 205-206.

of *tibia*, an ancient Roman wind instrument, equivalent to the Greek *aulos*, of which the ancient Greek philosophers, notably Plato, disapproved.²⁶ The *tibia* was used for all kinds of public ceremonies, civil and religious, in temples and games, at funeral rites, wedding processions, and the like. It was associated with the orgiastic cult of the Phrygian goddess Cybele, and introduced to Rome during the Second Punic War (204 BCE). It also appeared in the cult of Dionysus and the theatre.²⁷ The Church Fathers associated this instrument with sexual immorality.²⁸ Like the Fathers, Erasmus regarded Dionysian music as unsuitable for the Church. Drawing on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* (920 b29-36), he explains why Dionysian musicians lack morality:

De hoc hominum genere, ni fallor, sentit Aristoteles, quaerens in Problematis, quamobrem τεχνῖται Διονυσιαχοί, id est artifices Bacchanales, uix unquam bonae frugis esse consueuerint. Reddit autem triplicem rationem: siue quod necessariis artibus magnam uitae partem occupati non dant operam philosophiae praeceptis, siue quod assidue in deliciis ac uoluptatibus uitam agunt, siue quod egestas etiam ipsa ad uitia propellit.

Aristotle, if I am not mistaken, was thinking of this kind of men when he enquired in his Problems why it is that as a rule those connected with the stage are hardly ever respectable. He gives three reasons: either their professional skills absorb a great part of their lives and they have no time to spare for the principles of philosophy, or they live a life of unbroken luxury and self-indulgence, or their poverty by itself drives them to vice.²⁹

Whereas Erasmus condemns Dionysian musicians, he declares that '*musica est diuina*' (music is something divine). He associates music with the Apollonian in his eulogy of Ockeghem, whom he calls *Artis Apollineae Sacer ille Phoenix* ('that sacred Phoenix of Apollo's art'). Erasmus praises Ockeghem's golden voice as follows: *Aurea uox Okegi, / Vel saxa flectere efficax, / Quae toties liquidis / Et arte flexilibus modis / Per sacra tecta sonans /*

²⁶ Plato, *Republic* 399c-e; Aristotle, *Politics* 1341a-b; Iamblichus, *De vita pythagorica liber* [25] 111; A. Quintilianus, *De musica libri tres* II. 19.

²⁷ For more on the *tibia*, see Bélis 1986, p. 21-40.

²⁸ For further discussions, see Quasten 1983, p. 33-43, 51-55.

²⁹ LB II, 494C; ASD II/3, p. 242-243, l. 607-612; CWE 33, p. 147.

Demulsit aures caelitem / Terrigenumque simul / Penitusque mouit pectora ('The golden voice of Ockeghem, the voice that could move even stones, the voice that so often resounded in the vaulted nave with fluid and subtly modulated melodies, soothing the ears of the saints in heaven and likewise piercing the hearts of earthborn men').³⁰ However, Erasmus rarely gave this kind of compliment to church singers. Earlier critics also commented on their impudent manners in both behaviour and singing, even if they did not refer to them as *Dionysiaci*. It was Erasmus who used the term Dionysian pejoratively, with its associations with irrationality, immorality, and anti-intellectualism, the opposite of the Apollonian. This antithesis between the two persists throughout his musical polemics.³¹ Erasmus was particularly concerned about English choristers educated among the *Dionysiaci*. In his *Declarationes* (1532) to the Scholastic *censores* against his annotation on I Cor. 14. 19, he deplores: ... *perditur adolescentulorum optima aetas inter Dionysiacos educata, quum ad adultam aetatem peruenerint ad nihil utilium quam ad canendum ac bibendum* ('... the best part of the children's lives is wasted, brought up as they are among the devotees of Dionysus. When they grow up they are good for nothing but singing and drinking').³² These *Dionysiaci* were criticised intensely by English reformers and social critics alike, whose polemics against them became stronger during the reign of Elizabeth I, when public theatres were first established for entertainment in England.³³

³⁰ This is in a poem entitled *Ioanni Okego musico summo epitaphium* ('An epitaph for the superlative musician Jean Ockeghem'), dated about February 1497, or 8 January 1507. It is among Erasmus's poems (no. 38) in *Epigrammata* (1518). See CWE 85, p. 76-77.

³¹ The ancient Greeks did not consider the two gods to be opposite in any moral sense. In his *Die Geburt der Tragödie* ('The Birth of Tragedy') Friedrich Nietzsche argues that the achievement of ancient Greek drama did not rest on Apollonian calm alone but on its fusion with the Dionysian frenzy, a blend which Greek tragedy shows; but the two deities were often suggested by the Church Fathers as contrasting forms of religion, the former reflective and rational, the latter ecstatic and fervent. The Fathers favoured the Apollonian music, while criticising the Dionysian which resembled musical performance in the rites of Cybele. In line with this patristic perspective, Erasmus is a herald in distinguishing the Apollonian arts from those of Bacchanalian orgies with a moral judgment. Kim 2017, p. 152-153.

³² LB IX, 902C; ASD IX/7, p. 186, l. 257-259; CWE 82, p. 206.

³³ In 1576 James Burbage built 'The Theatre', the first playhouse in England.

Although Erasmus willingly combined education with some entertainment for pedagogical effects, such a compromise, for him, was not appropriate for Christian music. In this respect, his position is different from the Lutheran theological viewpoint that church music is *ἀδιάφορα* ('indifferent things'), that is, matters that are not regarded as essential to faith and salvation, yet are permissible in the Church.³⁴ Consequently, later Lutheran churches adopted the contemporary theatrical, operatic musical style to reach out to the laity.³⁵ Following Paul's admonition on Christian singing, however, Erasmus stressed the role of singing in edifying the congregation, to serve their spirits, not their senses. This is fundamentally because, according to Erasmus, Christian singing is a kind of prayer, involving repentance and sacrifice, as will be discussed below. The great expense for elaborate music is therefore unnecessary. For Erasmus, ethics is more important than aesthetics in Christian life. It is thus more sensible to use such expenses for charity than for choirs, however beautiful their music to human ears, especially when the poor are present.³⁶

For contemporary documents on the English theatre, see Wickham, Berry & Ingram 2000. For the key English polemics against theatrical music, see Stubbs 1583; Gosson 1579. For socio-cultural analysis of the denigration and defence of musicians in early modern England, see March 2010.

³⁴ In the late Reformation, Protestant theologians tended to regard music, alongside clergy vestments, as one of the *adiaphora*, a concept used in Stoicism indicating things or actions that are neither morally mandated nor forbidden. It was Philip Melanchthon (1497-1565), Luther's colleague and professor of Greek at the Wittenberg University, who first applied this term to Christianity. Melanchthon's view on the *adiaphora* was translated into English and published anonymously: *Whether it be a mortall sinne to transgresse ciuill lawes... The iudgement of Philip Melancton in his epitome of morall philosophie. The resolution of D. Hen. Bullinger, and D. Rod. Gualter, of D. Martin Bucer, and D. Peter Martyr, concernyng thap-parrel of ministers, and other indifferent thinges*, London: R. Iugge, 1570?

³⁵ Whilst Erasmus condemns musicians' immorality and ignorance, Luther extols their erudition and versatility, and stresses the musical ability of ministers and teachers as necessary. See Luther 1829-1831, vol. 42, p. 308. On the Lutheran debates over the use of theatrical music in the churches, see Irwin 1993; Herl 2004. See also Hendrickson 2005; Leaver 2007; Anttila 2013.

³⁶ The Christian humanists (including Erasmus and Vives) stressed the responsibility of the rulers regarding the social welfare of their subjects and the possibility of changing the systems of secular poor reliefs through a greater role of the state administration. England established a national system of relief, as articulated in the statutes of 1598 and 1601, which address four areas of poverty (children, beggars and vagabonds, the poor and parish relief administration). For further discussions see Botelho 2004, p. 9-11.

Besides, elaborate music was meaningless when the ‘clerk’ musicians, whose main duty was singing, chanting and reading during the liturgy, neither comprehended what they sang nor prayed through singing, but merely showed off their skills. The musical repertoire of these clerical singers was centred on plainchant, which drew on the text of Scripture.³⁷ Although the social status of these clerical singers was higher than that of contemporary minstrels, they still occupied the lower rank of ecclesiastical hierarchy, and bore to some extent the anti-intellectual, immoral attitude and atmosphere of existing churches. Erasmus was neither the first nor the only one who stressed the importance of morality and literacy among musicians. Earlier humanists such as Gaffurius argued for the significant nexus of music, ethics, and literature, central to the ancient Greek theory of music.³⁸ However, they were not as concerned as Erasmus to treat music as an ethical entity and more importantly, to discuss how best to use it for the Church.³⁹

Prior to Erasmus’s criticism of the English practice in public, English educators themselves made some efforts to improve the moral and intellectual level of church musicians. John Colet at St Paul’s Cathedral, for instance, imposed rigorous moral and intellectual discipline on the minor clergy (*ministri inferiores*), particularly the vicars-choral, who not only had to be competent singers but were employed precisely because they were good singers. Colet’s reform of moral behaviour was applied to all involved in choral duties; he also appointed a grammar teacher for the choristers, and in 1511, for all singers.⁴⁰ But this was by no means intended to diminish the practice of liturgical music, nor did it address the economic aspect of church music.⁴¹ The reduction of English choral foundations was enacted later, through the liturgical reform of Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556),

³⁷ On the ‘clerk’ musicians, see Curtis 1998, vol. 7, p. 320-321.

³⁸ See, for instance, Gaffurius 1496, III. 15; 1518, IV. 15.

³⁹ Erasmus’s criticism on the church singers is echoed in the Spanish canonist Martín de Azpilcueta’s *Enchiridion siue manuale de oratione et horis canonicis* (1545). For more on Azpilcueta’s critical views on the singers, see Blackburn 2007.

⁴⁰ Bowker 1968, p. 173; Arnold 2004, p. 186. The minor clergy comprised three groups: vicars (later, called vicars-choral), minor canons and chantry priests.

⁴¹ Harrison 1959, p. 13, 183-184; Allen IV (1922), p. 523.

which strove to improve the literary and moral status of both the clergy and laity for the spiritual renewal of English churches. In this intellectual milieu, even some of the singing men turned into competent Christian scholars and writers, with much regret for wasting their youthful time in playing music.⁴²

Among English educators, Thomas Elyot (c. 1490-1546), a key Erasmian humanist, was the first to discuss the ethical aspects of music intensively. In his *The Booke of Governor* (1531), the earliest treatise on education and moral philosophy in English, Elyot places a greater emphasis on learning and virtue than studying music, especially for the rulers and nobility, although music is commendable.⁴³ Thomas Becon confirms Elyot's view in his *The Iewel of Ioy*, where he stresses that kings, princes, and rulers should hear the Word of God and give ear to the lamenting voices and humble supplications of their poor subjects, not to hearing 'fylthy and trifelinge songes of droncken Musicians, which rather prouoke vnto fleshelye fantasie than vnto vertuous exercises'.⁴⁴ Like Erasmus in his annotation on 1 Cor. 14, Becon deplores the common abuse of music as follows:

[they] spend much ryche in norishynge many idle singynge men to bleate in their chappelles thinckinge so to do God an high sacrifice, and to pipe downe their meate and their dryncke and to whystle them a sleape, but they haue not spent any part of their substaunce to fynd a learned man in their houses to preach the word of God, to haste them to vertue and to dissuade them from vyce.⁴⁵

Becon was selected by Archbishop Cranmer as one of the six preachers attached to Canterbury cathedral in 1547, and appointed

⁴² John Merbecke, the choirmaster and organist of St George's Chapel, for instance, produced the first concordance of the whole English Bible. In his dedicatory letter to Edward VI, Merbecke expresses his regret as follows: 'I was, one of your highnes moste poore Subiectes, destitute bothe of learnyng and eloquence, yea, and suche a one as in maner neuer tasted the swetnes of learned Letters, but altogether brought vp in your highnes College at Wyndsore, in the study of Musike and plaiyng on Organs, wherein I consumed vainly the greatest part of my life...'. Merbecke 1550, A2r.

⁴³ Elyot 1531, I. 7.

⁴⁴ Becon 1553, sig. F3r.

⁴⁵ Becon 1553, sig. F2v.

as private chaplain to both Cranmer and the Protector Edward Seymour. One of the most influential reformers and popular preachers in the 1540s and 1550s, Becon's musical outlook stands for that of contemporary English Protestant leaders.⁴⁶ For them, upgrading the moral and intellectual status of musicians was crucial for social reform, and for reforming musical practice. This is reflected in royal injunctions issued from 1547 to 1550 which ordered the reduction of the number of choristers and discontinuance of the use of the organ.⁴⁷ Moreover, various diocesan injunctions issued at that period indicate the requirements of the clerks as well as the criteria of musical composition. Throughout the documents, scholarly ability and facility with Latin and moral excellence were considered crucial requirements for the appointment of clerk musicians.⁴⁸ Moral probity was also an essential quality for a teacher in humanist education. The focus of the education of choir-boys, the professional musicians of the future, shifted from technical mastery of music to learning and virtue. Masters of choristers were responsible for the moral education of the boys in their charge. For this purpose they compiled commonplace books that promoted the classical model of musicians as 'teachers of temperance and justice', drawing on the belief that music is pathway, or handmaid to virtue.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ For more on Becon, see Ayre in Becon 1843, p. vii-xix.

⁴⁷ Frere & Kennedy 1910, vol. 2, p. 200, 225, 258.

⁴⁸ See, for instance, the injunction for St George's Chapel, Windsor, dated 8 February 1550. Frere & Kennedy 1910, vol. 2, p. 225. Good character and scholarly capability were a prerequisite for the appointment of minor canons and clerks at St George's from its early stage. In contrast with the 1550 injunction, however, the Windsor statutes of 1352 (Article 13) place more emphasis on their musical ability; no one was to be admitted to either office unless he was musically skilled even if he was well learned and virtuous. And the choir of St George's Chapel had been enlarged by the late fifteenth century. The general condition of choirs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was that there were many learned grammarians but just a few musicians in the choirs. Cf. Dexter 2000, p. 108.

⁴⁹ For such commonplace books used for chorister education, see Merbecke 1581; Walker 1899. On the commonplace book compiled for early-modern music education, see Schubert 2010. (Pseudo-) Plutarch, who was among the most influential classical writers in early modern time, emphasises that Chiron was not only a skilful musician but also a master of justice (*De musica*, 1145F). This model of musician as a moral teacher is suggested in Gosson 1579 (f. 9r). Gosson regards Terpander (Plutarch, *De musica* 1132C-1133D), alongside Chiron and Homer,

All the components of chorister education (music, grammar, drama) focused on moral education as well as liturgy, which continued throughout the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I.⁵⁰ This effort to make musicians Apollonian improved their intellectual levels. Many church musicians (including Christopher Tye, John Merbecke and John Bull) pursued academic degrees in England from the second half of the sixteenth century onward, and some of them contributed even to theological and Biblical studies.⁵¹

3. From 'Cantare' to 'Canere'

Erasmus was not sympathetic to elaborate church music that obscured the words of the liturgy.⁵² His criticism of this kind of music gave his opponents the impression that he objected to traditional church music more generally. Against such accusations he notes as follows in *Responsio ad epistolam paraeneticam clarissimi doctissimique uiri Alberti Pii Carporum principis* (1529): *Falso delatum est et illud, me taxare cantus et ceremonias ecclesiasticas: genus cantionum aut harum fiduciam aut aliud circa haec incidens uitium alicubi taxo, nec iniuria, quum idem tu facias* ('The report that I censure the chants and rituals of the church is also false. Occasionally I do criticize the style of chants, or reliance on them, or some other abuse occurring in this area; but there is nothing wrong with this, since you do the same thing').⁵³

as the musicians who are wise men, learned poets and skilful musicians, far from the 'pipers'.

⁵⁰ Frere & Kennedy 1910, vol. 2, p. 106; Flynn 1995, p. 194-197.

⁵¹ On the English musicians who received academic degrees, see Caldwell 1986; Carpenter 1955. As to Merbecke, Anthony Wood writes as follows: 'John Merbecke, or Marbeck, Organist of St George's Chapel at Windsor, did supplicate for the degree of Bachelor of Music, but whether he was admitted it appears not, because the admissions in all faculties are for several years omitted'. Wood 1813-1820, vol. 2, col. 130.

⁵² Other Christian or Biblical humanists did not share Erasmus's view over this issue. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, for instance, took a different view in his *Quincuplex Psalterium* (1509/1513), where he combined Augustine's idea of wordless jubilant singing (*jubilatio*) with the tradition of apophatic or negative theology, in defending unintelligible hymn singing. For further discussion, see M. O'Connor forthcoming article on Lefèvre d'Étaples.

⁵³ LB IX, 1107; ASD IX/6, p. 156, l. 622-624; CWE 84, p. 52.

In his *apologia* (1531) to Albertus Pius (Alberto Pio), again, Erasmus asserts that what he meant in the annotation on I Cor. 14 was not to abolish existing liturgical chant, although it deviated from ancient Christian practice:

Est autem in primae Corinth. 14, ubi nihil aliud ago quam ut damnem uel quorundam morem qui nihil aliud quam canunt, quum Paulus iubeat adesse prophetam quem praefert omnibus, uel cantum ineptum quo uerba obscurantur, quum in hoc reperi- tus sit cantus, hoc est, modulata pronuntiatio, ut uerba effica- cius influant in mentes hominum. Et ipse Augustinus fatetur suo tempore quosdam episcopos non recepisse cantum ullum, sed tantum recitationem.

There [on I Cor. 14] I condemn only the practice of perhaps some people who either do nothing but sing, in spite of the fact that Paul enjoins the presence of a prophet whom he places before all others, or sing an inappropriate sort of chant by which the words are obscured, whereas chant, that is, intoned delivery, was devised to the end that the words might more effectively flow into the minds of men. And Augustine himself declares that in his time certain bishops did not allow any chanting, but only recitation.⁵⁴

Erasmus's musical polemics did not concern just musical performance but also touched on the subject of charity. Clarifying his previous criticism of church expenditure on choirs instead of charity, he insisted that he was not rejecting traditional liturgical chant, but merely recommended the moderate use of music in the Church.⁵⁵ Concerning polyphonic music, furthermore, he

⁵⁴ *Apologia aduersus Rhapsodias Alberti Pii* (Apology against the patchworks of Alberto Pio). LB IX, 1155; ASD IX/6, p. 442, l. 653-659; CWE 84, p. 217. Erasmus alludes to the anecdote about Athanasius' provisions for chanting psalms in *Confessiones* X.33.50.

⁵⁵ *Haec potissimum ad Anglos pertinent (nam illic tum agebam), apud quos quum sit perpetua uocum modulatio quae non sinit intelligi uerba, tamen denunciat- ur populo, ut audiant cationes matutinas et horarum omnium sub poena geber- nae. Iam utrum est sanctius: labore manuum subuenire liberis fame periclitantibus an totum diem audire cantum non intellectum ac proinde inutilem? Tollis igitur, inquiet, cantum? Non! Quin inibi dico: 'Habeant sane templa solennes cantus, sed moderatos'* (Although among them there is a constant tuning of voices which does not allow the words to be understood, nonetheless the people are told to hear the chants of matins, and of all the hours, under pain of hell. Now which is more holy, by the work of one's hands to help one's children who are imper-

stresses that *Pius damnat in templis Musicam πολύφωνον: ego noto uel immodicam uel templis indignam* ('[Albertus] Pius condemns polyphonic music in church, but I censure music which is either immoderate or unsuitable for church').⁵⁶

When attacked by the Scholastic theologians, Erasmus defended his annotations, arguing that they agreed about the necessity of moderation in church music. However, Erasmus condemned music whose sweetness, rather than the divine text, captivates the worshippers, recalling Augustine's endeavour to promote the simple recitation of the psalms instead of elaborate singing in the Church:

Quae concionabundi disserunt de hymnis, quibus et animo et uoce laudatur Deus ad imaginem ecclesiae triumphantis, mihi quidem ualde probantur. Quamquam ueteres illi praesules adhuc euangelium recens spirantes aegre receperunt in ecclesiam cantum etiam simplicem quo et hodie canuntur psalmi, euangelium et precatio Dominica. Et Augustinus, quamuis non improbet canendi morem ab Ambrosio institutum, tamen uult cantum recitationi esse simillimum fateturque se grauiter peccare si magis capiatur dulcedine uocum quam sensu uerborum. Et beatus Gregorius in Decretis minitatur presbyteris anathema quod canerent in ecclesia, quum id esset laicorum.

Indeed I thoroughly approve of what they say in this preachy discourse concerning hymns which praise God with both mind and voice in imitation of the church triumphant. But in fact those ancient bishops still breathing in the time of the recently announced gospel message were reluctant to accept in church even the simple chant which we still use today to sing the psalms, the Gospel, and the Lord's Prayer. Also Augustine, though he does not fault the practice of singing introduced by Ambrose, nevertheless wants the chant to be very similar to recitation, and he confesses that it would be a grave sin for him to be more taken by the sweetness of the voices than by the meaning of the words. In the *Decretum*

illed by hunger, or to listen all day long to chant which is not understood, and, therefore, without profit? He is going to say: therefore you are doing away with chant? No. In fact, I say there: *certainly let the churches have the traditional chanting, but in moderation*). LB IX, 1155: ASD IX/6, p. 444, l. 672-678; CWE 84, p. 218-219.

⁵⁶ LB IX, 1155: ASD IX/6, p. 444, l. 679-680; cf. CWE 84, p. 219.

St Gregory also threatens priests with anathema because they were singing in church, since that function belonged to lay-people.⁵⁷

As for the ancient Church Fathers, Erasmus maintained that Christian singing meant psalmody, which is essentially different from *musica*. The Church Fathers rarely used the term *musica* in relation to Christian song; ‘psalms’ and ‘hymns’ were the normal terms.⁵⁸ Criticising the non-Christian element of worship in his sermon on Psalm 4, Erasmus comments: *Nobis danda est opera ut in ea musica certemus, quae delectat aures Dei* (‘we must strive to make that special kind of music which delights the ears of God’), that is, the Psalms, which he regarded as the quintessential music of Christian worship.⁵⁹ Erasmus condemned many of the musical practices of the Church, especially those performed daily in honour of the Virgin Mary, as well as songs sung before the Mass at agricultural festivals. Such music occupied time during the worship service whilst part of the Creed and Lord’s Prayer were omitted.⁶⁰ Erasmus thus clearly distinguished music dedicated to God from the music that aims to please human beings, a distinction that characterises the Reformed theology of music:

Ethnici caneabant hominibus, et humanum ferebant praemium. Iudaei caneabant Deo. Multis in locis hortantur nos Psalmi mystici ad cantandum, ad psallendum, ad iubilandum, sed Deo. Simus igitur et nos Iudaei, quo Psalmum cantemus Domino. Iudaeus dicitur confitens. [...] confiteamur Domino quoniam bonus, et illius misericordiam cantemus in aeternum, dicamusque illi in benefactis cum psalmista: ‘Vt cantet tibi gloria mea et non compungar’.

The pagans were singing to their fellow men, and their prizes were the prizes of men. The Jews, however, were singing to God. The mystic psalms frequently urge us to sing, to play, to make a joyful noise – but to God. Let us therefore also

⁵⁷ ASD IX/7, p. 180, l. 69-77; CWE 82, p. 198.

⁵⁸ McKinnon 1965, p. 79.

⁵⁹ LB V, 242D; ASD V/2, p. 194, l. 34-35; CWE 63, p. 176.

⁶⁰ In relation to the contemporary worship in which the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer were often omitted or curtailed, Erasmus was particularly critical of the sequences, many of which he found inappropriate for worship. See LB V, 859BC.

be Jews and sing a psalm to the Lord. Jew means ‘confessor’. [...] let us give thanks to the Lord, for he is good, and let us sing of his mercy forever; let us echo the psalmist’s praise of his goodness: *May my glory sing songs to you and never cease*.⁶¹

Although Erasmus favours Apollonian music in general terms, for him, pagan hymns such as those attributed to Orpheus are essentially different from Christian hymns praising God.⁶² In Christian worship, according to Erasmus, one must not sing either to oneself, or to a fellow human being, but should only sing one’s psalm to God, so that one may win the prize of eternal life. For the music of Christians, which is prayer, must be like their sacrifice, that is, rational: *Quale est sacrificium nostrum, talis esse debet et musica. Sacrificium est rationale, huic congruit similis musica, confessio criminum, preces, gratiarum actio, tam in aduersis quam*

⁶¹ LB V, 261-262A; ASD V/2, p. 225-226, l. 39-57; CWE 63, p. 213-214. For comparable statements from Reformed theologians, see, for instance, Calvin’s prefatory epistle to *La forme des prières et chants ecclésiastiques* (Geneva: Gérard, 1542), which is the first edition of what became known as the Genevan Psalter.

⁶² *Quemadmodum diuina sapientia plurimum dissidet ab humana sapientia, ita longe alius est sermo diuini Spiritus, alius humani pectoris. Nihil coelesti illa facundia foecundius, sed opes suas non aperit, nisi scrutanti, nisi uestiganti, nisi auído, sed ita curioso ut adoret, ut ueneretur omnia. Proinde qui sacros Psalmos prophetarum uolet euoluere, meminerit sese non in Orphei aut Homeri uersari hymnis, qui prophanam habent religionem, sed in diuini Spiritus oraculis, in quibus arcanas sapientiae suae diuitias piis uestigatoribus uoluit esse reconditas. Ad haec igitur mysteria non nisi purgatus accedat oportet, neque purus solum /uerum etiam orationis ceu uictima commendatus. Purgatissimis sit auribus oportet, qui hac coelesti musica uelit delectari. Vehementer commendatus sit necesse est, qui ad has tam abstrusas aeterni numinis delicias sit admittendus.* (‘Divine wisdom is a very different thing from human wisdom, and similarly the language of the Holy Spirit is very different from that of the human heart. Nothing is richer than that heavenly eloquence, but it reveals its treasures only to a diligent, eager investigator whose curiosity, none the less, must be of such a kind that he treats all that he finds with love and respect. Accordingly, anyone setting out to expound the sacred psalms of the prophets must remember that he is not dealing with the hymns of Orpheus or Homer, which relate to a pagan cult, but with the oracles of the Holy Spirit, designed to be a storehouse for the hidden treasures of its wisdom, accessible only to the pious inquirer. For this reason, no one must approach these mysteries unless he has been purified, and he must be not only pure, but also committed to God by, as it were, the sacrifice of prayer. To enjoy this heavenly music, the ears must be free from all obstruction; to be admitted to these well-concealed delights of the eternal godhead, a man must be intensely committed to God’). LB V, 171; ASD V/2, p. 33, l. 5-16; CWE 63, p. 8 (*An Exposition of the First Psalm*).

in prosperis ('Our music ought to be like our sacrifice: since our sacrifice is a rational one, the appropriate music will be the confession of our sins, prayer, and thanksgiving, in the bad times as well as the good').⁶³ Wilhelm Dilthey claimed Erasmus as the '*Begründer des theologischen Rationalismus*' ('the founder of theological rationalism').⁶⁴ Indeed, the Erasmian notion of Christian music as a rational sacrifice departs from the existing theological view of music, and foreshadows the Reformed theology of music, which highlights the inner, spiritual worship of God.⁶⁵ This view of sacrifice as a spiritual offering of praise and thanksgiving in remembrance of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ was fully shared by the English reformers, notably by the Anglican apologist John Jewel (1522-1571).⁶⁶ The Reformed understanding of the concept of sacrifice led to a fundamental shift of perspective on the role of singing in the Anglican liturgy.⁶⁷

But in what sense does Erasmus regard Christian singing as prayer? In his annotation on I Cor. 14. 15, Erasmus instructs his readers how to pray: *Spiritum uocem linguae uocat, mentem affectum animi, siue sensum animi πνεῦμα et νοῦς* ('[Paul] calls the spirit the voice of the tongue, the mind the affect of the soul, or the sense of the soul, spirit and mind').⁶⁸ In the same vein, he provides instruction on Christian singing.

In order to continue our discussion, we must consider Erasmus's translation of the Greek word ψαλῶ in I Cor. 14. 15. In Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum*, the Greek text reads: τί οὖν ἐστι· προσεύξομαι τῷ πνεύματι, προσεύξομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ νοῖ· ψαλῶ τῷ πνεύματι, ψαλῶ δὲ καὶ τῷ νοῖ. The Vulgate translates this as

⁶³ LB V, 261-262A; ASD V/2, p. 226, l. 60-63; CWE 63, p. 214.

⁶⁴ Dilthey 1914, p. 74.

⁶⁵ In his commentary on Col. 3. 16, Calvin stresses that the 'songs of Christians' should be 'spiritual' – 'not merely an external sound with the mouth'; everyone is to sing inwardly to himself, both external sound and inwardly singing, 'provided the heart goes before the tongue'. Calvin 1851, p. 315. In this view, Calvin refers to the Eucharist as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and the practice of singing as spiritual sacrifice is only possible when accompanied by a moral life. For further discussions, see Kim 2015, p. 73.

⁶⁶ Jewel stresses that 'our Christian sacrifices in the gospel, because they are mere spiritual and proceed wholly from the heart, are called unbloody'. Jewel 1845-1850, vol. 2, p. 735.

⁶⁷ Shepherd 1984.

⁶⁸ Erasmus 1516a, p. 477.

Quid ergo est? Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente: psallam spiritu, psallam et mente.

Erasmus on the other hand translates it as

*Quid igitur est? Orabo spiritu, sed orabo & mente. Canam spiritu, sed canam et mente.*⁶⁹

Erasmus thus translates the Greek word ψαλῶ by *canam*, whereas it is rendered as *psallam* in the Vulgate. Why did he choose the word *canere*, instead of *psallere* or *cantare*, even though *psallere* had significant meanings in patristic exegesis? The word *psallere* itself points to the core of the patristic theology of music, which underlies the Anglican practice of sacred music centring on the ‘virtue of psalmody’, as articulated by the Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504-1575).⁷⁰ The word *psallere* was derived from the ψαλτήριον, a ten-stringed instrument, on which the Church Fathers imposed strong ethical meanings. According to the exposition of Ps. 26. 6 (‘I will sing and make melody to the Lord’) by the Alexandrian Didymus the Blind (c. 313 – c. 398), ‘to sing’ signifies ‘contemplation’, to offer praises and songs without an instrument in the contemplation of the truth. ‘To make melody’ (*psallere*) literally means playing the psalter; allegorically, it means performing a good deed, in other words, praising God through good works, through all the members of the body operating in harmony.⁷¹ The Church Fathers underscored the importance of praising God with both contemplation and good action; they regard the deeds of the body performed for the glory of God as a psalm.⁷²

Erasmus’s choice of *canere* instead of *psallere* or *cantare* may be explained by reference to the classical resources underlying his choice. In Latin, two words refer to ‘singing’: *cano* and *canto*. According to Isidore, *cantare* means only producing sound with utterances or shouting, while *canere* means either to prophesy or to modulate, that is, in measure or in metrical forms. Neither

⁶⁹ Erasmus 1516b, p. 50. Cf. Zwingli’s translation of the passages is exactly the same as Erasmus’. H. Zwingli, *Zürcher Bibel* (1531), p. 82r.

⁷⁰ See Parker 1567?, f. Cii^v-Gij^v.

⁷¹ Ferguson 1985, p. 22. Homily 7 on Ps. 67. The translation follows Ewald 1964, p. 51.

⁷² Ferguson 1985, p. 20.

word was reserved for the human voice alone.⁷³ These two words were often used interchangeably, except for two cases: that is, for the act of prophesying on the one hand and for the incantation of magic formulas on the other. *Canere* was used for the oracles that are poetic songs composed in metrical form; *cantare* is never used to refer to prophecy, but for the act of incantations, delivered in repetition; the text of an incantation is no more than a refrain. Thus, *cantare* means to repeat obsessively, a feature typical of all magic formulae. Whoever practices incantations *cantat*, not *canit*.⁷⁴ In the *Eclogues*, Virgil seldom uses *canere* and *cantare* as synonymous. *Cantare* is more multifarious than *canere* and always implies ‘singing’.⁷⁵ But *canere* was used in relation to lines of verse dialogue where people answer each other antiphonally, as verses in dialogue.⁷⁶ By using the word *canere*, it may be well that Erasmus wished to emphasise the significance of antiphonal chant in Christian worship.

It is noteworthy that while Erasmus uses *canere* in relation to Christian singing, scholastic theologians of Paris always use *cantare* in relation to ecclesiastical music, but never *canere*.⁷⁷ This can be illustrated by their criticism of Erasmus’s annotations on Mt. 6 and I Cor. 14. The following propositions from Erasmus’s annotations on 1 Cor. 14. 19 were problematic for the scholastic theologians:

Quid aliud auditur in monasteriis, in collegiis, in templis quam uocum strepitus? Vulgus non aliud audit quam uoces non significantes. Obsecro quid sentiunt de Christo qui illum credunt huiusmodi uocum strepitu delectari? Cur dubitat ecclesia tantum auctorem sequi aut cur audet ab eo dissentire? De Paulo loquitur.

What else is heard in monasteries, in religious houses, in churches except the noise of voices? The mob hears nothing but words that signify nothing; I beg you, what opinion

⁷³ Isidore of Seville, *Differentia* I. 98: *Cantare tantum uocibus uel clamore insonare est, canere autem interdum modulari, interdum uaticinari*. Cited in Bettini 2016, p. 155-156.

⁷⁴ Bettini 2016, p. 155-168.

⁷⁵ Lipka 2001, p. 22.

⁷⁶ Dumesnil 1809, p. 115.

⁷⁷ This is evident in their *Censurae* on both Erasmus’s annotations on Mt. 6 and I Cor. 14.

of Christ do people have who think he is delighted by such a din of noisy voices? Why does the church hesitate to follow such a great authority? Why does it dare to differ from him? He is speaking about Paul.⁷⁸

The fundamental difference between Erasmus and the scholastic theologians in dealing with church music lies in how they perceive the edification of the laity. For the scholastic theologians, piety and spirituality do not have to be accompanied by intellectual effort:

Nam si cor hominis Deus maxime requirit, quid magis gratum illi esse poterit quam quod homo pio affectu ipsum laudare, reuereri, amare, appreciari elaboret ac libenter laudibus eius assistat? Nulla profecto uerborum intelligentia cum hac pia intentione potest conferri, quam habere solent etiam simplices, rudes, et ineruditi. [...] Non enim opus est ut populi uerba intelligant quae decantant, cum illis ad spiritualem profectum abunde sufficiat pia illa supradicta intentio seruiendi Deo, laudandi Deum, reuerendi eum ac diligendi. Nec perpensa impudenti multorum temeritate atque arrogantia expedit huiusmodi diuina officia de uerbo ad uerbum in linguam uernaculam transferri et sic translata in sacris aedibus decantari. Nam ea res non in populorum cederet aedificationem sed perniciem, ut crebro docuit experientia. Populi enim in ecclesia ueluti paruuli sunt qui lacte egent, non solido cibo.

For if the human heart is what God requires most of all, what could be more pleasing to him than for a person to exert himself with pious devotion to praise God, revere him, love him, value him, and eagerly be present at his praises? Indeed no understanding of the words can be compared with this pious intention, which is ordinarily had even by simple, rude, and uneducated people. [...] For it is not necessary for the people to understand the words that are sung, for that aforementioned pious intention of serving God, praising him, revering and loving him is more than adequate for their spiritual progress. And considering the shameless temerity and arrogance of many people, it is not expedient that the divine office should be literally translated into the vernacular and the translation sung in the sacred precincts.

⁷⁸ ASD IX/7, p. 182, l. 112-119; CWE 82, p. 200. For Erasmus's annotation on I Cor. 14. 19, see ASD VI/8, p. 274, l. 139 – p. 278, l. 220.

For such a procedure would not turn out to edify the people but to destroy them, as experience has often taught. For in the church the people are like little children, who need milk, not solid food.⁷⁹

Erasmus' scholastic critics considered instructing the laity via congregational reading and singing of the vernacular Bible as potentially fatal to both the people and the existing Church.⁸⁰ They thus rejected Erasmus's proposition that the traditional chant and elaborate music merely soothe the ears, for his position seemed to support the errors of the heretics such as Wycliffites and Lutherans. Erasmus declares however that *De his aliisque consimilibus admonere non est Vuicleuiticum, sed pium et officiosum* ('To warn about these points and others like them is not Wycliffite, but godly and dutiful').⁸¹

Although Erasmus translated ψαλῶ into *canam* in the *Nouum Instrumentum*, he returned to the verb *psallo* in his annotation on I Cor. 14 (1519), where he admonishes singers in church, borrowing from Jerome's commentary on Eph. 5. 19: *Quorum cantus debuit esse luctus, hi lasciuiis hinnitibus & mobile gutture Deum placari credunt* ('Their song ought to be lamentation; they believe that God is pleased with frivolous neighings and agile throats').⁸² Against these singers in church, Erasmus exclaims: *Psallamus spiritu, sed psallamus Christiane: psallamus parce, magis autem psallamus mente* ('Let us sing [psalms] with spirit but let us sing

⁷⁹ ASD IX/7, p. 182, l. 132-136; p. 183, l. 148-155; CWE 82, p. 201-202.

⁸⁰ *At uero quemadmodum ui aluntur infantes pane et aliis cibis grossioribus letalis sensim morbus in illos irrepit, quoniam solidiores escas ferre nequeant aut digerere, ita consimiliter si uerba nuda Scripturarum Sanctarum lingua uulgari populis proponantur ac in templis decantentur, quae uelut fortioris cibi et ad digerendum difficillimi locum tenent, degrauantur, deprimuntur et saepe in haereses prolabantur, scandala et schismata, ut hodie in plerisque locis euenisse constat* ('But certainly, just as when infants are fed bread and other heavy foods a deadly disease gradually infects them because they cannot tolerate or digest solid food, just so if the plain words of Holy Scripture are set before the people in the vernacular language and sung in church – which is the equivalent of solid food that is difficult to digest – they are burdened, weighed down, and often fall into heresies, scandals, and schisms, as is clearly happening today in many places'). ASD IX/7, p. 183, l. 155-161; CWE 82, p. 202.

⁸¹ ASD IX/7, p. 186, l. 259-260; CWE 82, p. 206.

⁸² LB VI, 732C; ASD VI/8, p. 278, l. 214-215. See Merbecke 1581, p. 1016.

[psalms] as Christians; let us sing [psalms] moderately but let us sing [psalms] more with the mind').⁸³ Noteworthy here is the word *psallamus* in his annotation to I Cor. 14. 15. This is reflected in the English translations; the word ψαλῶ is simply rendered as 'I will sing', except for the Coverdale Bible (1535) which gives a more detailed rendering. Compare the following:

What is it then? I will praye with the sprete ad will praye wt the mynde also. I will singe with the sprete and will singe with the mynde also. (Tyndale's New Testament, 1526)

How shal it be then? Namely thus: I wil praye with þe sprete, and wil praye with the vnderstodinge also: I wil synge psalmes in the sprete, and wil synge spalmes [*sic*] with þe vnderstodinge also. (Coverdale Bible, 1535)⁸⁴

What is it then? I wyl praye with the spirite, and wyll praye with mynde also. I wil singe with the spyrite, and wil singe with the minde also. (Matthew's Bible, 1537)

What is it then? I will praye with the sprete, and will praye with the vnderstanding. I will synge with the sprete, and will synge with the vnderstanding. (Great Bible, 1539)

What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, but I wil pray with the vnderstanding also: I wil sing with the spirite, but I will sing with the vnderstanding also. (Geneva Bible, 1560)

What is it then? I wyll pray with the spirite, and wyll pray with the vnderstandyng also. I wyll syng with the spirite, and wyll syng with the vnderstandyng also. (Bishop's Bible, 1568)

What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and wil pray with vnderstanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the vnderstanding also. (King James Version, 1611)⁸⁵

⁸³ LB VI, 732C; ASD VI/8, p. 278, l. 214-215. Jerome says that we ought to sing 'more with spirit than the voice', 'not with the voice but with the heart', 'so that not the voice of the singer but the words that are read give pleasure'. McKinnon 1987, p. 145.

⁸⁴ The *psallere* is also preserved in The Wycliffe Bible (1395): 'What thanne? Y schal preye in spirit, Y schal preye in mynde; Y schal seie salm, in spirit, Y schal seie salm also in mynde'.

⁸⁵ See also the same rendering in contemporary German languages: for instance, Zürcher Bibel (1531): 'Wie sols aber denn sein? Namlich also: Ich wil baetten mit dem athem vnnd wil auch baetten mit dem verstand; ich wil singen mit dem athem vnnd wil auch singen mit dem verstand'. Interestingly, in the Zürcher Bibel (1531) the Latin word '*spiritus*' is rendered as 'Athem' (breath)

The Coverdale Bible, though not translated directly from Hebrew or Greek, was the first complete Bible printed in English.⁸⁶ Its second edition, published in 1537, was the first English Bible approved officially. Coverdale was amongst the translators of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* (1549), a copy of which should be placed at every parish across the country, according to the 1547 Royal Injunction.⁸⁷

Likewise, in contemporary Dutch translations, the word is rendered as 'sing[h]en', except for the *Biestkensbijbel* (1560), which was translated by the Dutch Anabaptists who were not satisfied with the *Liesveltbijbel* (1542). In their own translations of the New Testament (1554) the Anabaptists made some changes on the basis of the Latin translation of Erasmus:⁸⁸

Daer om wat ist dan? Ic sal bidden metten geest, ende ooc bidden metten verstant. Ic sal singen metten geest, mer ooc singen metten verstant. (Vorstermanbijbel, 1531)

Mer hoe salt dan sijn? Namelic also, Ic sal bidden metten geest, ende sal ooc bidden metten sin, Ic sal singen metten geest, ende sal ooc singen metten sin. (Liesveltbijbel, 1542)⁸⁹

Wat eest dan? Ick sal bidden metten gheest, ick sal oock bidden metten verstande. Ick sal singhen metten gheest, ick sal oock singhen metten verstande. (Leuvense bijbel, 1548)

not as 'Geist' (spirit). In later edition, though, the word is rendered as Geist: 'Was folgt daraus? Ich will im Geist beten, ich will aber auch mit dem Verstand beten; ich will im Geist lobsinghen, ich will aber auch mit dem Verstand lobsinghen' (Zürcher Bibel, 1931).

⁸⁶ Coverdale's translation is mostly based on Leo Jud's and Ulrich Zwingli's Swiss-German version of 1524/29 and the Latin of Pagninus of 1528, and it was printed probably at Cologne or Marburg; it has also been suggested that the Coverdale Bible was printed in Antwerp by Martin de Keyser, sponsored by Jacob Van Meteren, an Antwerp merchant. For further discussion, see Coverdale & Ayris 2015, p. 55. See also Latré 2000.

⁸⁷ For further discussions about the reception of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* in England, see Craig 2002.

⁸⁸ Den Besten (1560).

⁸⁹ Intriguingly, in the earlier version of this Bible, *Dat oude ende dat nieuwe testament* (1526), the anonymous translator omitted completely the second part concerning 'singing', and only the first part concerning 'praying' was translated as follows: 'Hoe sout dan sijn? Te wetene also Ic wil bidden metten gheest ende wil ooc metten sin bidden' https://www.dbnl.org/arch/_lie012lies02_01/pag/_lie012lies02_01.pdf (see PDF page no. 1225).

Maer hoe salt dan toegaen? Namelijc alsoo: Ick wil bidden met den gheest, ende wil oock bidden in den sin. Ick wil Psalmen singhen inden gheest, ende wil oock Psalmen singhen met den sin. (Biestkensbijbel, 1560)

Wat ist dan? Ick sal met den gheest bidden, ende ick sal oock met den verstande bidden. Ick sal met den gheest singhen, ende sal oock met den verstande singhen. (Deux-Aesbijbel, 1562)

Wat ist dan? Ick sal [*wel*] met den geest bidden, maer ick sal oock met den verstande bidden: Ick sal [*wel*] met den geest singen, maer ick sal oock met den verstande singen. (Statenvertaling, 1637)

Most important of all, Erasmus never uses the word *cantare* in relation to Christian music. The choice of *canere* points to two key elements of ancient Christian music which were particularly important for Erasmus: that is, congregational singing in antiphon; and modulated recitation. In his letter to Vulturius Neocomus (Gerard Geldenhouwer of Nijmegen) in 1529, Erasmus writes: *Olim totus populus canebat, et sacerdoti respondebat, Amen* ('In the early churches the whole congregation used to sing and respond Amen to the priest').⁹⁰ Regarding *canere*, which Erasmus uses to characterise Christian singing, it is important to consider

⁹⁰ Erasmus, *Epistola contra pseudoeuangelicos* (ASD IX/1, p. 306, l. 654-661): *Olim totus populus canebat et sacerdoti respondebat: amen. Ibi strepitus tonitruo non absimilis et ridicula uocum confusio spectaculum exhibebat indignum cultu diuino; nunc designati sunt qui canant decenter, caeteri psallunt in cordibus suis Domino. Recens ecclesia nullam speciem musices recipiebat, nec sine reclamazione recepta est, sed modulatae recitationi similior quam cantui, primum apud Graecos, deinde apud Latinos, cuius specimen adhuc uidere licet in precatione dominica...* ('In times past the whole congregation used to sing and respond Amen to the priest. Thereupon, the loud noise like thunder and ridiculous confusion of voices produced a spectacle unworthy of divine worship; but now, those who sing properly are elected, the rest sing to the Lord in their own hearts. The emerging Church did not allow any form of music, nor was it accepted without disapprobation, but allowed as more similar to *modulated recitation* than to song, first among the Greeks, then among the Latins, whose example one can still see in the Lord's Prayer'). Italics are my emphasis. For the full text of this letter see ASD IX/1, p. 263-309. For more on the correspondence see Bietenholz & Deutscher 1986-1987, vol. 2, p. 82-84. This practice of modulated recitation is still the major characteristic of Coptic chants. Foley has argued that the 'amen' was an essential sign of the congregation's involvement in the worship as a key response in both the emerging Christian community and the synagogues of the time. Foley 1996, p. 77.

the early Anglican dispute over *alternatim* performance: in developing the vernacular liturgy, English reformers took seriously the importance of ‘Amen’ as the congregational response. A case in point is John Jewel who was the most important apologist for the Elizabethan settlement. Jewel reportedly read all of Erasmus’s writings, and like many English divines, he openly praised Erasmus as the most learned man of his time and adopted his views on various issues, without acknowledging the sources.⁹¹ In the third article of his reply to Thomas Harding, entitled *Of Prayers in a Strange Tongue*, Jewel argues that singing is praying in a comprehensible language, focusing on *alternatim* performance, traditionally practised in the medieval Church between priests and choir, between different choirs, or between voices and musical instruments, most commonly the organ.⁹² Jewel asserts that *alternatim* refers to the antiphonal singing of the whole congregation, in accordance with the ancient practice, and stresses that responding with ‘Amen’ presupposes comprehension of what is heard.⁹³ In this view, Jewel confirms Erasmus’s views about congregational singing in antiphonal alternation.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Dodds 2009, p. 78-79.

⁹² On the Catholic (especially Dominican Order)’s attitude to organ *alternatim* performance in the sixteenth century, see O’Connor 2014.

⁹³ Thomas Harding (1516-1572) published *A Confutation of the Apology of the Church of England* in 1565, which was responded to by the Bishop of Salisbury, John Jewel, in Jewel 1565. In the third article of this reply, entitled *Of Prayers in a Strange Tongue* (p. 151-219), Jewel argues for the *alternatim* performance between the two groups of the whole congregation in vernacular psalmody (for Harding’s second division raises the question of *alternatim* and Jewel’s reply, see, p. 152-154).

⁹⁴ Jewel’s ‘spiritual father’, Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499-1562), does not discuss *alternatim* performance and antiphonal singing in his writings on music, though Martyr’s view on music resonates with Erasmus. In his *Loci Communes*, Martyr discusses music and metre under the chapter on ‘prayers’ (III. xiii), which illustrates the Reformed theology of singing as prayer, i.e. a ‘new manner of singing’. Much discussion of music in the *Loci Communes* was derived from his commentary on the Book of Judges in the Old Testament, entitled *In Librum Judicum commentarii doctissimi* (1561), which was widely circulated among Elizabethan Protestant scholars. On music, see f. 73r-74v. For its first English edition, see *Most fruitfull [and] learned co[m]mentaries of Doctor Peter Martir Vermil Florentine, professor of deuinitie, in the Vniuersitye of Tygure, with a very profitable tract of the matter and places...* London: J. Daye, 1564. For ‘Of Musicke and Songes’, see f. 102r-104v.

4. From 'Cantus' to 'Modulata Pronuntiatio'

In scholastic theological thinking, lay piety and spirituality are not associated with education. In this regard, Erasmus departs from the existing theological view. In his *Declarationes* (1532) to the scholastic *censurae* against his annotation on I Cor. 14. 19, Erasmus encourages the laity to read the Bible in the *modulata recitatio*; '*Primum discet expedite sonare, deinde prompte legere, mox eleganter pingere*' ('the first thing for him to learn will be correct pronunciation, then to read easily, then to draw elegantly'): ⁹⁵

Ac diuus Thomas scribit lectiones matutinas, epistolam et euangelium adhuc in ecclesia esse pro linguis quae recitantur ac post exponuntur. Ergo qui recitat euangelium loquitur Spiritu; qui populo enarrat prophetam agit. An audire uoces non intellectas sit lac paruulorum in Christo uiderint alii. Ego magis arbitror eandem Scripturam intellectam esse lac paruulis ac solidam escam firmioribus; turpe sit tamen eos semper manere infantes et semper pendere de mamma matris. Et si praesentaneum uenenum est populum ea iuxta grammaticum sensum intelligere quae decantantur aut recitantur in templis, in summo periculo fuerunt Graeci pariter et Latini, quandoquidem usque ad tempora sancti Gregorii et ultra omnia recitabantur lingua cum populo communi. Et adhuc Indi lingua uernacula peragunt suas preces ac sacra.

And St Thomas writes that the readings at matins, the Epistle, and the Gospel are still in the church as if they were spoken in tongues, for they are recited and afterwards explained. Therefore someone who recites the Gospel speaks in the spirit; someone who explains it to the people prophesies. I leave it to others to say whether to hear words not understood is milk for little children in Christ. I rather think that the same Scripture understood is milk for little children and solid food for those who are stronger; but in any case it is shameful for them to remain infants forever and to hang forever on their mother's breast. And if it is a quick-acting poison to have a grammatical understanding of what the singing in church means, then the Greeks as well as the Latins were in the greatest danger, since up to the time of St Gregory and

⁹⁵ LB I, 922D; ASD I/4, p. 30, l. 557-558; CWE 26, p. 387. Erasmus discusses the art of oratory in relation to music in his *De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione* (1528).

later everything was recited in the ordinary language of the people. And the Indians still conduct their prayers and liturgy in their vernacular language.⁹⁶

Erasmus viewed the Christian practice of singing as the rational activity of the mind and spirit, in that the text is comprehended and explained in song. This suggests why he rejected the kinds of musical improvisations during the Mass that were common in Britain: *Nam est huiusmodi musices genus apud Britannos, ut multi inter se concinant, quorum nullus eas sonat uoces quas habent codicum notulae* ('In Britain where many voices participate simultaneously, but none actually sings the part as it is written').⁹⁷ Erasmus especially abhorred faux-bourdon, a popular style of simple improvised polyphony popular in England: *In hoc indulgetur stultorum affectibus, et uentri consulitur* ('in this [music] the whims of the foolish are indulged and their insatiable appetite is indulged'). This technique of improvised harmony produces mere tonal clamour far from *musica sobria quo uerborum sensus efficacius influant in animos auditorum* ('sober music by which meanings of words effectively flow into the souls of the listeners').⁹⁸

In the 1516 annotation on I Cor. 14, Erasmus notes that the apostle Paul calls a prophet, not the one who predicts future, but who interprets the divine Scripture, emphasising that Plato too distinguishes *uates* from *prophetes*: the *uates* are possessed by the numinous, but themselves do not understand what they speak, whereas the others, i.e. the *prophetes*, interpret it prudently and soberly.⁹⁹ Erasmus argues that in the time of Paul, there was no

⁹⁶ ASD IX/7, p. 186, l. 231-242; CWE 82, p. 205.

⁹⁷ ASD I/4, p. 42, l. 969-971; CWE 26, p. 401. According to the famous Flemish theorist Johannes Tinctoris, the English churches were hardly affected by the new musical trend that showed great sensitivity to the text. The 'old' musical style like the isorhythmic treatment of polyphony that obscured the text was still prevalent in England, while it had disappeared in other parts of Latin Christendom. This style can be illustrated by music in the Old Hall Manuscript (British Library, Additional MS 57950), for instance, which is the largest, most complete, and most significant source of English sacred music of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and as such represents the best source for late medieval English music. See Tinctoris 1963, vol. 4, p. 154.

⁹⁸ LB VI, 732 C.

⁹⁹ Erasmus 1516a, p. 477: *Hoc loco Paulus prophetiam uocat, non praedictionem futurorum, sed interpretationem diuinae scripturae. Quemadmodum et Plato discernit uates a prophetis[.] Vates arrepti numine, nec ipsi quid loquantur*

cantus but only *pronuntiatio*. The *cantus* was accepted later with difficulty, but it was nothing but ‘*distincta modulataque pronuntiatio*’, whose manner remains in the Lord’s Prayer, which ordinary people used to understand in common, responding Amen, while they now hear only meaningless sounds in the churches, monasteries and colleges.¹⁰⁰ In line with Erasmus, Thomas Becon comments on I Cor. 14 as follows:

A Christian man’s melody, after St Paul’s mind, consisteth in heart, while we recite psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, and sing to the Lord in our hearts ... All other outward melody is vain and transitory, and passeth away and cometh to nought.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, in his *A Newe Pathway vnto Praier* (1542, chapter 5), Becon suggests ‘a good lesson for our musicians and chanters’ under the title of ‘what prayer is’, appealing to Jerome, who ‘teaches our musicians a new manner of singing’ in his commentary on Eph. 5. In an English footnote, Becon repeats what Erasmus had already said in quoting Jerome:

Hereto agreeth the saying of St Jerome: ‘We ought’, saith he, ‘to sing, to make melody, and to praise the Lord, rather in mind than in voice’. And this is it that is said: ‘singing and making melody to the Lord in your hearts’. Let young men hear these things, yea, let them hear whose office it is to sing in the church, that they must sing to God, not in the voice but in the heart, neither must their throat and chaws be anointed after the manner of game-players with sweet ointments, that in the church singing more fit for game-places should be heard, but in fear, in work, in knowledge of the scriptures ought they to sing unto the Lord.¹⁰²

intelligunt. Ea prudentes interpretantur caeteris. It is intriguing that while Plato discerns *uates* from *prophetes*, in the ancient pagan tradition of Latin literature, *uates* equates with *prophetes*.

¹⁰⁰ *Quid aliud auditur in Monasteriis, in Collegiis, in Templis ferme omnibus, quam uocum strepitus? At qui aetate Pauli non cantus erat, sed pronuntiatio dumtaxat. Vix a posterioribus receptus est cantus, sed talis ut nihil aliud esset, quam distincta modulataque pronuntiatio, cuiusmodi superest etiamnum apud nos, qua sonamus in canone sacro Precationem Dominicam ..., uulgu adhuc promiscuum intelligebat, respondens Amen. Nunc uulgu quid aliud audit quam uoces nihil significantes?* LB VI, 731C [italics, my emphasis]. See also Erasmus 1990, p. 507.

¹⁰¹ Becon 1844, p. 429.

¹⁰² Becon 1843, p. 133-134; Merbecke 1581, p. 1015; Kim 2015, p. 73.

The *distincta modulataque pronuntiatio* that Erasmus suggests as the ancient manner of Christian singing is emphasised in every injunction directing liturgical music in Tudor England. In the first of these, a letter to Henry VIII, dated 7 October 1544, Archbishop Cranmer stressed that the whole liturgy must be sung ‘distinctly’, for which he applies the ‘one note/one syllable rule’ throughout:

As concerning the *Salve festa dies*, the Latin note, as I think, is sober and distinct enough; wherefore I have travailed to make the verses in English, and have put the Latin note unto the same. Nevertheless they that be cunning¹⁰³ in singing can make a much more solemn note thereto. I made them only for a proof, to see how English would do in song. [...] but in mine opinion, the song that shall be made thereunto would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, *for every syllable a note*;¹⁰⁴ so that it may be sung distinctly¹⁰⁵ and devoutly as be in the Matins and Evensong, *Venite*, the Hymns, *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc dimittis*, and all the Psalms and Versicles; and in the mass *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Gloria Patri*, the Creed, the Preface, the *Pater noster*, and some of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*.¹⁰⁶

Since the *Salve festa dies* is a hymn, it was relatively easy to make an English versification of the Latin verses, as Cranmer realised; other liturgical texts he listed, however, are in prose, which required a more radical solution for the efficient delivery of the vernacular liturgy. At the end of his letter Cranmer thus petitioned Henry VIII to let someone more excellent than him in English versification and music conduct such experiments with prose texts. John Merbecke was the one who undertook this task.¹⁰⁷ Merbecke’s chants in *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, published in 1550 by a royal printer, Richard Grafton, are characterised by a unique musical notation designed to articulate the English texts, while observing both the quantities of syllables

¹⁰³ Cunning: learned. Lancashire 2006 (LEME: <http://leme.library.utoronto.ca>). Hereafter, the early modern definitions of English words are from the LEME.

¹⁰⁴ The italics are my emphasis.

¹⁰⁵ Distinctly: separately, or individually.

¹⁰⁶ Cranmer 1846, p. 412.

¹⁰⁷ Kim 2008, p. 125-138.

and the inherent stress of English language. In this regard, his musical experiment with the new vernacular liturgy departs sharply from the existing manner of chanting.¹⁰⁸

This new way of chanting, promoted by Cranmer, continued to be recommended after the introduction of the second Prayer Book of 1552 and during the reign of Elizabeth I. In his Injunctions to the Dean and Chapter at York in 1552, Robert Holgate (c. 1481-1555), Archbishop of York, directs:

We will and command that there be none other note sung or used in the said church at any service there to be had, saving square note plain, so that *every syllable may be plainly*¹⁰⁹ *and distinctly pronounced, and without any reports or repetitions* which may induce any obscureness to the hearers ...¹¹⁰

The forty-ninth of Queen Elizabeth's injunctions (1559), regarded as the most lucid manifestation of the Anglican theology of music, recapitulates the principles laid out by the early reformers: '... That there be a *modest*¹¹¹ and *distinct*¹¹² song so used in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may be as *plainly understood as if it were read without singing* ...'.¹¹³ Indeed, throughout the Elizabethan injunctions, the observance of the 'speech-rhythm' in chanting is highlighted. For example, an injunction for Winchester Cathedral in 1571 directs:

Item, that in the quire no note shall be used in song that shall drown any word or syllable, or draw out in length or shorten any word or syllable otherwise than by the nature of the word [as] it is pronounced in common speech ...¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ On other musical renderings of the English liturgy which are more traditional than Merbecke's, see Milsom 1992, p. 77-92. For musical experiments of the vernacular services, see British Library Additional MS 5665 (Ritson); British Library Royal App. 74-76; British Library Additional MS 34191; Mus. Sch. E. 420-422 in Bodleian Library, 'Wanley'. Of these manuscripts, Lbl Add. 34191 is most controversial in terms of its copy date in relation to the first Prayer book and Merbecke's chants.

¹⁰⁹ Plainly: fully, or comprehensively.

¹¹⁰ Frere & Kennedy 1910, vol. 2, p. 318. Italics are mine.

¹¹¹ Modest: temperate, or well-conducted.

¹¹² Distinct: separated into parts, or divided.

¹¹³ Cardwell 1844, vol. 1, p. 224. John Jewel and Richard Hooper deployed Anglican apologetics for church music. Especially, the latter is most frequently quoted in Victorian Anglican apologetics for church music. Italics are mine.

¹¹⁴ Frere & Kennedy 1910, vol. 3, p. 319.

In the same year, Edwin Sandys (1519-1588) issued injunctions for the diocese of London which make a similar point: 'Whether there be a *modest* and *distinct* song, so used concerning the said parts of the Common Prayer which be sung, that the same may be as *plainly understood as if they were read without singing ...*'.¹¹⁵

Throughout the early modern world, Erasmus's works were cited by scholars of different confessional parties for various purposes in various interpretations of his ideas. His musical thought was no exception. It was echoed in the Puritan musical polemics in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. English apologists of music too drew on Erasmus for their defence of music and musicians against the Puritan polemics.

The Anglican reform of liturgical music took a moderate path in realising the *distincta modulataque pronuntiatio*, when compared with its Reformed counterpart.¹¹⁶ The pristine manner of Christian singing suggested by Erasmus was thus embodied in the early Anglican reform of liturgical music, which did not abolish the traditional chants but produced a rhythmically varied rendition of them, codified through a proportional musical notation designed under the influence of Erasmian rhetoric.¹¹⁷ As discussed thus far, Erasmus's exhortation to English singers in his annotation on I Cor. 14, which was grounded in Jerome's commentary on Eph. 5. 19, became the foundation of a new liturgical music in the Church of England. Erasmus's moralistic musical polemics and theological guidance for ecclesiastical music were fully embodied in the Anglican reform of liturgical practice, whose primary interest lay in ethical and linguistic matters rather than in doctrinal ones. As a leading rhetorical theologian of Christian humanism, his teachings served as a major intellectual basis for the English reformation that centred on the uniformity of liturgy and its musical practice across the country by establishing English as a viable liturgical language.

¹¹⁵ Frere & Kennedy 1910, vol. 3, p. 320.

¹¹⁶ For example, Zwingli's '*Sprechgesang*' departs from the traditional chant practice in both form and substance. Jenny 1966, p. 26.

¹¹⁷ For further discussions about the proportional notation and the Anglican reform of liturgical chant, see Kim 2008, p. 154-172.

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Abstract

In his annotation on I Cor. 14. 15-19, one of the most important Biblical texts regarding Christian singing, Erasmus criticised English church music, singling out its tradition of educating choristers, the moral and intellectual status of singers, barbarism in the practice of chant and a theatrical style of musical performance. Such issues lay at the heart of the English musical reformation. Focusing on the annotation, this essay elucidates the Erasmian theology of music, especially its emphasis on the ancient manner of Christian singing and his ideal of a *distincta modulataque pronuntiatio*. Furthermore, it examines Erasmus's influence on the Anglican reform of liturgical music. It discusses, first, Erasmus's musical polemic in the annotation, and his subsequent attempts to defend his position. Second, it examines his Latin translation of $\psi\alpha\lambda\omega$ as *canam* in the *Nouum Instrumentum*. In the light of the Erasmian theology of Christian singing, centring on the *pronuntiatio*, the essay clarifies why Erasmus translated $\psi\alpha\lambda\omega$ as *canam* rather than *psallam* or *cantabo*, by considering the classical background to this choice, its liturgical and moral implications, and the ways in which early Anglican reformers applied it to their new musical practice.

NICHOLAS THOMPSON

SERVARE VIRGINEM SUAM:
MARTIN BUCER
AND STEPHEN GARDINER
ON I COR. 7. 36-38 AND THE PROHIBITION
OF CLERICAL MARRIAGE

In June 1539, the English Parliament passed an *Act abolishing diversity of opinions*, better known as the *Act of the six articles*. As the title suggests, its purpose was to suppress religious dissent in England. On the international stage it signalled to the emperor Charles V and to Francis I of France that, despite England's break with papal authority, its church remained a part of Christendom. The third article of the act required that, 'priests after the order of priesthood received, as afore, may not marry, by the law of God'. The penalty for clergy convicted of marrying, or those convicted of publicly defending clerical marriage after the 12th of July 1539, was death without benefit of clergy and the forfeiture of lands, goods, and benefices. Any marriages already contracted by priests were deemed null and void.¹

This article investigates a sixteenth century debate over a biblical passage cited in support of the act's prohibition of clerical marriage: I Cor. 7. 36-38. In the 1516 edition of Erasmus's *Nouum instrumentum* this pericope appeared as follows:

Εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει, ἐὰν ἡ ὑπέ-
ρακμος, καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, ὃ θέλει ποιείτω, οὐχ ἁμαρ-
τάνει, γαμείτωσαν. ὃς δὲ ἔστηκεν ἐδραῖος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, μὴ ἔχων
ἀνάγκην, ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος, καὶ τοῦτο
κέκρικεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ τηρεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον
καλῶς ποιεῖ. ὥστε ὁ ἐκγαμίζων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον, καλῶς
ποιεῖ ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐκγαμίζων κρείσσον ποιήσει.²

¹ 31 Hen. VIII, c. 14. See *The Statutes 1810-1828*, vol. 3, p. 739-743.

² Erasmus 1516, vol. 2, p. 40. For variants in Erasmus's later editions, see ASD VI/3, p. 246.

Modern critical editions of the Greek text vary slightly from this, but not, as we shall see, in a way that would easily resolve any interpretative difficulties.³ However, the Vulgate tipped the meaning of I Cor. 7. 36-38 in a direction that influenced both medieval and sixteenth century interpreters. As we shall see again, some of them were troubled enough by the text's implications to try to mitigate them in their commentaries. But even though the Vulgate's translation of the Greek is now overwhelmingly rejected by biblical scholarship, earlier generations felt bound to it, perhaps, as much as anything else, by a set of assumptions about an unmarried daughter's subjection to her father's authority. The passage in the Vulgate read as follows:

*Si quis autem turpem se uideri existimat super uirgine sua, quod sit superadulta, et ita oportet fieri: quod uult faciat: non peccat, si nubat. Nam qui statuit in corde suo firmus, non habens necessitatem, potestatem autem habens suae uoluntatis, et hoc iudicauit in corde suo, seruare uirginem suam, bene facit.*⁴

We shall come back to the difficulties of translating both versions of this passage later.

Given the conservative nature of the *Act of the six articles*, one might expect to find the defenders of mandatory clerical celibacy turning to the church's tradition – including its tradition of biblical exegesis – for support. However, in this case the contours of the debate were not quite that straightforward. At Regensburg in 1541, the Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer (1491-1551) criticised the act in a meeting with Henry VIII's diplomatic representative, Bishop Stephen Gardiner (1483-1555). Gardiner responded by citing I Cor. 7. 36-38, not just as proof of the king's right to require clerical celibacy, but also as an example of how the reformers' appeal to the bare letter of Scrip-

³ See e.g. *The Greek New Testament* 1994, p. 583-584 (for the sake of convenience I have highlighted the differences in bold type), Εἰ δὲ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει, ἐὰν ἡ ὑπέρακμος, καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, ὃ θέλει ποιεῖτω, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει, γαμίζωσαν. ὃς δὲ ἔστηκεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἑδραῖος μὴ ἔχων ἀνάγκην, ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος καὶ τοῦτο κέκρικεν ἐν τῇ **ἰδίᾳ** καρδίᾳ, [...] τηρεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον καλῶς ποιεῖ. ὥστε **καὶ ὁ γαμίζων** τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον καλῶς ποιεῖ ὁ [...] μὴ **γαμίζων** κρείσσον ποήσει.

⁴ *Nouum testamentum latine* 1952, p. 438.

ture did not always deliver the support they wanted. Yet, as this first encounter between the two men developed into a literary exchange, it was the reformer, Bucer, who was able to show that tradition did not always deliver the support that the traditionalists wanted. The textual obscurity of I Cor. 7. 36-38 had required earlier commentators to introduce explanatory glosses, and these glosses had shifted the exegetical tradition in a direction that was largely favourable to the act's opponents. Even though Gardiner mounted a counter-attack based on both tradition and scripture, he continued to insist that the pristine text of I Cor. 7. 36-38 supported the exercise of royal authority as envisaged by the *Act of the six articles*.

In fact, as we shall see, modern biblical scholarship treats I Cor. 7. 36-38 as almost completely irrelevant to the question debated by Bucer and Gardiner. That is because modern translations of the original Greek have broken with the tradition of interpretation inherited by Bucer and Gardiner (as well as their contemporaries). Though Erasmus was aware of the difficulty of the original Greek, he barely entertained the possibility of a reading that deviated from this received interpretation. Indeed, Erasmus only departed from the received interpretation by underplaying the medieval glosses that had softened its harsh implications. To this extent, Gardiner's reading of the passage seems to have been influenced by Erasmus, while Bucer's reading stuck more closely to pre-Erasmian hermeneutics.

However, before we further consider the content of this debate between Bucer and Gardiner, I would like to pause briefly to outline the historical circumstances in which the debate began and developed. Stephen Gardiner first came to Bucer's attention in 1536 when an English legation on its way through Strasbourg brought with it a copy of Gardiner's *De uera obedientia* (1535). In this book Gardiner defended royal supremacy in the Church of England.⁵ When an edition of *De uera obedientia* was published in Strasbourg in 1536, Bucer provided a prefatory endorsement in the name of the ministers of that city.⁶

⁵ Janelle 1930, p. xxv-xxviii.

⁶ Gardiner 1536, f. A2r-A6r.

However, even before Bucer and Gardiner first met in person, Bucer had begun to form an unfavourable opinion of the bishop whose work he had previously admired. In a letter to the Landgrave Philipp of Hesse in 1539, Bucer described Gardiner as the *teuflischen bischove von Wincestern*.⁷ This was because Bucer blamed Gardiner for the conservative turn that the Henrician church was now taking.

Bucer and Gardiner first set eyes on each other at Regensburg in 1541. Bucer was there as a participant in the first Colloquy of Regensburg, which sought unsuccessfully to draft a blueprint for the reunion of the German church. Gardiner was there as Henry VIII's legate to the imperial diet. Although each man would bitterly dispute minor aspects of the other's account, their reminiscences of the meeting agreed in broad terms.⁸ They began by discussing the agenda of the colloquy: i.e. the resolution of divisions in the church. Gardiner claimed that there was no common set of principles to which the two sides could appeal: the Protestants appealed to the primacy of scripture, but they assigned to it any meaning they wanted, and refused to abide by the interpretations of the ancient church. Bucer, according to his own account, replied that those who believed in Christ could easily demonstrate the true sense of scripture in all things necessary for salvation. Agreement on other matters would come if parties united in prayer and zeal for godliness. Moreover, they might seek assistance from other writings (the fathers, canon law and biblical commentaries) where there was doubt about the true sense of scripture. As might be expected from the author of *De uera obedientia*, Gardiner replied that a better solution would be for the parties to follow the decisions reached by their princes. Bucer objected, citing what he regarded as the capricious nature of the Henrician reformation. It was at this point that the discus-

⁷ Lenz 1880-1891, vol. 1, p. 100 (16 September 1539) in the context of accusing Gardiner of using his embassy to France to persuade the French to help reconcile England with the papacy.

⁸ Gardiner's published Latin account can be found in Gardiner 1545, f. A3r-B1r. A slightly longer English account of this meeting can be found in see 'William Wraghton' [i.e. William Turner] 1545, f. L1v-L3v. This contains extracts from a work by Gardiner, *The examination of a proud praesumptuous hunter*, which is now lost. Bucer's fullest account of the meeting can be found in Bucer 1548a, p. 55-58.

sion turned to *Act of the six articles*, and its prohibition of clerical marriage.⁹

Here Gardiner offered I Cor. 7. 36-38 in support of his contention that the king had no less authority over his subjects than did a father over his daughter. Gardiner claimed that he did not introduce the passage as a proof-text, but as an example of where an argument about clerical celibacy might lead if the disputants were to confine themselves to arguments drawn only from Scripture.¹⁰ He further claimed that he approached the passage with an open-minded scepticism:

*Equidem non mihi id arrego, Bucere, ut difficiliores scripturae locos statim aperiā, et modestius uidetur in ambiguis alia atque alia coniectura prolata scepticum agere, quam tu facis, incunctanter statuere quae ipse non intelligas.*¹¹

These words are disingenuous, given that Gardiner wrote them before launching into a vehement and lengthy defence of his own interpretation. Nevertheless, in Gardiner's account, the discussion of the passage began as a Socratic interrogation, with him asking Bucer whether a father had the right to demand obedience from his children.¹² When Bucer agreed that a father had this right, Gardiner asked if princes and kings, as fathers of their nations, had the right to demand obedience of their subjects. Again, Bucer agreed they did. Then Gardiner asked whether a father had the right to make decisions about his daughter's virginity. Seeing where the Socratic interrogation was headed, Bucer denied that the father's rights extended this far. At this point Gardiner placed in Bucer's hands the text of I Cor. 7. 36-38. According to Gardiner, Bucer puzzled over it, 'as if it came from the pages of the Sibylline books'.¹³ However, according to Bucer,

⁹ Bucer 1548a, p. 55-56.

¹⁰ Gardiner 1545, f. A4r.

¹¹ 'I do not make it my business, Bucer, to offer instant expositions of difficult scriptural passages, and can be regarded as behaving more moderately than you on doubtful matters, sceptically weighing one conjecture against the other, whereas you reach hasty decisions about things you do not understand'. Gardiner 1545, f. B2r.

¹² Gardiner 1554, p. 158 uses the phrase *Socratica inductio* to describe his method in this interview.

¹³ Gardiner 1545, f. A4v.

his own astonishment arose from the ineptitude of Gardiner's interpretation.¹⁴

Following their meeting at the colloquy, the two men continued the debate in private memoranda. Most of these have not survived.¹⁵ Thus, when Bucer publicly attacked Gardiner over his interpretation of the passage three years later, Gardiner regarded it as a humiliating ambush. Bucer had turned what Gardiner understood to be a private exchange into a public debate. Moreover, Gardiner felt that Bucer had unfairly represented Gardiner's views on I Cor. 7. 36-38.¹⁶ In fact, all Bucer had done was to devote two paragraphs in an unrelated work, *Scripta duo aduersaria* (1544), to a short account of their disagreement at Regensburg (though a marginal note did deride Gardiner's interpretation of the passage as a 'bold and irreligious mockery of God's word').¹⁷ At the same time, Bucer had situated this brief attack on Gardiner within a much more comprehensive attack on compulsory clerical celibacy. To that extent, Gardiner was justified in thinking that he had been denied a fair hearing.

In fact, Bucer's correspondence with the Landgrave Philipp of Hesse suggests that his continuing interest in Gardiner was more than just theological. Since 1529 Bucer had been in correspondence with the Landgrave about the politics of religious unity in the Empire.¹⁸ In October 1544, Bucer wrote Philipp a report based on information he had from Christopher Mont, Henry VIII's agent in Germany. Bucer had heard from Mont that the 'popish party' in England had urged the king to form an alliance with the Emperor and then wage war against the Evangelical princes of Germany. Bucer suspected that responsibility for this policy lay, again, with the wicked bishop of Winchester.¹⁹ Indeed, since June 1544 Gardiner had been stationed in

¹⁴ Bucer 1548a, p. 57.

¹⁵ Janelle 1927, p. 455 points out that fragments survive of Gardiner's side of this exchange. One was published later in Janelle 1930, p. 174-211. Excerpts of one or more letters from Gardiner survive in Bucer 1548a, p. 48-49, 62. Of these see more below.

¹⁶ Gardiner 1545, f. A2r-v.

¹⁷ Bucer 1544, p. 70-71.

¹⁸ Lenz 1880-1891, vol. 1, p. 1.

¹⁹ Lenz 1880-1891, vol. 2, p. 268. Also relevant is the fact that a few months before Bucer had been at the imperial Diet of Speyer where the Protestant princes

Boulogne as the Purveyor General of an English fleet and army, which, under the terms of a 1543 treaty with Charles V, was being readied to help the emperor attack Francis I.²⁰ It seems likely, then, that Bucer's first public salvo against Gardiner was meant to discredit a man whom Bucer saw as an obstacle, not only to a fuller reformation in England, but to the progress of the Reformation in Germany as well. Bucer's *Scripta duo aduersaria* was just one in a volley of works that Bucer launched between 1542 and 1546 in an attempt to forestall the defeat of the Protestant Reformation through military action by Charles V, as well as by the general council convoked by Pope Paul III.²¹

It is significant, then, that when Gardiner defended his views on clerical celibacy in *Ad Martinum Bucerum de impudenti eius pseudologia conquestio* (August 1544) he had this pamphlet published in two of the Empire's Catholic cities: Louvain and Cologne. As the schismatic author of *De uera obedientia*, Gardiner was probably trying to burnish his own 'Catholic' credentials, as well as those of the English crown, but his attack was also helpful to the Catholics opposing Bucer in Germany.²² Cologne was a centre of fierce traditionalist opposition to attempts by Archbishop Hermann von Wied (based in Bonn) to reform his electorate along Protestant lines. Bucer was one of the archbishop's advisors and he defended the Cologne reforms extensively in print.²³ In this connection, the Catholic apologist Johannes Cochlaeus wrote a letter to the electors, princes, and estates, in which he cited Gardiner's attack on Bucer's character, and warned them against six works that Bucer had published in 1545 calling for a German national council that would forestall

attempted to negotiate a religious settlement in Germany on the basis of the agreement on the doctrine of justification by faith secured at Regensburg in 1541, communion under both kinds, and clerical marriage. See Lenz 1880-1891, vol. 2, p. 256.

²⁰ This alliance came to an end on 18 September 1544, when Charles V and Francis I signed the Peace of Crépy, at which point Gardiner's influence at the English court began to decline. See Redworth 1990, p. 216, 220.

²¹ See Seebass 2005, no. 124-125, 127-129, 131-132, 137-141, 143-152, 154-155, 160.

²² See Janelle 1927, p. 458; Stark 2003, p. 28; Schlüter 2005, p. 123-128.

²³ Schlüter 2005 contains a detailed history and bibliography of the enormous body of literature published during the attempted reformation in Cologne.

the Council of Trent. Cochlaeus quoted Gardiner's assessment of Bucer's trustworthiness:

*Quid agas cum eo, qui nihil ex fide, nihil ex uero loquitur. Sed, quod ad causam quam suscipit, commodum est, fingit atque refingit et omnia fere factus est omnibus, ut omnia misceat atque confundat.*²⁴

In a second attack on Bucer published in December 1545, Cochlaeus quoted further from 'the most acute and learned doctor Stephen bishop of Winchester', noting how 'elegantly and persuasively' the bishop had discussed the topic of clerical celibacy.²⁵

At this point the debate between Bucer and Gardiner veered away from clerical celibacy towards the doctrine of justification – specifically the question of whether original sin remained formally sin after baptism (as the Protestants claimed) or survived only as concupiscence, the *fomes peccati* or propensity to sin (as the Catholics claimed). This was a subject on which the 1541 Colloquy of Regensburg had explored the possibility of a compromise.²⁶

However, the debate returned to celibacy at some point before the death of Henry VIII in January 1547, when Bucer completed his promised reply to Gardiner on this topic. When Bucer wrote to Henry VIII to warn him of this impending attack on the Bishop of Winchester, Henry replied that he would prefer if Bucer delayed going into print, expressing the hope that Bucer and Gardiner could resolve their differences in a conference with other learned men. Attacking Gardiner would only jeopardise the chances of reaching a 'godly conciliation on the matter of religion and the restoration of the church'.²⁷ Whether or not

²⁴ 'How do you deal with someone who does nothing in good faith, speaks nothing in truth, but takes whatever suits his cause and then fashions and refashions it, and makes himself all things to almost all people, in order to muddle and confuse all things?' See Cochlaeus, *Epistola ad ordines sancti imperii*, reproduced in Bucer 2011, p. 239 quoting in turn from Gardiner 1545, f. C1v.

²⁵ Cochlaeus 1545, f. 61r-62v.

²⁶ Gardiner 1546 continued his previous attack on Bucer's bad faith and character, before attempting to pick apart his doctrine of justification. The reply came in Bucer 1548b, p. 453-456, 481-483, 490-496, 511-518, 523-546.

²⁷ Bucer 1548a, f. b2v. The preface is unpaginated.

the reply from Henry VIII used exactly these words, a godly conciliation between learned men at a national level was exactly the kind of compromise Bucer hoped would undermine the Council of Trent in the eyes of European monarchs already wary of papal unilateralism. Thus, Bucer held back until November 1547, by which time Henry VIII was dead and the reforming regime of Edward VI was in power.²⁸ Bucer's reply to Gardiner was incorporated into *Gratulatio ad ecclesiam Anglicanam de religionis restitutione*, published at Strasbourg in 1548. Despite its title, the *Gratulatio* quickly moved back from commending the reformation of the Church of England to the still vexed question of clerical celibacy.

Strictly speaking, the debate came to a conclusion after Bucer's death in 1551, but not without another salvo from Gardiner, who had delayed going into print for his own reasons. Gardiner finished his response to Bucer's *Gratulatio* on 7 May 1548. Its title was *Exetasis testimoniorum, quae Martinus Bucerus ex sanctis patribus, non sancte edidit*. Gardiner had the manuscript sent to Louvain for printing. However, he was advised by friends that it would be wiser to delay publication *usque ad quietiora tempora*.²⁹ These more tranquil times arrived in 1553 with the accession of the Catholic Mary I. Gardiner was released from prison to play a leading role in the restoration of the traditional faith in England. Bucer had already died in exile at Cambridge on 28 February 1551. Gardiner's *Exetasis* was published in 1554, and Gardiner died in the following year on 12 November 1555.

Having cast an eye over the debate's chronology, we can now turn to its content. Here the discussion will largely be confined to the challenge of interpreting I Cor. 7. 36-38, both in broad historical terms and in terms of the debate between Bucer and Gardiner. In fact, as we shall see, their debate also widened to consider the scriptural and patristic case for celibacy in general, but, because of the direct connection which Gardiner made between this scriptural passage and the *Act of the six articles*, we will focus on its exegesis and the external resources (e.g. patristic com-

²⁸ The closing section of Bucer 1548a, p. 84 dates it '1547, mense Novembri'.

²⁹ Gardiner 1554, f. A1r.

mentaries) to which both men appealed to justify their interpretation of it.

Modern commentaries recognise three main ways of interpreting the passage.³⁰ According to the oldest interpretation – the one, broadly speaking, to which Gardiner and Bucer adhered – Paul is addressing a father or guardian (τις, an undefined male) wondering what to do with a virgin in his charge (παρθένος αὐτοῦ) who is past marriageable age (ὑπέρακμος, according to this interpretation). Paul says that it is no sin if the guardian decides to marry the young woman off (γαμέτωσαν, literally ‘let them marry’). However, if he freely decides to keep her a virgin, he may also do that. Nevertheless, Paul concludes, while the guardian who marries the young woman off does well, the one who keeps her a virgin does better.

The second interpretation is reflected by what Anthony Thiselton describes as a ‘clear majority of twentieth century scholars’.³¹ This reads τις in reference to a man wondering whether to marry his παρθένος (here ‘fiancée’ or ‘betrothed’) or to remain celibate. If he is overwhelmed by the strength of his sexual desire for her (in this interpretation the *man*, rather than the παρθένος is ὑπέρακμος), it is no sin for them to marry. However, if the man knows he can control himself, and is resolved to keep his fiancée a virgin, he also does well. Nevertheless, while the one who gets married does well, the one who abstains from marriage does better.³²

A third reading interprets the passage in relation to a man who has entered into a spiritual marriage with an unmarried woman. If he cannot prevent this from turning into a sexual relationship,

³⁰ For a more detailed overview of the exegetical problems see Thiselton 2000, p. 595–597. Thiselton lists five interpretations, but his fifth simply extends our first group to include other men in charge, such as slave-owners. A fourth category refers to levirate marriage. As Thiselton notes, the woman in I Cor. 7. 36–38 is described as a ‘virgin’ so that it seems unlikely that Paul is writing about a man’s obligation to marry his dead brother’s wife.

³¹ Thiselton 2000, p. 597.

³² The closest one comes to this interpretation in the sixteenth century is in Erasmus, *Annotaciones* (in ASD VI/8, p. 142–143). Erasmus notes that Augustine had dismissed the view of some who interpreted *uirgo* as *uirginitas*, because he could not find this interpretation anywhere else. Cf. Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchen* 4.57, PL 34, 744.

then Paul allows the partners to get married. However, if the partners are able to keep the relationship purely spiritual, Paul thinks they do better.³³

These marked differences of interpretation arise chiefly from the telegraphic quality of Paul's Greek, and the meaning of ὑπέρακμος. The Vulgate translates ὑπέρακμος (literally 'over the peak') as *superadulta* ('past her prime' or 'past puberty'). In contrast, modern English translations relate it to the man's strong sexual desire for his fiancée. Thiselton suggests the more non-committal, 'if it is a matter of undue strain'.³⁴ But, unlike the Vulgate, the Greek text does not help us resolve whether ὑπέρακμος refers to the man or his 'virgin'. In the Vulgate *superadulta* refers unambiguously to the *uirgo* in the passage.

What tips modern translations towards a libidinous groom-to-be (rather than a *uirgo superadulta*) is Paul's recommendation at the end of verse 36 that they should marry: γαμείτωσαν. If the passage were about a guardian's concern for his virgin ward, it would seem odd to recommend that they get married. To read the passage in accordance with the first interpretation, we have to imagine that Paul has implicitly introduced the virgin's suitor at the end of the sentence. Here again, the Vulgate introduces clarity by translating the plural γαμείτωσαν with the singular *nubat*: let him (the worried guardian) marry his virgin off.

Given the preference of modern translations for the second reading, it is striking how unanimously the patristic and medieval tradition favoured the first.³⁵ For example, in addition to the 'clarifications' already introduced by the Vulgate, the *Glossa ordinaria* made it clear in several ways that this passage was about the guardians of virgins making decisions about whether or not to marry them off. For example, the *Glossa* introduces these verses by noting that here Paul *de custodibus determinat* ('he is specifying guardians').³⁶ We will return below to some of the other early commentators on the passage when we examine Gardiner's debate with Bucer in greater detail below.

³³ Thiselton 2000, p. 595.

³⁴ Thiselton 2000, p. 594.

³⁵ Thiselton 2000, p. 595.

³⁶ See *Glossae scripturae sacrae-electronicae* (*Gloss-E*).

Erasmus's *Nouum instrumentum* preserved the tenor of Vulgate, though with a few minor changes. *Superadulta* was expanded to *si praetereat nubendi tempus* ('if she is past a marriageable age'). Unlike the Vulgate, Erasmus kept *γαμείτωσαν* in the more ambiguous plural, *iungantur in matrimonio* ('let them be joined in marriage', rather than 'let him marry her off').³⁷ However, although Erasmus's Latin preserved the theoretical ambiguity of *γαμείτωσαν*, his commentary shunted the ambiguity aside. He conceded that Paul 'suddenly' changed the number of the verb when he urged, *γαμείτωσαν*. However, he argued that this plural meant the virgin's guardian and suitor contracting together to get the virgin daughter married.³⁸

In terms of Gardiner's use of this text, it seems significant that Erasmus's account of the marriage contract eliminated, or at least relegated, the importance of the virgin's consent. The 1527 edition of his *Annotationes* (though not the 1516 edition) reinforced this reading:

*Sentit enim Paulus de parentibus elocantibus nuptum filias, citra quorum auctoritatem non erat ratus matrimonii contractus. Quod utinam et his temporibus seruaretur, praesertim in ea aetate, cui nondum satis constat uel consilium uel iudicium, maxime quum usqueadeo placeat semel initium quocunque pacto connubium non alia re quam morte dirimi.*³⁹

A year earlier in 1526, Erasmus had aired the same interpretation of the passage in *Christiani matrimonii institutio*, a work he dedicated to Catherine of Aragon. Again, he lamented the fact that contemporary marriage practice neglected the requirement for parental consent. He blamed this on canon law, which treated the consent of both the woman and the man as the sole basis for a valid marriage. Erasmus acknowledged that this understand-

³⁷ See ASD VI/3, p. 246.

³⁸ Erasmus, *Annotationes*, in ASD VI/8, p. 142.

³⁹ 'Paul is thinking about parents arranging marriages for their daughters. Without [parental] authority the marriage contract is not ratified. If only this were observed in these times – especially at the age, when [young women] do not have sound counsel or judgement, and for this reason in particular: that marriage, once entered on any grounds, cannot be sundered by anything other than death'. See Erasmus, *Annotationes*, in ASD VI/8, p. 142.

ing of consent was supported by most theologians. However, he contrasted canon law with Justinian's *Corpus iuris ciuilis*, which did not allow a son to take a wife without his parents' permission.⁴⁰ In this regard, I Cor. 7. 36-38 served Erasmus as proof of civil law's superiority to canon law. He noted with approval that Paul, 'places the whole power of marriage in the hands of the father'. He acknowledged that the commentary on this passage by 'Ambrose' (Ambrosiaster) might seem to subordinate the father's power to his daughter's consent, but he argued that, at most, this was intended to stop a girl who had no inclination for marriage from being coerced into it.⁴¹

As we shall see, Gardiner seems to have occupied one extreme of a spectrum of sixteenth century commentary that tried to reconcile the consent of the virgin with that of her guardian (and children's consent with that of their parents more broadly). In general, Protestants influenced by Erasmus occupied the end of the spectrum that emphasised parental authority, while Catholics tended to prioritise the child's consent, influenced by the canonical *minima* for a valid marriage. Occasionally we find a commentator prioritising parental power without qualification. For example, in 1523 Luther interpreted I Cor. 7. 37-38 as meaning that children should not marry or remarry according to their own fancy, but only with parental consent.⁴² In 1546 Calvin made a similar observation, like Erasmus correlating parental authority with the superiority of natural law over papal law. However, fearing that this might give parents licence to force their children into monastic vows, Calvin was careful to balance this against the observation that, [...] *si desit facultas, pessime faciet, qui filiam studebit arcere a matrimonio; nec iam pater, sed crudelis erit tyrannus*.⁴³ Counter-reformation commentary on the same verses continued to stress that the partners' consent rather than parental authority was the basis of valid marriage, while at the same

⁴⁰ Erasmus, *Christiani matrimonii institutio*, in ASD V/6, p. 90.

⁴¹ Erasmus, *Christiani matrimonii institutio*, in ASD V/6, p. 90-92, citing Ambrosiaster, *Commentarius in 1 Cor 7*, 37, PL 17, 237B.

⁴² Luther 1891, p. 140-141.

⁴³ 'If the ability [to remain celibate] were absent, the worst thing he could do would be to dissuade a daughter from marriage who eagerly desired it. Then he would not even be a father but a cruel tyrant'. Calvin 1892, p. 424-426.

time lamenting clandestine marriages entered without parental permission.⁴⁴ However, even on the Catholic side there was considerable disagreement about how to prioritise the interests of parents and children.⁴⁵ For the purposes of this debate, Bucer veered toward the Catholic end of the spectrum, arguing that the wishes of a daughter should place a ‘necessity’ on her father’s will. Even so, it is worth noting that, outside the context of this debate, Bucer could be as strident as Erasmus, Luther and Calvin in regretting the way in which canon law had usurped the natural rights of parents.⁴⁶

As mentioned above, Bucer launched his first public attack on Gardiner as little more than an aside in the middle of a longer discussion of clerical celibacy written for Bartholmaeus Latomus (c. 1500-1570), a previously sympathetic humanist in the archdiocese of Trier, who had turned against the Cologne Reformation.⁴⁷ Recalling the discussion with Gardiner at Regensburg, Bucer wrote that when the bishop introduced I Cor. 7. 36-38 in support of Henry VIII’s right to legislate against clerical marriage, Bucer warned him that he should consider the qualifying words that Paul had inserted after those Gardiner cited: *non habens necessitatem, potestatem uero habet uoluntatis suae* (I Cor. 7. 37). According to Bucer these restricted a father’s power, meaning that a father only had power over his children on condition that he did nothing to harm their *salus* (‘welfare’ and ‘salvation’),

⁴⁴ See, e.g. Diego Lainez (Council of Trent 2001, p. 432-433) who cited I Cor. 7. 37 in the context of the debate about clandestine marriages at the Council of Trent: *necessitatem ergo imponit uirgo filia parenti, cum uult nubere et uult continere, sicut e contrario parens liber est et potestatem habet suae uoluntatis ad conseruandam ea in uirginitate, cum ea in uirginitate consentit. Non sufficit igitur parentum consensus, sed necessarius est ille filiorum*. Cornelius a Lapide 1801, p. 269, who notes that, despite the priority given to parental consent in civil law, *contrarium enim sanxit ius naturale, diuinum et canonicum*.

⁴⁵ Christensen-Nugues 2014.

⁴⁶ Bucer 1577, p. 80, *Iam cum in contrahendo sancto connubio homines eo fere agant hodie leuius et inconsultius [...] et hic sane sacra maiestas tua [i.e. Edward VI] succurrere [...] debet. Romani enim Antichristi, contra Dei et ecclesiae leges [i.e. canon law], quas nulla in re non conati sunt dissoluere, dogma illud summe impium inuexerunt, pactionem matrimonii factam a contrahentibus, uerbis (ut aiunt) de praesenti...* However, p. 90, he recognizes that parents may abuse their power over their children, and in this case, he urges neighbours, friends and presbyters to intervene with exhortation and admonishment.

⁴⁷ On Bucer’s debate with Latomus, see Bucer 2015, p. 1-21, 43-44.

and did all he could to protect them. Fathers whose daughters were not divinely called to celibacy had no power to keep them in this state; they were required to marry them off instead.⁴⁸

However, Bucer claimed that Gardiner interpreted *necessitas* differently. He alleged that Gardiner used the example of poverty forcing a father to marry his daughter off, because he could no longer support her.⁴⁹ Gardiner vehemently denied that he had ever used this precise example, but later came close to conceding that this kind of motive might influence a father whose only alternative was to sell his daughter into prostitution.⁵⁰ Bucer came close to a grudging concession that Gardiner might not have used this example exactly, but he then quoted from a passage in their later correspondence, where Gardiner had cited two other *necessitates* that might constrain a father's action: firstly, his difficulty in finding a husband for his daughter, and secondly, his obligation to fulfil the terms of a marriage contract.⁵¹

In fact, this very protracted squabble was beside the point. As Bucer rightly observed, Gardiner's overriding aim in discussing *necessitas* was to show that a daughter's will, as such, could not constrain her father's freedom to act.⁵² For Gardiner, *necessitas* had to be an external force over which the father had no control – hence his example of a legally binding marriage contract. However, the father's *potestas* (Paul's ἐξουσία) was an internal force that gave him unqualified authority over his children.⁵³ Thus, Gardiner claimed, Bucer confused the daughter's will with her father's, and tried to qualify the father's *potestas* where no

⁴⁸ Bucer 1544, p. 70-71, *Cumque monerem illum, ut et ea, quae Apostolus illis uerbis, quae citabat interposuisset, media consideraret: 'non habens necessitatem, potestatem uero habet uoluntatis suae'. Quibus uerbis dicebam Paulum moderatam potestatem patriam, et clare significauisse, cum patres idcirco potestatem habeant in liberos suos, ut salutem illorum non laedant, sed modis omnibus procurent, ut qui habent uirgines non uocatas diuinitus ad caelibatum, non esse potestatem illas seruandi, sed necessitatem incumbere potius eas elocandi [...]*.

⁴⁹ Bucer 1544, p. 71.

⁵⁰ Gardiner 1554, p. 159, *quosdam uero patres propter inopiam collocare (nisi prostitutionem innuas) somniantis oratio foret, haud uigilantis*.

⁵¹ Bucer 1548a, p. 51-52.

⁵² Bucer 1548a, p. 56-57, *Ibi Uintoniensis negabat, patri offeri necessitatem elocandi filiam ab ipsa filia*.

⁵³ Gardiner 1545, f. A4v-B1r.

such qualification existed in the scriptural text.⁵⁴ If Bucer insisted that the father must defer to his daughter's inner vocation, he must jettison the scriptural principle he had defended at Regensburg.⁵⁵ Gardiner conceded to Bucer that the father should at least consult with his daughter. However, the father's *potestas* was unconditioned. To suggest otherwise was to make the father's decision dependent on the future possibility that the daughter might change her mind. If this were the case, then perpetual vows of celibacy would be impossible.

*Dic, Bucere, unde firmitas? Consulat te autore infirmam cum sexu tum aetate puellam, et sciscitetur, num uocata sit? Quae si se uocatam esse annuerit, iam pater statuit (autore Bucero) 'firmus in corde', et sequitur, 'non habens necessitatem'. Audi quaeso, Bucere, et expendi, uide cum hac tua interpretatione ἀσυστατον ('non habens necessitatem'). Imo uero iam habet necessitatem pater, ut non sit haec propria species, quam Paulus intelligit. Si enim filia iam uocata sit, non recte de patre dicitur, quod non habeat necessitate, cum uocationi Dei cedere necesse habeat. Ac illud rursum quaero, si nihil potest esse cuiquam ipsi secundum te firmum, ut tanquam certus de uocatione, perpetuo coelibatui se mancipet, quamnam de filia firmitatem concipiet pater?*⁵⁶

Gardiner's point here was that a vow to perpetual celibacy, like a marriage vow, must at some point be considered irrevocable. Moreover, external parties, whether guardians or kings, had the right to hold those who had made such vows accountable for them. We shall come back to this point again later.

⁵⁴ Gardiner 1545, f. K4r, *Ab ea enim parte statuis necessitate, ab altera potestatem, omnino a contextu aberrans. Deinde proprie uoluntatis ad filiam refers, et quod de patre dicitur, filiae tribuis.*

⁵⁵ Gardiner 1545, f. A4r.

⁵⁶ 'Tell me, Bucer, where does this steadfastness [of the father] come from? Is it your opinion that he must consult a girl who is weak in both sex and age, and consider whether she has a vocation? And, if she should indicate that she is so called, *now* (according to Bucer) let her father decide *firm in his heart*, and, it follows, *with no necessity*. I beg you, Bucer, listen and consider. See the mendacious sophistry in your interpretation of, *having no necessity*. In fact the father now has a necessity, and it is not his own in the sense that Paul understands it. For if the daughter is now called, it cannot be rightly said of the father that he has "no necessity", since he must of necessity give way to the call of God. And I ask you again, if, according to you, there can be nothing steadfast in anyone, making it impossible for someone to give herself over to perpetual celibacy, what steadfastness may the father attribute to his daughter?' Gardiner 1545, f. B1v.

It was in this vein that Gardiner brought two patristic *auctores* to bear on the question: the Greek commentators Photius and Oecumenius, both of whom praised a father who, in Paul's words, 'did better' by consecrating his daughter to virginity.⁵⁷ In both cases, the marginal notes in Gardiner's Latin translations of the Greek drew attention to phrases that seemed to suggest that celibacy was freely chosen by an act of the will. As Gardiner saw it, anyone could choose to be celibate or not. In contrast, Bucer saw celibacy as the result of inner calling, received by some but not others, and accompanied by the special grace necessary to accomplish it. As Bucer would later point out, Gardiner's quotation from Photius did in fact warn that a daughter who did not wish to remain a virgin might later blame her father if she lapsed from the state of life into which she had been coerced. In other words, Bucer did not think that every daughter had the ability to accept celibacy if her guardians forced it on her. In contrast, Gardiner argued that 'virginity is an act of the will. He [Photius] does not refer to God, for God has not granted it a gift, as Bucer alleges'.⁵⁸ Here Gardiner understood celibacy, not as a special vocation and gift offered to a few, but as a counsel of perfection proposed to all. Thus, if someone failed to embrace celibacy, or later lapsed from it, this was not a sign that God had withheld the vocation and gift from them. Rather, they had failed to embrace what, with God's help, any person could choose.⁵⁹ In Gardiner's view, Saint Paul's concessions to marriage were not because the apostle recognised marriage as a vocation equal to celibacy, but because he recognised his audience's, 'inclination towards the burning passions and lusts of our bodies'.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ These correspond approximately, though not exactly, with those in Staab 1933, p. 561 (Photius) and p. 438 (Oecumenius). I have not been able to identify Gardiner's contemporary Greek source(s). His Latin translations appear to be his own.

⁵⁸ Gardiner 1545, f. B3v.

⁵⁹ Gardiner 1545, f. K4r recognised the potential counter-charge of Pelagianism, qualifying what he had said about vocation with, *Non possumus enim aliquid cogitare ex nobis, tanquam ex nobis, sed omnis nostra sufficientia ex Deo est* and yet, f. F1r *At uero in uia ad Christum quam sine Christo non ingrediamur, nostra est uoluntas, noster est cursus, noster labor, nostrum certamen...*

⁶⁰ Gardiner 1545, f. C1v.

It was in this connection that Gardiner was forced to turn his attention beyond I Cor. 7. 36-38 to prove that celibacy was in fact a universal calling. The debate broadened to include, not only the wider discussion of marriage in I Corinthians 7, but the interpretation of Mt. 19. 12 – *capiat qui capere possit* ('let those receive it who can'). Bucer had already addressed this passage in *Scripta duo aduersaria*:

[Jesus] enim dixit: 'Non omnes capiunt hunc sermonem, sed ei quibus datum est'; et, 'qui potest capere capiat' [Mt. 19. 11]. Non inquit: 'qui uult capere', sed, 'qui potest'. Quo uerbo docet, eos dumtaxat hanc rem capere posse, quibus id datum sit diuinitus. Quod D. Paulus interpretans ita scripsit, 'habet quisque donum proprium, alius sic, alius aliter' [I Cor. 7. 7] [...] Tam abest igitur ex hoc dicto Christi probauisse te omnes capere posse hoc de caelibatu praeceptum, modo uelint, et opem Christi sollicitent, ut etiam contrarium ex eo colligi sit necesse: uidelicet, non esse quorum libet huic praecepto parere, sed eorum tantum, quibus id peculiariter datum sit.⁶¹

Gardiner replied:

Dei donum esse coelibatum, omnes fatentur, nec sine Dei dono ulla est uocatio, sed suam Deus benignitatem nemini claudit, dona sua summa libertate, non χαρίν modo uiuificantem, sed χαρίσματα etiam ad ecclesiae augmentum et aedificationem accommodata ita offert Deus, ut non capientium ignauia arguatur, et affluenter dantis laudetur bonitas [...] Quod eousque uerum esse ex scriptura [...] 'Capiat, qui capere potest', cuius sensus est, ut placet orthodoxis, 'capiat, qui capere uult'.⁶²

⁶¹ '[Jesus] himself said, *all men take not this saying, but they to whom it is given*, and, *he that can take it, let him take it* [Mt. 19. 11-12]. He did not say, he who wishes to take it, but he who can. By this word he teaches that only those to whom God has granted it can receive this gift. Interpreting this, Saint Paul wrote that *everyone hath his proper gift from God, one after this manner, another after that* [I Cor. 7. 7] [...] Thus, far from proving that all could receive this teaching on celibacy if only they wanted to and sought Christ's assistance, quite the opposite argument can be taken from this saying of Christ: namely that only those to whom a particular gift has been given can obey this teaching'. Bucer 1544, p. 58.

⁶² 'Everyone admits that celibacy is a gift from God. Nor is there any vocation without a gift of God. But God closes off his kindness to no-one. He offers his gifts with the greatest generosity, not only as vivifying grace (*charis*), but also gifts (*charismata*) fit for the growth and edification of the church. Thus, the igno-

Because the debate now encompassed the scriptural and patristic case for celibacy in general, Bucer's reply to Gardiner did not return to I Cor. 7. 36-38 until close to the end of his *Gratulatio ad ecclesiam anglicanam* (1548). This section of the book opened with a wearisome rehearsal of the debate about whether Bucer's *Scripta duo aduersaria* had misrepresented Gardiner's examples of *necessitas* at Regensburg in 1541. As already mentioned, this exchange is only tangentially relevant to the substance of the debate, so we will pass over it here.

Needless to say, Bucer was unimpressed with the *auctores* Gardiner had marshalled in favour of his reading of I Cor. 7. 36-38. First of all, the attributions of these commentaries to Photius and Oecumenius were uncertain. Secondly, they were the work of mere 'scholiasts', with neither antiquity nor authority on their side.⁶³ Nevertheless, Bucer seized on Photius's concession to the daughter's ὁρμή and γνώμη.⁶⁴ Gardiner had brought these together with the vague translation *conditio* ('condition').⁶⁵ Bucer offered the fuller *propensio* ('inclination') and *sententia* ('opinion') and, later, *naturae impulsus* ('urge of nature') and *animi sententia* ('opinion of the mind').⁶⁶ In their private correspondence, Gardiner had compared a father's assessment of his daughter's 'condition' to a doctor diagnosing patient, observing her outward behaviour and paying close attention to her words. Bucer quoted this comparison in order to reject it. He argued that Photius's description of the virgin's disposition suggested not mere symptoms, but the daughter's subjective discernment of an inner vocation to celibacy. A father's *authoritas* must give way to this.⁶⁷ To Gardiner's claim that the father could have no certainty about his daughter's inner state, and thus could not be

rance of those who do not receive them is evident, and the goodness of the one who gives them is praised [...] We continue to teach this as scriptural truth [...] *He that can take it, let him take it*. As the orthodox agree, this means, *let him take it who wishes to take it*'. Gardiner 1545, f. C1v-C2r.

⁶³ Bucer 1548a, p. 50-51, 66.

⁶⁴ See Staab 1933, p. 561: 'Ἐὰν ὁρᾷ γὰρ τὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς εἰς τὸ ἐγγαμίζειν αὐτὸν ἀναγκάζοντα, οὐκ ὀφείλει παρθένον αὐτὴν τηρεῖν· εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον αὐτὴν καὶ τῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἐκβιαζόμενος· ἐκούσιον γὰρ ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀκούσιον τὸ τῆς παρθενίας.

⁶⁵ Gardiner 1545, f. B3r.

⁶⁶ Bucer 1548a, p. 61, 83.

⁶⁷ Bucer 1548a, p. 62-63.

genuinely *firmus in corde* (I Cor. 7. 37), Bucer replied that a father who sought to discern his daughter's professed vocation in earnest prayer, would find that God made his heart firm and stable.⁶⁸

Finally, Bucer argued that Gardiner was mistaken in viewing the 'necessity' of the daughter's vocation as a form of coercion or violence against her father's will. Bucer observed that some necessities could free the will rather than holding it captive. Those who were born of God did not sin (I Ioh. 3. 9), but not because there was some external force compelling them to do so against their free will.⁶⁹ These observations were in fact an appendix to a much longer discussion of grace and free will earlier in the *Gratulatio*, where Bucer had explicitly connected vocation with election and predestination. On the one hand, God's election left humans free in relation to their actions and choices in the present life. On the other, when God's law proposed the ultimate choices of life and death, he enabled only the elect to choose obedience to the law.⁷⁰ Thus, there was not, as Gardiner alleged, a universal call to celibacy, which anyone might answer if they wished. Rather, every efficacious call was particular to an elect individual and came with the gift necessary to answer it.⁷¹

On these grounds, Bucer felt able to turn the charges of capricious scriptural interpretation back on Gardiner. Of course, Bucer still boasted that he had on his side the only 'authority' that mattered (i.e. the Holy Spirit, whose very words these were). But he also had suitable 'witnesses' from the ancient church. First, Bucer quoted from the biblical commentaries of 'Ambrose' (i.e. Ambrosiaster),⁷² 'Jerome' (i.e. Pelagius),⁷³ and (Pseudo-) Primasius of Utica,⁷⁴ each of whom correlated the father's *necessitas* with the will and inclination of his daughter. Bucer also accurately pointed out that similar conditions were placed on the father's

⁶⁸ Bucer 1548a, p. 69.

⁶⁹ Bucer 1548a, p. 70-71.

⁷⁰ Bucer 1548a, p. 24-25.

⁷¹ Bucer 1548a, p. 28.

⁷² See Ambrosiaster, *In I ad Corinthios*, PL 17, 237AB.

⁷³ See Pelagius, *Expositiones in Epistolam I ad Corinthios*, in Robinson 1931, p. 169-170.

⁷⁴ See Pseudo-Primasius, *In Epistolam I ad Corinthios*, PL 68, p. 524CD.

power by Thomas Aquinas,⁷⁵ the *Glossa ordinaria*, Nicholas of Lyra and even Erasmus's *Paraphrases*. For example, the inter-linear glosses in the *Glossa ordinaria* twice made it clear that the father's decision was dependent on his daughter's decision. If the father was embarrassed that his daughter was past marrying age, and thus it had to be – *quia uirgo non uult continere* – he should do as he wished. In other words, he should let her marry because she did not wish to be celibate. If he reached a firm decision in his heart to keep his daughter a virgin – *cum uirgo uelit continere* – he also did well.⁷⁶ Nicholas of Lyra likewise interpreted *necessitas* as: [*necessitatem*] *tradendi eam nuptui, quia non uidet eam ad hoc inclinari, nec timet eius lapsu uerecundari*.⁷⁷

Finally, Bucer noted that:

Erasmus Roterodamus [...] in interpretatione huius loci hoc quoque scripsit, coniugium esse rem legitimam et honestam, quibusdam necessariam.⁷⁸

Here Bucer's interest was in the word *necessaria*: because Erasmus deemed marriage 'necessary' for some, some therefore had a special vocation to it. In Bucer's view this contradicted Gardiner's claim that human weakness was the only reason that the universal call to celibacy was not universally taken up.⁷⁹

In fact, if Bucer had chosen to press the *Paraphrases* a little further, he would have found Erasmus's support for his position more equivocal. In Gardiner's favour, the *Paraphrases* described the father's decision to marry off his daughter as an honourable way of avoiding the disgrace of a clandestine marriage. This is another example of Erasmus's interest in the role of parental authority. Even so, Erasmus conceded that it was neither *tutum* ('safe') to hold back a daughter who wanted to be married, nor *pium* ('godly') to hold her back from a vow of chastity. In par-

⁷⁵ See Aquinas 2005, p. 346 (*lectio* 8).

⁷⁶ See *Glossae scripturae sacrae-electronicae* (*Gloss-E*).

⁷⁷ 'Not having the necessity of giving her in marriage, because he does not see that she is inclined to it, and has no fear of being shamed by her fall'. See *Biblia* 1498, pars 6, f. g2r.

⁷⁸ Bucer 1548a, p. 60 paraphrasing Erasmus 1520, p. 270, *Legitima res est et honesta, quibusdam etiam necessariam*.

⁷⁹ Bucer 1548a, p. 60.

ticular, a father who accommodated his daughter's desire for celibacy left her free to give herself unreservedly to Christ her spouse.⁸⁰ In other words, parental authority was not absolute when a daughter chose perpetual celibacy; Christ had the prior claim, regardless of whether a father viewed his daughter's decision favourably. On the one hand, this accords with Bucer's view that a father's authority was limited by the *salus* of his children. On the other hand, it also lends some support to Gardiner's assertion of the king's right, as father of the nation, to uphold vows of celibacy, once undertaken.

When Gardiner wrote *Exetasis testimoniorum* later in 1548, he stuck close to the structure of Bucer's *Gratulatio*. Like Bucer he recognised that this battle would be won or lost in the broader debate about the vocation to celibacy. Thus, again, it was only towards the very end of the *Exetasis*, that Gardiner returned to the vexed questions of who had the better interpretation of I Cor. 7. 36-38.⁸¹

Here Gardiner addressed a charge that Bucer had raised in passing in the *Gratulatio*. In a marginal note Bucer described the, *horribile Uintoniensis dogma: humanarum legum quam diuinarum transgressionem recte puniri grauius*.⁸² Specifically, Bucer had asked how the laws of England could severely punish infractions of human laws – e.g. fasting, compulsory celibacy – while leaving transgressions against some divine laws unpunished – e.g. the sins of I Cor. 6. 9-11 like drunkenness and greed. Here Gardiner offered only a summary of a much longer argument he had set out in the surviving post-1541 correspondence.⁸³ Referring

⁸⁰ Erasmus 1520, p. 270-271: *Proinde palam ac mature iungat filiam uirginem marito, ne furtim turpiter faciat quod in coniugio abest a probro [...] Etenim ut non est tutum nupturientem a matrimonio arcere, ita pium non est, a castitatis studio uotoque labefactare puellarem animum. Itaque qui metu periculi nuptum dat uolentem nubere, recte facit. At qui perpetuae castitatis appetentem non impellit ad nuptias, sed honesto uoto puellae obsequitur, rectius facit. Nam praeter honestatem, et hoc lucrifacit commodi, quod uacabit uirgini, totam et indiuisam uacare sponso suo Christo.*

⁸¹ Gardiner 1554, p. 150-165.

⁸² 'Winchester's horrible teaching: that it is right to punish the transgression of human laws more severely than that of divine laws'. Bucer 1548a, p. 55.

⁸³ *Contemptum humanae legis iusta autoritate latae grauius et seuerius uindicandum quam diuinae legis qualemunque transgressionem*, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS no. cxiii, p. 255-274, in Janelle 1930, p. 174-211.

to this unpublished discussion, he chided Bucer for misrepresenting it.⁸⁴ Here Gardiner's continuing and overriding concern with obedience emerges, and this, in turn, sheds light on his reluctance to acknowledge the father's *necessitas*. Gardiner saw obedience to princes as the guarantor of social harmony and stability. Obedience to human law was enforced severely, because only a stable human society could inculcate and promote obedience to divine law. Provided that the prince's laws were not contrary to *religio* ('devotion to God'), it was small-minded to quibble about the nature of the punishments.⁸⁵ Gardiner acknowledged that some violations of divine law, like murder and theft, were also rightly punished by death, because they disrupted human society. However, other infractions of divine law like anger, greed, and cursing, were left to God's judgement. This was because they were so widespread and ineradicable that a regime of punishment would inevitably be whittled down from death to the imposition of small fines. The alternative would be mass execution, incarceration or bankruptcy. Then *both* human and divine law would be subject to contempt.⁸⁶

In the longer manuscript version of Gardiner's argument, he made it clear that he did not think anyone was required to obey human laws that violated divine law (he did not explain how they might express this disobedience). But, in his view, laws on religious vows or fasting days did not belong in this category. They had to do with the maintenance of the prince's authority and order rather than with God's express commandments. In Gardiner's view, all Bucer's talk about *pietas* and *religio* was a dangerous illusion if it subordinated princely authority to so-called 'Gospel freedom':

Hic scilicet uir religiosus et pius, qualem tu nunc compellas de libertate euangelica diligenter, frequentibus uidelicet contionibus edoctus in hac re minima, magno supercilio legem contemnet, et se hanc legem contemnere inter fratres praesertim, qui (quum omnia omnibus licere putent) in nullo offendunt, audac-

⁸⁴ Gardiner 1554, p. 155.

⁸⁵ Gardiner 1554, p. 156.

⁸⁶ Gardiner 1554, p. 156-157.

*ter iactitabit, et hic iam contemptus opinor apud tuos religiosos minime dicitur, id est, in re minima.*⁸⁷

Better, Gardiner thought, to write human laws in blood, lest the people learn to ignore the punishments and thereby learn contempt for *both* human *and* divine law.⁸⁸

Gardiner acknowledged that those in authority might – and even should – consult with their subordinates, but authority could not be dependent on their subordinates’ changing subjective states. Thus, confronting Bucer’s ‘witnesses’ on I Cor. 7. 36-38, Gardiner claimed (not very convincingly) that he had never denied that a daughter’s will placed a necessity on her father – at least if she made it clear that she wanted to get married. Again, the real question was how a father whose daughter expressed a desire to remain celibate could ever know *firmus in corde* that he should keep his daughter in this state. In other words, for Gardiner this was a question about how the law should regard any kind of binding vow. There had to be a point at which a person, having put hand to plough, must refrain from looking back (Lc. 9. 62).⁸⁹ The alternative was for the father to remain in a permanent state of suspense, which was certainly inconsistent with his freedom from necessity.⁹⁰

Finally, to Bucer’s argument that necessity was consistent with freedom of the will, Gardiner argued that this freedom lay not only in choosing, but in having a choice to make. For example, someone who wanted to die, could not actually be said to have a choice, since death was inevitable. Like Bucer, Gardiner had considered the relation between free will and necessity in greater detail earlier in his book. There, among other patristic sources, Gardiner quoted a substantial portion of Augustine’s

⁸⁷ ‘This devout and godly man, whom you have stirred thoughts of Gospel freedom and instructed with frequent sermons on this trifling matter, will show great arrogance in despising the law. And he will boast boldly of despising the law, especially among his brethren, who are shocked at nothing since they think everything is permitted to everyone. And I think that among your “devout” friends this contempt is said to be a trifling thing because it is about a trifling matter [like fasting on Friday]’, in Janelle 1930, p. 86-88.

⁸⁸ Janelle 1930, p. 182.

⁸⁹ Gardiner 1554, p. 161.

⁹⁰ Gardiner 1554, p. 164.

De gratia et libero arbitrio 4.7-8, which cited I Cor. 7. 36-37 as evidence for freedom of choice in accomplishing the call to celibacy.⁹¹ On this basis Gardiner concluded that the will and necessity were necessarily opposed.⁹² Had Bucer been alive when Gardiner's *Exetasis* was published, he might have pointed out that in the same passage Augustine made a close connection between freedom of choice and the gift of grace necessary to accomplish it. This was not inconsistent with the way Bucer situated vocations to marriage and celibacy within the larger framework of the doctrine of Election.

However, by this point Bucer was dead, and Gardiner would die soon after. It is an irony of the debate that each man was able to end his life in the kind of England for which he had argued. Bucer died in 1551 under an Edwardine regime that had decriminalised clerical marriage.⁹³ Gardiner died three years later under a Marian regime that had recriminalised it.⁹⁴ With the benefit of hindsight, the final irony is that this passage, which even Luther had called 'eyn seltzamer text', should have been the proof-text in this debate.⁹⁵ According to the modern reading, the conflict between a woman's *necessitas* and her father's *potestas* does not exist. The only constraint on the passage's *τις* is his own assessment of his capacity for celibacy (though, of course, even in this reading the views of the *παρθένος* are not taken into account). Instead a longstanding tradition of interpretation, which the biblical scholarship of the sixteenth century did nothing to challenge, meant that all readers were compelled to adjudicate between the competing wills of a father and his daughter – or, in Gardiner's case, a king and his subjects. Even so, Gardiner's contest with Bucer highlighted how far Protestant readings of I Corinthians 7 had shifted towards the presumption of an almost universal vocation to marriage.

⁹¹ Gardiner 1554, p. 70-71. See PL 44, 886-887.

⁹² Gardiner 1554, p. 164-165.

⁹³ 2 & 3 Edw. VI, c. 21. See *The Statutes* 1810-1828, vol. 4, p. 67.

⁹⁴ 1 Mariae, St 2, c. 2. See *The Statutes* 1810-1828, vol. 4, p. 202.

⁹⁵ Luther 1891, p. 140.

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Abstract

Henry VIII's Act of the Six Articles (1539) represented conservative reaction in the early years of the English Reformation. Among other things, it outlawed clerical marriage, making it a capital crime. When the Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer met Henry's bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner in 1541, Bucer criticised the act's reintroduction of mandatory celibacy. Defending the act, Gardiner cited

I Cor 7. 36-38, which he read as authorising a father's absolute right to decide whether his virgin daughter married or stayed unmarried. Gardiner argued that the king, as father of his nation, had the same absolute right. This interpretation of I Cor 7. 36-38 is rejected by most modern commentaries, but it reflects the medieval and early modern consensus about the passage's meaning. Medieval commentators had tried to mitigate the father's authority by insisting on the need for his daughter's consent. However, Erasmus and Evangelical commentators like Luther and Calvin, had criticised this focus on the consent of the child and tipped the scales in favour of the authority of parent. Ironically, in this debate it was the traditionalist Gardiner who ran with this modern emphasis on parental authority, and it was Bucer, the reformer, who re-emphasised the need for the daughter's consent. Even so, Bucer's case rested on the Evangelical claim that celibacy was a special vocation and charism, not given to most Christians. Gardiner made his case for parental authority by arguing that everyone could freely choose celibacy or marriage and the particular graces that came with either. Once they had vowed themselves to either state of life, parents and kings had the right to hold them to it.

ANTONIO GERACE

THE RECEPTION OF ERASMUS'
NEW TESTAMENT IN THE LOUVAIN
FRANCISCAN STUDY HOUSE:
THE CASE OF NICHOLAS TACITUS ZEGERS
AND ADAM SASBOUT

Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466/69-1536) was perhaps the most important humanist north of the Alps; certainly, he is the best known, renowned for his textual-critical work on the New Testament. Although he was a 'giant', he still had to stand on the shoulders of his predecessors, above all Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) and his *Annotationes* on the New Testament, written between 1440 and 1450. It was in 1504 that the Dutch humanist found a copy of Valla's *Annotationes* in the Abbey of Park, near Louvain, a work that laid the basis for Erasmus' textual criticism of the New Testament. In 1505, thanks to the collaboration between Erasmus and the Brabantine printer Josse Bade, Valla's *Annotationes* were published in Paris, with a preface by Erasmus himself addressed to Christopher Fisher ('Christophorus Fischerus'), his host in Paris between 1504 and 1505.¹

In Basel in 1516, with the collaboration of the printer John Froben, he issued his *Nouum Instrumentum*, his Latin translation of the New Testament, also offering the Greek text that Erasmus edited with the confrontation of few manuscripts from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.² It is interesting to note that in a private letter exchange with Nicholas Ellenbog, dated April 1516, Erasmus admitted that his work *praecipitatum fuit uerius quam editum*;³ and Erasmus again used the very same sentence in another letter, to Willibald Pirckheimer, dated 2 November

¹ Bietenholz 1995, p. 35-36.

² Metzger & Ehrman 2005, p. 143-145. See also Elliott 2016, p. 19-22; de Jonge 2016; Brown 2016; Combs 1996.

³ Elliott 2016, p. 13, n. 12; Allen II (1910), cp. 402, p. 226.

1517.⁴ Even more, he translated the last six verses of the Apocalypse (Apoc. 22. 16-21) from the Latin Vulgate into Greek, since the manuscript that he used in revising the Book of Revelation was lacking in the last page.⁵ It should come as no surprise, therefore, that many Catholic scholars distrusted that edition. However, being the first 'new' Latin translation of the New Testament, with opposing Greek text, available on the market,⁶ it became a milestone in the history of the Church. It went through another four editions, under the title of *Nouum Testamentum* in 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535, with the *Annotationes* updated and supplemented with each new edition. Moreover, Martin Luther (1483-1546) used the second edition as a basis for his German translation of the New Testament, while William Tyndale (1494-1536) used the third edition for his English translation. The first Reformers received an unexpected aid from Erasmus' *New Testament*, and this of course earned him much criticism from Catholic scholars, who were suspicious of his humanistic textual-critical approach, which even seemed to call into question important elements of the faith.

In this contribution, I want to focus on the Louvain Franciscan study house and its reception of Erasmus' scholarship on the *New Testament*, mainly paying attention to two disciples of Frans Titelmans (1502-1537), viz. Nicholas Tacitus Zegers (c. 1495-1559) and Adam Sasbout (1516-1553), whose reception of Erasmus' work has not yet been the subject of scholarly study.⁷ Through this contribution, I aim to fill this gap in the contemporary literature on the Louvain reception of Erasmus' New Testament. A wide array of important works has been done on this general topic, including the excellent contributions in the volume *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (2008), edited by Erika Rummel. In that volume, Marcel Gie-

⁴ De Michelis Pintacuda 2001, p. 16, n. 5; Allen III (1915), ep. 694, p. 117.

⁵ Elliott 2016, p. 15-16.

⁶ Indeed, Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros' New Testament was already finished in 1514, but the entire *Biblia Polyglotta Complutensis* was only released to the public in 1521 or 1522.

⁷ On Zegers, see De Troeyer, 1970, p. 278-365, 407-423; 1969, p. 87-100, 192-203; 1966; 1963, p. 1-29, esp. p. 8-29. Specifically on Zegers' textual criticism, see Gerace 2019, p. 44-50, also François 2012, p. 245-246 and Gerace 2016, p. 206. On Sasbout, see Gerace 2019, p. 74-77 and 207-215.

lis showed the *odi et amo* relation that existed between Louvain theologians and Erasmus,⁸ mainly focusing on Jacques Masson or ‘Latomus’, Joannes Driedo and Erasmus’ opponents within the mendicant orders, such as the Carmelite Nicolaas Baechem ‘of Egmond’, the Dominican Vincentius Theoderici ‘of Haarlem’, and Eustachius ‘of Zichem’. In the same volume, Cecilia Asso thoroughly described Edward Lee and Maarten van Dorp’s criticisms of the Dutch humanist,⁹ and building on his doctoral dissertation Paolo Sartori dealt with the most famous Franciscan opponent of Erasmus, viz. Frans Titelmans (1502-1537), who debated with the Dutch humanist throughout the years 1527-1530.¹⁰

Moreover, Erika Rummel had previously devoted a large portion of her two-volume *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics 1515-1522* (1989) to the Louvain reception of Erasmus’ work. In the first volume, she focused on Titelmans, who criticized Erasmus for his inaccuracy in quoting the ‘original’ text, an unacceptable inaccuracy because of Erasmus’ influence on Catholic scholarship,¹¹ while in the second volume, she focused on Maarten van Dorp, and Latomus.¹² Finally, Michael Andrew Screech, in two well-known articles from 1987 and 1990, demonstrated Erasmus’ influence on Cornelius Jansenius, first Bishop of Ghent (1510-1576),¹³ and arguably ‘Louvain’s major biblical commentator of the sixteenth century’.¹⁴

⁸ Gielis 2008. See also Gielis 1994.

⁹ Asso 2008.

¹⁰ Sartori 2008. See also Sartori 2003 and 2005.

¹¹ Rummel 1989, vol. 1, p. 21-22. For instance, ‘Titelmans said: When I inspected and carefully read the original texts, I found that several of your [Erasmus’] quotations from authorities of old contained glaring mistakes (ep 2417:59-61)’ (p. 21).

¹² On Titelmans, cf. Rummel 1989, vol. 1, p. 1-28, while on Maarten van Dorp, vol. 2, p. 1-14; Latomus, vol. 2, p. 63-94.

¹³ Screech 1987; 1990. In Screech 1990, the author maintains that in Jansenius’ *Commentariorum in suam Concordiam Euangelicam* (1571-1572) censorship changed ‘Erasmus’ to ‘*quidam*’ starting from the Parisian edition issued in 1586. Unfortunately, Screech had at his disposal only six editions of Jansenius’ commentaries: Louvain 1576/77; Lyons 1577; Paris 1586; Lyons 1606; Antwerp 1613; Lyons 1684. In my research, I had the occasion to consult much more editions, namely Louvain 1571/72; Louvain 1576/77; Lyons 1577; Venice 1579; Lyons 1580; Venice 1587. Thanks to this scrutiny, I found out that Erasmus’ name was replaced by ‘*quidam*’ starting from Lyons 1580.

¹⁴ François 2012, p. 250.

Before entering into more details, it is however worth recalling that, following the model of Paris, Cologne and other universities, the *studia theologia* of religious orders in Louvain were incorporated into the university, established in 1425. As the arrangement between the parties stated,

By the agreement concluded that day [4 July 1447] between the rector and the superiors of these convents, through the usual matriculation all the religious obtained the enjoyment of the privileges of the 'subjects' of the University. However, in change, each religious house had to send at least a student to the course in theology and contribute modestly to the 'extraordinary' needs of the *Alma Mater*.¹⁵

First the Augustinian Hermits, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans became part of the university in 1447, followed later by the *studia* of other religious orders, such as that of the Carmelites in 1461.¹⁶ Among these religious institutions, the Franciscan *studium theologicum* played a very important role in the reception of Erasmus' scholarship in Louvain. The Franciscans first settled in Louvain in 1231, when the city built for them a convent, next to that of the Dominicans. After more than two centuries, in 1449 the Franciscans left that building.¹⁷ In the new location, the Franciscan *studium theologicum* kept its own identity and somehow opened the way for the study of Biblical languages in Louvain. In 1506 the Franciscan Amandus of Zierikzee (1450-1524/34) brought his knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac to his courses on the Scriptures.¹⁸ In that milieu, Frans Titelmans started his teaching activity in 1525. During his professorship he wrote the *Collationes quinque super epistolam ad Romanos* (1529), aimed at defending the Latin Vulgate against the 'attacks' of those influential humanists who had criticized the translation, in particular Lorenzo Valla, Jacques Lefèvre

¹⁵ De Jongh 1910, p. 278-279. See also 1911, p. 48.

¹⁶ Reusens 1889-1892. On the Augustinian Hermits, cf. vol. 5, p. 266-344; on the Carmelites, cf. vol. 5, p. 345-378, on the Dominicans, cf. vol. 5, p. 183-227; on the Franciscans, cf. in particular vol. 5, p. 228-265.

¹⁷ Reusens 1889-1892, vol. 5, p. 228-229 and De Troeyer 1974, vol. 1, p. xxviii-ix.

¹⁸ De Kok 2007, p. 110.

d'Étaples and Erasmus, to whom Titelmans clearly referred in the *Prologus apologeticus pro ueteri ac ecclesiastica noui testamenti latina interpretatione*.¹⁹ And while he sharply criticized the works of these humanists, Titelmans also affirmed 'I do not consider their [Lefèvre d'Étaples' and Erasmus'] works to be condemned'.²⁰

In addition to the Franciscan study house, another institute furnished solid education in the Biblical languages in Louvain. It was established by Jerome de Busleyden (1470-1517) who, in his last will and testament, provided for the foundation of the *College of the Three Tongues* – namely Latin, Greek and Hebrew –, offering grants to young and worthy scholars interested in studying the Scriptures in their original languages.²¹ Among the executors of Busleyden's will, were Adrian Josel, Antony Sucket, Nicolas van Nispen, Bartholomew van Vessem, but above all Erasmus. The Dutch humanist was in effect the 'driving force ... the promoter, the effective patron of the *Trilingue* ... managers and professors merely worked out his schemes and suggestion, until, under his impulse, it secured a creative spirit of its own'.²² The Louvain institute soon became an influential model for other important university cities: in 1528, a new *Collegium Trilingue* was established in Alcalá,²³ while in 1530 Francis I opened the

¹⁹ *Si quidem ante annos aliquot uiri in re literaria gloriosae existimationis, atque etiam in re theologica opinionis non minime, Laurentius Vallengis, Iacobus Faber Stapulensis, Desyderius Erasmus Roterodamus [...] in uulgatam latinorum aeditionem, ueteremque et Ecclesiasticam noui testamenti uersionem, tentauerunt annotationes examinationesque conscribere: in quibus plurima ueteris illius uersionis uisi sunt taxare, arguere, repraehendere: et non ea quae ad uerba solum, uerumetiam quae ad sententiam prorsus faciebant, pluribus in locis contra ueterem consuetudinem immutare: super haec et calore quodam immoderati feruoris euecti, non paucis in locis ueterem illam interpretationem eiusque interpretem salibus aspergere et (ut plane dicam) irridere*, Titelmans 1529, p. 4v.

²⁰ *Iacobus Faber Stapulensis, et Desyderius Erasmus Roterodamus, praeter eos quos aediderunt annotationum libros, nouas quoque ex Graecorum fontibus paruere uersiones. Quorum laborem adeo ego non censeo damnandum*, Titelmans 1529, p. 23r.

²¹ De Vocht 1951-1955, vol. 1, p. 24-27; Margolin 1998, p. 257-278. See also Papy 2017.

²² De Vocht 1951-1955, vol. 1, p. 60-61.

²³ De Vocht 1951-1955, vol. 3, p. 78-81. Earlier, in 1508, a college of the three tongues was established in Alcalá by Cardinal Jimenez de Cisneros, whose most important outcome was the publication of the *Biblia Polyglotta Complutense*. See Rummel 1999.

Collège Royal in Paris, where Erasmus himself was called to teach, though he declined the offer.²⁴ It is important to stress that even though both the *Collegium Trilingue* and the *studium theologicum* in Louvain focused on the study of the ancient languages, they maintained their own identities: on the one hand, Busleyden's college was heavily influenced by Erasmus and humanism, and it focused on the study of both the Bible and the classics. The scholars of the *studium theologicum*, on the other hand, developed their language skills with the sole intention of improving the quality of the Vulgate, trying to fulfill Trent's request for a new, emended edition.

In sum, the study of the three Biblical languages was already present in Louvain at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the Franciscan Study house, but Busleyden and Erasmus surely gave an important impulse to the further development of language studies, notwithstanding the initial diffidence of the Louvain faculty, which was still anchored in scholasticism.²⁵ However, as I will show in these pages, although many criticisms were leveled against Erasmus, his humanistic approach to the Scriptures was soon integrated into the work of others in Louvain, especially into that of the two subjects of the present study, Zegers and Sasbout. Even more, Sasbout showed himself to have a real 'humanistic soul': his *Opera omnia* even contains his Latin translation of the first book of Homer's *Iliad*.

*Nicholas Tacitus Zegers:
The New 'Castigator' of the Latin New Testament*

Nicholas Tacitus Zegers, hailing from Brussels, succeeded his master Frans Titelmans as *lector* of the Sacred Scriptures at the Louvain Franciscan Study house in 1536. He published textual-critical studies of the New Testament, such as the *Scholion in*

²⁴ Tuilier 2006; Farge 2006; Lefranc 1970.

²⁵ '[W]hile Erasmus held that Scripture studied with the methods of historical and literary criticism was the basis of theology, most of the theologians on the faculty took the view that the Tradition of the Church was primary. They conceived of this Tradition as a doctrine expressed in scholastic terms, to be studied with the aid of logic and philosophy. In this light, the study of languages and literature was of small use to theologians', Gielis 2008, p. 213-214.

omnes Noui Testamenti libros, published in Cologne by the Birckmann's Press in 1553. There, the Franciscan explains some relevant passages of the New Testament, putting the name of the reference author in the margin, abbreviated with the first letter of the name.²⁶ In this list, we can see the names of many authoritative writers, including Latin and Greek Church fathers, like Augustine, Ambrose, Euthymius, Gregory the Great, Jerome, Hilary of Poitiers, Origen, Theophylact, Primasius, Oecumenius, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria; Latin medieval masters, such as Anselm of Aosta, Rupert of Deutz, Beda the Venerable, Haimo of Auxerre, Nicholas of Lyra, Thomas Aquinas, as well as Renaissance and contemporary scholars, like Guillaume Budé, Jean de Gagny, Isidoro Chiari, Niccolò Perotti, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Diego López de Zúñiga, Lorenzo Valla, Sebastian Münster, Thomas de Vio 'Cajetan' and Erasmus. It is important to notice that the name of the Dutch humanist appears 61 times,²⁷ showing that Erasmus' scholarship was indeed received by the Franciscan. Remarkably, Zegers cites not only the readings of 'troublesome' scholars, like Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples, but also those of 'heretic' humanists, such as Guillaume Budé, suspected of being a Calvinist, and Sebastian Münster, who converted to Lutheranism. Despite their heretical status, Zegers acknowledges the value of their work on the New Testament.

Zegers' main textual-critical work was the *Epanorthotes, siue Castigationes in Nouum Testamentum*, published in Cologne in 1555 at Birckmann's Press. The author first introduces the intent behind this work through a long *captatio beneuolentiae* addressed to Pope Julius III (1550-1555). Zegers explains that he worked hard in order to provide the best possible emended text of the New Testament in its Latin translation, and that the *Castigationes* are actually the preparatory work for his New Testament, which was eventually published in Cologne in 1559, the year of his death. Some doubted whether the latter work had actually ever been published, considering that Zegers may have died before finishing the work, and given that copies of it were nowhere to be

²⁶ *Elementa in marginibus adnotata autores indicant, quorum sequimur in explanationibus sententias*, Zegers 1553, p. 7r.

²⁷ Zegers 1553. Zegers refers to Erasmus in the margin, putting an 'E'.

found. This was the state of the art until 1763, when Jean-Noël Paquot (1722-1803) claimed to have a copy in his possession.²⁸ More recently, Wim François, following De Troeyer, maintained that 'this work has fallen into oblivion, with no extant copies'.²⁹ However, thanks to digital databases such as USTC, we have been able to locate two copies, one in Mons (BE) and another in Aberdeen (UK).³⁰

Of course, following the *captatio beneuolentiae*, Zegers left the final judgment on his emended edition to the Pontiff, and maintained that it should also be checked by 'learned scholars'. However, in the event that the work passed examination and was deemed worthy of being published, Zegers asked the Pope to approve and to confirm the edition with his apostolic authority, so that the edition would subsequently be considered the authentic one, identical to the original version of the New Testament. Zegers indeed considered his work as the genuine edition, the only one really emended and 'full-sister' (*germana*) of the ancient translation, recovering the pristine integrity of the Latin version, which was the result of the emendation of the previous mistaken corrections and additions.³¹ Zegers' request that

²⁸ An echo of this copy is also present in 1828, in Michaud's and Dirks' works, but they simply quoted Paquot: 'Cette Edition du N.T. ... est extrêmement rare. Richard Simon, a cru que le P. Zegers n'avait point publié cet ouvrage ... Le P. Le Long, plus hardi, assure que Zegers avait entrepris de donner une Edition correcte du N/.T. mais que prévenu par la mort, il ne l'acheva pas. Il se trompe, et j'en ai un Exemplaire entre le mains', Paquot 1763, vol. 1, p. 7. See, Michaud 1828, p. 181. See, Dirks 1885, p. 83.

²⁹ François 2012, p. 246.

³⁰ Cf. <http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/record/409092> (accessed July 2015). The 'we' is not a mere *pluralis maiestatis*: I was able to find these copies only thanks to the collaboration with W. François. On the copy preserved in Mons, which I have directly consulted, cf. also Renier 1995, p. 146-147, n. 235.

³¹ *Sed et aliud est, quod isti tuae humiliter offero ac dicando transmitto sublimitati: nimirum Castigatorem hunc noui Instrumenti, una cum noua quadam atque per nos emendata eiusdem Instrumenti editione: et est rursus aliud, quod uicissimis nobis et uniuersae ecclesiae gregi a sedis Apostolicae maiestate aut autoritate exhibitum beneficium omni cum humilitate flagitamus: nimirum ut tua sublimitas haud grauetur hunc nostrum laborem, primum quidem eruditissimis uiris committere discutiendum et examinandum, seu etiam pro ipsorum iudicio consiliiue castigandum ... si tamen digna et catholica uti speramus iudicabitur, adprobare et apostolica autoritate roborare confirmare, et pro germana atque authentica ubique terrarum legendam committere, post habitis iis editionibus, quae huic aduersantur. Haec enim est ... genuina, germana et emendata ueteris nostris interpretis uersio*

his emendation be received as the ‘authentic’ one should actually been seen as an expression of his desire for his New Testament to be considered as the one the Council of Trent requested *pro authentica habeatur* during its fourth session.³² Moreover, Zegers considered his textual-critical labor to be a counterweight to Erasmus’ New Testament: not by coincidence did he use the word *Instrumentum* in the title of his own edition: *offero ... Castigatorem hunc noui Instrumenti, una cum noua quadam atque per nos emendata eiusdem Instrumenti editione* (‘I offer [...] this Corrector of the *Nouum Instrumentum*, together with a new edition of the same *Instrumentum*, emended by us’).

After the dedicatory epistle to the Pope, Zegers addresses a prefatory epistle to the reader, describing the textual corruption of the previous editions of the New Testament, especially those that were made three- or four-hundred years earlier. In this instance, the Franciscan minor was obviously referring to *correctoria* issued in the Middle Ages. Moreover, Zegers describes the confusion caused by the variety of the New Testament editions: Greek texts differ from their Latin translations; contemporary Greek and Latin editions differ from their ancient versions, but the ancient versions also differ among one another, just as contemporary versions do. A possible solution for recovering the text might therefore be the recourse to the ‘original sources’, viz. the Greek codices. However, this approach – explains Zegers – is not correct *tout court*, since the Greek manuscripts, especially those that are ‘less ancient’, are more corrupt than the Latin. Zegers seems therefore to be aware of the fact that Erasmus’ work was based on later sources, even though the humanist himself claimed

seu translatio, qua hactenus semper a tempore fere apostolorum ... usa cognoscitur Romana ecclesia: quam ab innumeris tum mendis, tum adulterinis adiectiunculis, non sine magnis et multis molestiis repurgauimus, et pristino nitore et integritati, quatenus fieri potuit, diuina iuuante gratia restituimus, Zegers 1555, p. 3r-v.

³² *Insuper eadem sacrosancta Synodus ... statuit et declarat, ut haec ipsa uetus et uulgata editio, quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et quod [= ut] nemo illam reicere quouis praetextu audeat uel praesumat ... decernit et statuit, ut posthac sacra scriptura, potissimum uero haec ipsa uetus et uulgata editio quam emendatissime imprimatur*, CT 1911, III, p. 91, 1-35-92, 1-3 and p. 92 1-17. On the juridical value of the word *authentica*, see Gerace 2020.

to have used the very ancient codices.³³ Indeed, Zegers declares to have studied two corrupt editions of the Greek New Testament: first, a manuscript, preserved in the Augustinian Priory of Corsendonk in Oud-Turnhout, and second a printed copy of Erasmus' work, preserved in the convent of St Martin's Valley, in Louvain.³⁴ The former manuscript was the same twelfth-century codex from Corsendonk that Erasmus had used for his 1519 edition, and that is now preserved in Vienna at the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (*Suppl. Gr.* 52).³⁵

Given the evident unreliability of the recent Greek manuscripts, Zegers prefers to rely on ancient Latin sources, listed

³³ Moreover, 'Erasmus's unrealistic and gross over-estimates of the age were doubtless spurred by his need to say that his manuscripts were older – and presumably therefore more reliable – than those used by the Complutensian Polyglot', Elliott 2016, p. 21, n. 33.

³⁴ *Tanta est passim in noui Testamenti codicibus, tum latinis, tum graecis uarietas, discrepantia et corruptela, praesertim in iis, qui ante annos hos triginta aut quadraginta, uel calamo exarati uel typis sunt expressi, ut non nisi perplexae fuerit difficultatis comprobare ac demonstrare, quae in ipsis haberi ac censi debeat pro germanis, apostolicis et intemeratis. Graeca exemplaria dissident a latinis: graeca pariter et latina moderna a ueteribus: uetera a ueteribus, moderna a modernis. In tanta erga codicum uarietate, quo confugas, quid sequaris cui tuto credas? Nam si Hieronymi atque Augustini hic consilium sequendum obtendas, qui in huiusmodi dubiis recurrendum docent ad ipsos uersionum fontes: ut pote in ueteri Testamenti ad originem hebraicam: in nouo uero ad originem graecam. Respondebo tutum iam non esse hoc consilium admittere, quod graecorum codices, praesertim paulo antiquiores, longe sint corruptiores quam latinorum: nam qui paulo habentur castigatioris, non nisi nostra aetate restituti sunt, idque etiam in nonnullis locis (ut uidetur) ex fide latinorum ... Duo ipsi uidimus exemplaria graeca, quae palam arguunt, quantum pridem in lectione graeca fuerit corruptela. Alterum seruatur in Coenobio regularium Corsendoncensi descriptum calamo, alterum in celebri academia Louaniensi, apud eiusdem instituti religiosos in coenobio diui Martini expressum typis: quod cernentibus in numera ostendat correctionis cuiusdam nempe Desiderii (si recte memini) uestigia. Hinc palam liquet, quam agant praepostere, qui hodie pro tuenda lectionis ueritate non alio confugiendum autumant, quam ad editionem graecam, quasi ea ipsissimus fons sit solidae ueritatis: quum longe secus rem hodie habere, ex multis passim deprehendatur graecanicis adnotationibus probatissimi doctoris Beati Hieronymi. Dum enim ipse in suae aetatis translationibus reprehendit, quae hodie leguntur in graecis: dum passim admonet, haec aut illa sic haberi in graecis, et aliter in latinis, quum hodie contra eadem sic in latinis legantur, quomodo tunc fuisse dicit in graecis, et ita sint nunc in graecis, quomodo dicit fuisse in latinis, dum in citandis scripturarum testimoniis, qui graecae fuit antiquitatis studiosissimus secutor, a modernis passim dissentit: quod aliud, quam manifeste coarguit, modernam graecorum editionem esse deprauatam, nostra uero in eiusmodi locis synceram, eoque hanc in multis esse puriorem, Zegers 1555, p. 4r-v. Emphasis mine.*

³⁵ Elliott 2016, p. 21.

in the prefatory letter of his *Castigationes*. In particular, in the Benedictine Abbey of Gembloux, close to Namur, he found: a) an entire Bible; b) three different codices of the four Gospels; c) another manuscript containing the Apostolic Epistles and the Apocalypse. Moreover, he used four Carolingian codices containing the Gospels: 1) the *Codex Donatianicus*, at that time preserved in Bruges and also used by Erasmus;³⁶ 2) the *Codex Euangeliorum Elstensis*, at that time preserved in the monastery of the Carmelites in Geldern; 3) the *Codex Corsendoncensis*, in Oud-Turnhout. This is of course a different manuscript from the same Augustinian Priory of Corsendonk and it is now preserved in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (*Ms. theol. lat. qu. 4*); 4) the *Codex aureus Dominae Margaritae*, now called *Codex Aureus Escorialensis* or *Spirensis*, actually owned by Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), governess of the Low Countries. The manuscript was first preserved in Mechelen, at the Palace of Margarite, and later in Bingen am Rhein, while now it is preserved in Royal library of El Escorial (*Cod. Vitrinas 17*).³⁷

Zegers then refers to the *Insuper* decree (1546), reporting that the Vulgate was to be preferred to the other Latin editions and was declared to be the official text for the Catholic Church, because of the millenary use of this text and the unanimous consensus on this choice. However – argues Zegers – the Greek version is not to be completely damned, since many parts of it are not corrupted, while the Latin text contains several mistakes, mutilations and additions. In this regard, he refers to three main factors. First, while recognizing the diligence of many scribes, he admitted that their work may not have been accurate enough.

³⁶ These codices come 'from the library of St Donatian in Bruges, some of which Erasmus "describes as dating from the 8th century, one containing the whole *New Testament*, and another being much mutilated"; Mark Lauwerijns (1488-1546), who became Canon of St Donatian in 1512 and Dean in 1519, was a close friend of Erasmus; Erasmus visited him in 1519 and 1521; the second visit took place, when Erasmus went to Bruges in discharge of his duties as Imperial Councilor; the Emperor Charles V was in Bruges from 7 to 26 August 1521 to meet Cardinal Thomas Wolsey; Erasmus stayed with Lauwerijns and consulted the MSS of St Donatian's in his leisure time; three MSS from the library of St Donatian have been preserved in the City Library of Bruges, but not one of them dates from before the 13th century', ASD VI/5, p. 6.

³⁷ Zegers 1555, p. 15r.

Second, he denounced the ignorance and carelessness of some scribes, while finally he took into account the obscurities of text, which can only be removed after an accurate study. The great variety of readings and words that can occur in the Latin New Testament had induced him – thus he continued – to restore the text on the basis of faithful examples, without considering the antiquity of the codex as a proof of its reliability. Zegers even argues that in ancient times the codices were rare and that all of them could have been derived from the same source. In this case, staying with Zegers' metaphor, if the source was impure, all its 'rivers' would have been impure as well.³⁸ It seems therefore that Zegers took his distance from Titelmans' sheer defense of the Vulgate.

At the end of his *Castigationes*, Zegers again criticized Erasmus' approach to the New Testament; in particular, Erasmus had based his work only upon Greek sources, contrary to Zegers' methodology, which also took into consideration Latin versions. Because of such criticism, Zegers is an invaluable source for understanding the textual-critical approach of another Louvain biblical scholar, Henri van Grave (1536-1591), who was even called to the Vatican Press in 1590 by Pope Sixtus V.³⁹ As Zegers reports, the Louvain theologian emended a Latin edition of the New Testament by Robert Estienne. The Franciscan however criticized van Grave's work, since he relied too much on Erasmus' Greek text, without consulting ancient authors, namely the Church fathers.⁴⁰

³⁸ *Neque rursus haec dixerim, quod graecam editionem prorsus damnandam aut contemnendam censeam: sunt enim permulta in ipsa quae usque adeo deprauata non sunt [...] Verum quia etiam haec ipsa [latina] uersio multis in locis noscitur uitata, mutilata et aucta, idque uel diligentia, sed ea non satis exacta nonnullorum correctorum [...] uel incitia seu oscitantia scribarum: uel etiam pio quodam studio tollendarum obscuritatum [...] In restituenda item editione latina, quae princeps est nostri instituti opera, non sat esse putauimus, si antiqua aliquot haberemus licet uetustatis exemplaria [...] fieri enim potuit ut omnia olim (quando magna erat codicum raritas) uno eodemque ex fonte dimanarint, qui si fuit impurus, impuros necesse est esse et riuos, Zegers 1555, p. 7r-8r.*

³⁹ Reusens 1876, p. 127-131.

⁴⁰ *Eandem hanc palaestram exercuit et Henricus Grauius, uir omni disciplinarum genere perpolitus, qui codicem suum, nihil obstante quod editionis esset Roberti Stephani, studiosissime castigauit: ... Verum nos tandem eundem nacti codicem, deprehendimus ipsum plus aequo fuisse castigationibus Erasmi, et editioni*

Zegers therefore seems to have an eclectic textual-critical philological approach: he did not consider the constancy of a reading or the antiquity of the manuscript as a proof of its genuineness. Inversely, a codex cannot be reliable just because it is recent.⁴¹ Such 'eclecticism' reflects his judgments on Erasmus' philological choices. On the one hand, Zegers criticized Erasmus in his preface to the *Castigationes*; on the other hand, he also showed places where he agreed with the humanist. In the *Scholion*, for example, Zegers writes the letter 'E.' in the margin to indicate Erasmus' annotation of specific passages, in total 46 times, where the reading agreed with (Henten's) Vulgate.⁴² Furthermore, in his *Castigationes*, Zegers mentioned the name of Erasmus eight times in the body of the text. I will focus on this latter type of reference in order to show Zegers' reception of Erasmus' scholarship, looking at the annotations in the margins that refer to the humanist, without Zegers entering into discussion with him. As I will show, in the eight passages subject to analysis, Zegers does not disagree with Erasmus.

The first passage in which Zegers mentions the Dutch humanist in the body of text is Mc. 8. 38 'For he that shall be ashamed (*confusus fuerit*) of me, and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation: the Son of man also will be ashamed of him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels'. According to Erasmus' *Annotationes*, although the most common reading are *confessus* and *confitebitur*, the ancient manuscripts read *confusus fuerit* and *confundetur*, as supported by the *codex aureus*. Finally, Erasmus argues that an *audaculus* ('audacious', 'impudent') person had read *confessus* and *confitebitur*.⁴³

Graece, nullis consultis scriptoris antiquis, eoque multa castigasse sinistre et praeponere, Zegers 1555, p. 126v.

⁴¹ Such methodology strongly influenced another Louvain textual critical scholar, Franciscus Lucas Brugensis when he argues *Minime uero, aut probandus est error, quia constans est; aut recipiendus, quia antiquus*. Cf. Gerace 2016, p. 221.

⁴² Mt. 26. 61; 27. 40; 27. 46; Lc. 1. 45; 2. 38; 6. 26; 12. 27; 12. 35; 12. 40; 19. 33; Ioh. 5. 13; 6. 13; 6. 40; 9. 22; 10. 26; Act. 2. 30; 4. 27; 7. 27; 8. 26; 10. 30; 10. 32; 13. 33; 15. 29; 15. 23-24; 16. 12; 18. 18; Rom. 9. 10; 10. 14; I Cor. 15. 31, 15. 34; 15. 36; II Cor. 11. 21; 12. 12; Heb. 12. 20.

⁴³ *Qui enim me confessus. Antiqui codices magno consensu pro 'confessus' et 'confitebitur', habebant 'confusus fuerit' et 'confundetur', suffragante his et aureo*

Zegers agrees with Erasmus' analysis, directly citing his *Annotationes* and openly affirming that *confusus* is the correct reading, while the variant *confessus* is not to be accepted.⁴⁴ In Act. 22. 28, Zegers shows the disagreement between Valla and Erasmus concerning the right meaning of the Greek noun πολιτεία, which the Italian humanist reads as *ciuilitas* while the Dutch scholar reads it as *ciuitas*.⁴⁵ In Act. 25. 24, Zegers reports that many scholars considered *hominem* a recent addition to *uidetis hunc*, an addition that Erasmus nevertheless includes in his *Nouum Instrumentum* and that Zegers does not reject.⁴⁶ In the first letter to the Thessalonians, Zegers agreed with Erasmus two times. First, he admitted that *recte adnotat Desiderius* when he maintained 'I do not know who added *multa*' in I Thess. 2. 2, a word that of course should be removed. Second, he refers to Erasmus (*Vide Deside[rium]*) who correctly explained the twofold meaning of the Greek βάρος, which can be interpreted both as *onus* and *honor*.⁴⁷

In the second letter to Timothy (II Tim 4. 7) Zegers reports that Erasmus mentioned one manuscript in which the Greek verb νῆφε, which can be translated both as *uigila* and *sobrius*

codice et mea uetustae typographiae ... Satis hic apparet 'confessus' et 'confitebitur' uerba esse supposita ab audaculo quopiam. Caeterum an satis Latine dicamus: 'confundor te' pro eo quod pudet me tui', uiderint literatores, ASD VI/5, p. 403-404. '[T]he "codex aureus", an Evangeliary that Erasmus may have consulted in the library of Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, probably in March 1519, when he visited Mechlin in connection with the appointment of a tutor for Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V', ASD VI/5, p. 6.

⁴⁴ 'Qui me confusus fuerit.)' Ita scribendum est, non confessus. Et mox confundent, non confitebitur. Sensus est: qui de me erubuerit, et filius hominis erubescet de illo. Caeterum an satis latine dicamus (inquit Erasmus) confundor te, pro eo quod putet me tui, uiderint literatores, Zegers 1555, p. 33v.

⁴⁵ 'Ciuilitatem hanc: alias ciuitatem.)' Valla magis probat ciuilitatem: Erasmus contra ciuitatem. Graece est πολιτεία, Zegers 1555, p. 68v.

⁴⁶ 'Videtis hunc (hominem.)' Hominem, nuperam esse adiectiunculam, arguunt multa, quae pertranseo. Hoc tantum admoneo, apud Chrysostomum ab ipso interprete Erasmus, hominem adiectum esse, sicuti idem et in uersione fecit noui Instrumenti, Zegers 1555, p. 71v.

⁴⁷ 'Sed ante passi (multa.)' Hoc 'multa', nuper esse adiectionem, declarant codices paulo uetustiores, ut caetera sileam quae recte adnotat Desiderius. 'Quum possemus uobis oneri esse.)' Amb[rosius] scribit cum possemus honori esse. Et quidem sum nescius propter amphilogiam uocis βαρεῖς, an itidem scripserit et interpret noster. In quodam codice deerat uobis. Vide Deside[rium], Zegers 1555, p. 97r.

esto, does not appear.⁴⁸ About I Petr. 3. 8, Zegers explains that the Greek noun φιλόφρονες is translated in Latin with a hendiadys: *Duae nobis uoces* [*sci. modesti et humiles*] *leguntur pro una φιλόφρονες*, carrying on the actual meanings *affable* and *humane*. The Latin manuscripts however can be different in their textual traditions: Erasmus reports that two codices *Donatiani* in Bruges do not have the reading *humiles*, while the ancient sources that Zegers uses do not have the *lectio* ‘*modesti*’.⁴⁹ Finally, Zegers mentioned Erasmus in the second letter of John (II Ioh. 9), but in this case, the Franciscan reports only that Erasmus translated ὁ παραβαίνων both *qui transgreditur* and *qui praeterit*: more precisely Erasmus translated *qui transgreditur* (in 1516; 1519 and 1522), but in the annotations he also shows the possible reading *qui praeterit*. And once again, Zegers expresses neither agreement nor disagreement.⁵⁰

The analysis of Zegers’ references to Erasmus in the *Castigationes*, as well as the marginal annotations ‘E.’ in both the *Scholion* and the *Castigationes*, show that even though in the preface of the *Castigationes* he had criticized Erasmus’ work, because of the use of qualitatively poor and quantitatively few sources, Zegers does not reject Erasmus’ textual-critical work *tout court*. On the contrary, he seems to have regarded his work as a valuable aid, or at least a ‘classic’ of contemporary scholarship against which every scholar has to measure himself. His disciple Adam Sasbout, however, did not have the same appreciation for Erasmus’ work.

⁴⁸ ‘*Sobrius esto.*’) *Desiderius unum citat exemplum quod hoc uerbi non habet iuxta graeca, Chrysostomus et Ambrosius. Suspiciatur autem ipse hac occasione irrep-sisse quod νῆφε (quod supra ponitur) signet utrunque, nempe uigilia et sobrius esto. Sed his solis rationibus, non ausim hoc ipsum cum Henrico Grauiio explodere, quod longo iam usu receptum sit*, Zegers 1555, p. 102v.

⁴⁹ ‘*Modesti, humiles.*’) *Duae nobis uoces leguntur pro una φιλόφρονες, affabilem humanumque signante. Sed Erasmus indicat in codicibus donatianicis non haberi humiles: at nostri antiqui non habent modesti*, Zegers 1555, p. 109v.

⁵⁰ ‘*Omnis qui praecedit.*’) *Vulgares codices et Beda habent recedit: uetusti autem fere praecedit, quod magis respondet graeco παραβαίνων, a παρα, id est prae, et βαίνω, id est uado uel gradior. Erasmus interpretatur transgreditur et qui praeterit*, Zegers 1555, p. 117r.

*Adam Sasbout's Reception of Erasmus' Work:
Appreciation and Criticism Again*

Adam Sasbout⁵¹ was a native of Delft ('Delphius') and moved to Louvain to study, achieving his baccalaureate in 1537.⁵² There, he entered the Franciscan Order in 1544,⁵³ becoming *lector* four years later, in 1548, succeeding Zegers. During his brief life, he wrote several exegetical books, which had only a few reprints up to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Sasbout's works present one of the Louvain Franciscan Study House *leitmotiv*: the disapproval of Erasmus' textual-critical analysis of the New Testament, a common element together with Titelmans and to a certain degree also Zegers. Indeed, Sasbout refers to the Dutch humanist with the precise aim of attacking him for interpreting the Bible in a different way than the Church fathers, although in several places the Franciscan had to admit the reliability of Erasmus' textual-critical choices, as I will show in the second part of my contribution.

In order to criticize the Dutch humanist, Sasbout generally appealed to Jerome among the Latin commentators and Origen among the Greek ones (see further Rom. 1. 1 and 1. 5). Another humanist who is the object of Sasbout's denigration is the Italian scholar Lorenzo Valla,⁵⁴ while other opponents include Martin Bucer, John Calvin and the 'Lutherans', of course referring to all Protestants in general. In his *In omnes Diui Pauli et quorundam aliorum apostolorum epistolas explicatio*, first printed in Louvain by Antoine-Marie Bergagne in 1556,⁵⁵ Sasbout refers to Erasmus (at least) 39 times in the body of his text: Rom. 1. 1; Rom. 1. 4

⁵¹ See, van der Linden 1913. See also De Vocht 1951-1955, vol. 3, p. 509-512; De Troeyer 1970 p. 254-264; De Troeyer 1969, p. 233-240.

⁵² *Aetatis sextum et uigesimum confecerat Adamus, cum uariis, per tempus, scholis exercitatus, titulum Bacca-laureati ad doctrinae et eloquentiae gloriam adiciebat*, Vosmeer 1613, c. 5.

⁵³ *MDXLIV in D. Francisci familiam [Adamus] se dat ... in laudato urbis Louani monasterio*, Vosmeer 1613, c. 8. This data is also indirectly confirmed by another source: *[Adamus] uixit in Ordine annos nouem [viz., 1544-1553]*, see Valery Andreas' document attached to the dedicatory epistle of van Bukentop 1696.

⁵⁴ For instance, analyzing the difference between *λατρεία* and *δουλεία*, Sasbout writes *Et frustra fatigat Valla, qui ut inscitia arguat*, Sasbout 1575, p. 255b.

⁵⁵ Sasbout 1556.

(3 times); Rom. 1. 5; Rom. 5. 12; Rom. 7. 3; Rom. 11. 11 (twice); Rom. 12. 10 (twice); Rom. 12. 15; Gal. 4. 11; Gal. 6. 6; Eph. 2. 15 (7 times); Eph. 4. 31; Eph. 4. 32; Eph. 5. 6 and Eph. 5. 12; Eph. 5. 32 (five times); Eph. 6. 15-18 (4 times); Phil. 1. 10; Phil. 2. 7; Col. 1. 3-4; Iudas 22; I Tim. 2. 5; I Tim. 3. 2-4 (twice); I Tim. 5. 23; II Tim. 2. 1-2; II Tim. 2. 4; II Tim. 3. 5; Tit. 1. 10. In the following pages, I will analyse these passages; however, rather than following the order of the Epistles, I will deal with Sasbout's references to Erasmus 'thematically', by showing first those places in which the Franciscan disagrees with the humanist on a reading that has strong doctrinal value. Second, I will focus on those places in which Sasbout disagrees with Erasmus on the philological choice, although such difference will not imply a doctrinal interpretation. Finally, I will pay attention to those places in which Sasbout simply mentions Erasmus' reading, without explicitly disagreeing with him, or even accepting his philological choice. In this analysis, I will always refer to the second edition of Sasbout's *Opera Omnia*, printed in Cologne by Johann Birckmann in 1575.

In Sasbout's *Explicatio*, there are few passages in which the disagreement with Erasmus has real doctrinal implications, but of course there are some very relevant ones. The first doctrinal passage is Rom. 5. 12: *in quo omnes peccauerunt*, which Erasmus' translated as *quatenus omnes peccatum habuerunt*, a reading with obvious doctrinal implications, as was soon emphasized by Luther, Lee and Titelmans, who definitely rejected Erasmus' translation.⁵⁶ Sasbout explains that Erasmus' interpretation could be accepted only if the text referred to the sin *per imitationem*. But this was not the case here: as Augustine explained, the text contains a reference to original sin.⁵⁷ It must be noticed that Zegers also paid attention to the same passage, upholding the Catholic interpretation, without mentioning Erasmus, either in the *Scholion* or in the *Castigationes*.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Cummings 2002, p. 144-145; Coogan 1992, p. 35.

⁵⁷ Erasmus in annotationibus suis putat sermonis proprietatem et seriem, tenoremque disputationis Paulinae melius quadrare, si de peccato per imitationem accipiat. In contraria sententia est Augustinus, qui solidissimis rationibus pene euincit, locum hunc non posse intelligi, nisi de peccato originis, Sasbout 1575, p. 287a.

⁵⁸ Zegers 1553, p. 17-18 and 1555, p. 74-76.

A passage with strong Christological and Trinitarian value is Phil. 2. 6-7. Sasbout deals with it by explaining the expression *formam serui accipiens*. First Sasbout explains that when Christ took the form of the servant, he did not put aside his divine nature. Then he reports that Marcion (85-160) and his followers explained that Christ took the 'form' of the servant washing the feet of the Apostles. Chrysostom refuted such ideas, by stressing the difference between 'form of the servant' and 'work of the servant': during the Washing of the Feet (Ioh. 13. 1-17), Christ simply acted as a servant, but it was not on that occasion that he took upon his human form. Not by coincidence, the confusion between 'form' and 'work' never occurs in the Scriptures. By contrast – argues Chrysostom – Paul used the word *forma*/μορφή to refer clearly to Christ's nature. Therefore, explains Chrysostom, Phil. 2. 6-7 shows to all the heretics both the divine⁵⁹ and the human nature of Christ in the expressions *forma dei* and *forma serui* respectively. In this way – explains Sasbout – Chrysostom refuted both Ambrose's (= Ambrosiaster) and Erasmus' interpretation at the same time.⁶⁰

Erasmus was indeed in line with Ambrosiaster, that the humanist shows to appreciate at several instances,⁶¹ and who, in this specific passage, read *forma* as *specimen* or *exemplum*. Erasmus in his wake interpreted the Latin *forma* as *species* or *figura*, rejecting the possible Aristotelian interpretation of *forma substantialis*.⁶²

⁵⁹ Chrysostomus fusius hunc locum tractat ex eo pugnans aduersus omnes haereses, quae de Christi diuina natura perperam senserunt, ASD VI/9, p. 294, 297-299.

⁶⁰ Quod sequitur ('formam serui accipiens') explectiue dictum est: exinaniuit se, id est, accepit formam serui et texit formam Dei. Monent hic interpretes ut intelligamus Christum se exinaniuisse, non quidem diuinam naturam deponendo, sed assumendo humanam. Marcio et eius sequaces exponebant locum hunc de opere: Christus, dicebant, accepit formam serui, quando cinctus linteo lauit pedes discipulorum. Hoc reiicit Chrysostomus. Aliud inquit, est opus serui facere, aliud formam serui accipere. Nusquam enim forma in scriptura inuenitur pro opera dicta: multum enim ab opere differt. Illud enim, nempe opus serui facere energiae est: hoc uero, scilicet formam Dei accipere naturae est, qua responsione simul reiicit et Ambrosium et Erasmus, Sasbout 1575, p. 400b.

⁶¹ Faber 2012. It was believed that Erasmus himself first used the name 'Ambrosiaster', but Jan Krans (2013) showed that this was not the case. It was indeed a Louvain scholar, Francis Lucas 'of Bruges' who first used this name in his *Notationes in sacra Biblia* (1580). On Francis Lucas' *Notationes*, see Gerace 2016.

⁶² ASD VI/9, p. 293-294.

So that – Erasmus argues – there is no link between *forma serui* and the human nature of Christ.⁶³ In other words, according to the humanist, Paul was not dealing with Christ's ontological status, and the phrase *forma serui* simply refers to the condition of those who suffer,⁶⁴ stressing the ethical implications of Christ's acts. Hence, this passage did 'not to convey a doctrinal formula regarding the consubstantiality of the Son and Father'.⁶⁵ Of course, Sasbout was not the only scholar who criticized Erasmus for his interpretation of this passage; the humanist entered into discussions with several Catholic scholars, mainly with Edward Lee and Jacques Lefèvre.⁶⁶

Finally, in Eph. 5. 32, *Sacramentum / mysterium hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia*. Sasbout stresses once again the differing readings of Erasmus, on the one hand, and the Church fathers Jerome, Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom and Oecumenius, on the other. In this instance, the word *sacramentum*, which the humanist translated as *mysterium*, should be seen as a literal reference to the union between man and wife, expressly mentioned in Eph. 5. 31, and a typological allusion to the union between Christ and the Church, both mentioned in Eph. 5. 32. By contrast, Erasmus linked the word *mysterium* only to the Church and Christ, an option rejected by Sasbout who added that the interpretation of the Church fathers *nihil facit pro Erasmo*.⁶⁷ This divergent interpretation has important doc-

⁶³ *Iam quod accepit formam serui, non proprie referri uidetur ad humanam naturam assumptam, sed ad speciem et similitudinem hominis nocentis, cuius personam pro nobis gessit, dum flagellatur, damnatur, crucifigitur*, ASD VI/9, p. 290, 233-235.

⁶⁴ Essary 2015, p. 403.

⁶⁵ Essary 2015, p. 403.

⁶⁶ Essary 2015, p. 406.

⁶⁷ '*Sacramentum hoc magnum est*)' *sensus est: historia haec iam a me recitata praeter literalem sensum, secundum quem significat maritum relictis parentibus perpetua consuetudine domestica adhaesurum uxori suae, habet et sensum mysticum, ut sit prophetia quaedam coniunctionis Christi, cuius typum gerit Adam, ipsius Ecclesiae, cuius typum exprimit Euangelium. Ad hunc modum interpretatur Hieronymus, ut Sacramentum pertineat ad superiora. Erasmus uero refert ad ea, quae sequuntur, ut sensus sit, non quod coniunctio Adae et Euae, siue uiri et mulieris sit magnum Sacramentum, sed quod coniunctio Christi cum Ecclesia magnum Sacramentum, sed indulget Erasmus hic ingenio suo, cum ueteres omnes aliter interpretati sunt, non solum Hieronymus, sed Nazianzenus, sed et Chrysostomus, ipse quoque*

trinal implications concerning the sacramental value of marriage, about which Erasmus seems to have been doubtful. This led to a wave of criticism at Erasmus' address, especially when the humanist underlined in the 1519 edition that Paul's use of the word *μυστήριον* does not necessarily refer to the sacraments, since that noun simply indicates 'what is hidden'.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Erasmus rejected the idea that Paul was expressly dealing with the union between Christ and the Church, which of course could not be compared with that between a husband and his wife. To end the *querelle*, he had to clarify in the 1522 edition that it was not his aim to deny the sacramental value of marriage, but he mentioned that he did not see how the sacramentality of the meaning could be deduced from Eph. 5. 32.⁶⁹

As mentioned, Sasbout's criticism of Erasmus does not always have doctrinal implications. One such place is Rom. 1. 1, where Sasbout maintains that Erasmus' understanding of Paul's name is contrary to that of Jerome.⁷⁰ In Rom. 1. 5, Sasbout declares that Erasmus' explanation of the meaning of the words *ἐπίσκοπος* and *ἀπόστολος* is diametrically opposed to that of Chrysostom. As Sasbout reports, according to Erasmus both nouns refer to the office (*munus*) that comes from being episcopos and/or apostle. Notwithstanding, the *auctoritas* that Sasbout followed is not that of Erasmus, but that of Chrysostom and Origen, who, on the basis of Ps. 108. 8 read *ἐπισκοπή* as 'authority' or 'power'. This interpretation is also confirmed by the Hebrew original, which can be translated into Latin as *praefectura* and *praepositura*: as

Oecumenius, qui omnes ad superiora referunt ... Erasmus, ut diuersam sequeretur a ueteribus sententia, adduxit partim uox Graeca mysterium, quam noster interpretis uertit Sacramentum: non enim in hoc, inquit, magnum est mysterium, si uir iungatur uxori: partim illa particula, ego autem, etc. quam hunc uult habere sensum: uerum ego loquor de Christo et Ecclesia. Sed non aduertit Erasmus Apostolum appellare mysterium hoc loco, quod in priori Epistola ad Corinthios typum uocat, et in Epistola ad Galatas allegoriam ... Addita est haec particula, ego autem dico, modestiae causa a D. Paulo '(in Christo et Ecclesia)' id est, de Christo et Ecclesia ... Secundum hac expositionem, quae est Hieronymi, Nanzianzeni, et ueterum, particula ista: ego autem dico, nihil facit pro Erasmo, Sasbout 1575, p. 443b-444a.

⁶⁸ Chantraine 1970.

⁶⁹ ASD VI/9, p. 256. See also Reynolds 2016, 736-740; Pabel 2002, p. 175-209; Telle 1954, p. 266-271.

⁷⁰ *Quod autem Erasmus contra sententiam Hieronymi adfert*, Sasbout 1575, p. 250b.

will be shown, Sasbout at several instance refers to the Hebrew, in order to corroborate his view.⁷¹

Sasbout further disagrees with Erasmus over Rom. 11. 11. The Vulgate translation of the first part of the verse is *dico ergo numquid sic offenderunt ut caderent*, but Erasmus did not find the *sic* in the Greek text, and so he replaced *sic* with *ideo*. Sasbout notes that this choice is possible, but so too is that of ‘our translation’, viz. the Vulgate. The decision ultimately depends on the value conferred on the corresponding Greek conjunction ἵνα, which usually introduces a final subordinate clause, according to Erasmus. Sasbout disagrees on this point, affirming that sometimes ἵνα can be read *impletive* like ὥς.⁷² Concerning Rom. 12. 10, Sasbout evidently disagrees with Erasmus, who ‘does not translate clearly’ the Greek nouns φιλαδελφία and τιμή.⁷³ In Gal. 4. 11, Sasbout criti-

⁷¹ Analyzing the terms ἐπίσκοπος and ἀπόστολος, Sasbout argues *Cui [Chrysostomo] commentario ex diametro repugnat annotatio Erasmi quae sic habet: Pro apostolatu nos semel duntaxat uertimus apostolici muneris functionem, ne quis dignitatem Paulo significari putet. Ut enim ἐπισκοπή est ipsa functio episcopatus, sic et ἀπόστολή apostolatus. Hactenus Erasmus, cuius auctoritas non tanti apud nos esse debet atque Chrysostomi: neque ipsius tantum Chrysostomi sed et Origenis, qui eodem plane modo, quo ille, apostolatum interpretatur, quorum uterque in lingua Graeca doctissimus fuit. Atque ut rationem illam: Ut enim ἐπισκοπή et c. a fundamento penitus euertam, aliud ostendam. Legimus enim psal. 108, Et episcopatum eius accipiet alter, ubi Septuaginta interpretes habent ἐπισκοπήν: qua uoce certum est ipsos functionem tantum episcopatus, sed ipsum quoque episcopatum, hoc est, auctoritatem, potestatem, dignitatem, siue praesulatum significare uoluisse. Id autem certum est ex uoce Hebraea illius loci, quae praefecturam siue praeposituram designat. Sensus ergo est: gratuito munere Christi sortiri; sumus apostolatum seu auctoritatem illam supremam praedicandi Euangelii, ut in omnibus gentibus obediatur fidei*, Sasbout 1575, p. 253b-254a.

⁷² *Illud (‘sic’) sic non est in Graecis. Unde omittit Erasmus, sed eius loco substituit (‘ideo’). Versio eius sic habet: non ideo impegerunt ut conciderent: Quod licet probabiliter facit, non minus tamen probabile est quod noster habet interpretes. Quod uero Erasmus contra interpretationem nostram adducit, de uocula ἵνα nihil est. Nam ex commentariis Chrysostomi et Theophylacti constat eam interdum sumi impletive, et poni loco ὥς*, Sasbout 1575, p. 314b. *Atqui Graeca vox ἵνα finem magis significat, diuersae naturae ab ea quae est ὥς aut ὥς τε, cuius uaria uis est, quemadmodum apud nos ‘ut’ ... Non potest hic accipit sensus: ‘num adeo impengerant’ siue ‘offenderunt, ut ceciderint?’*, ASD VI/7, p. 268.

⁷³ *Est autem mirabilis uis et energia in Graecis uocibus, quam interpreter non est assecutus, sed nec plane Erasmus qui uertit: Per charitatem fraternam, ad mutuo uos diligendos, propensi pro charitate fraternitatis graece est unica uox φιλαδελφία, pro diligentes graece est φιλόστοργου [...] (Honore inuicem praeuenientes)’ [...] Non dixit honorantes alium alius, sed honore praeuenientes, quod maius est. Chrysostomus honorem proprie accipit, Erasmus pro subsidio, ut moneat*

cized Erasmus' interpretation, arguing that the sentence φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς should be translated as *timeo erga uos*, as Erasmus does, only in case one is working on a text by a Greek classical author, such as Plato or Demosthenes. In Paul, φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς is to be translated as *timeo uobis*, meaning 'I fear for you'.⁷⁴

While analyzing Eph. 2. 15 *Legem mandatorum decretis euacuans* / τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασιν καταργήσας Sasbout agrees with Jerome, Chrysostom, Theophylact and Oecumenius, considering *decreta* to refer to the faith and the precepts of the Gospel. However, *merito repraehenditur Erasmus*, who keeps the Greek preposition ἐν in his Latin translation: *legem mandatorum in decretis abrogans*. Indeed, Erasmus maintains that if the preposition *in* were to be omitted, the sentence would mean that thanks to the *decreta*, the law is abolished. By explicitly rendering that preposition in Latin – argues Sasbout – Erasmus changed the faithful meaning of the sentence, mixing his own interpretation (*coniectura*) with the text of the Scripture, without even taking into consideration the interpretation of Jerome and the Greek Church fathers. In case we want to keep a preposition in the Latin text – argues Sasbout – we should opt for *per*, rather than *in*, maintaining the instrumental value of Greek. Moreover, in order to legitimate their works and views, 'heretic' scholars referred to Erasmus' translation, as when the Reformed theologian Wolfgang Musculus (1497-1563) ignorantly used Erasmus' translation in his edition of Chrysostom's commentary to the Pauline corpus (Paris, 1548). Similarly, also the presence of Erasmus' translation in the edition of Oecumenius' *Scholia* on Paul's Epistles (Paris, 1547) is inopportune (*intempestiua*).⁷⁵ In commenting upon

Romanos certatim se mutuo in praestandis officiis praecurrere, sed minus probabile est, quod dicit quia hoc habet sequens particula, Sasbout 1575, p. 321a.

⁷⁴ 'Timeo uobis', id est de uobis [ne sine causa laborauerim in uobis] Erasmus uertit, erga uos, et ita uertendum esset apud Platonem uel Demosthenem, quia est praepositio eiς cum accusatiuo. Sed Paulus (ut saepe dictum est) illa praepositione abutitur loco ἐν, Sasbout 1575, p. 376b.

⁷⁵ *Legem mandatorum, est lex Moysi mandans, et non conferens gratiam, qua id, quod mandatur, praestari potest. Hanc Christus antiquauit, siue abrogauit per alia decreta, praecepta legalia, Euangelicis (ait Hieronymus) dogmatibus commutauit. Ad eundem modo exponit Chrysostomus, item Theophylactus et Oecumenius nisi quod hi et alium habent commentarium, per decreta intelligentes fidem, ut sit enallage numeri. Erasmus diuersum plane tradit sensum motus praepositione, in, quae est apud Graecos, et meminit huius non solum in annotationes sed et in*

Col. 1. 3, Sasbout again criticized Musculus, since his use of Erasmus' translation in his edition of Chrysostom's commentary changed the Church father's explanation of the passage. In this specific case, according to Chrysostom, Paul's *pro uobis* refers to those who always pray, a reading also supported by Augustine.⁷⁶

In Eph. 4. 32, Erasmus interprets the noun *χαριζόμενοι* as *largientes* and *donantes*, but he also denies that it should be considered as *condonantes* or *ignoscentes*. However, Sasbout remarks that this interpretation is contrary to that of Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Oecumenius, who 'did know Greek' being Greeks themselves. Even Jerome, cited by Erasmus to re-enforce his argument, maintained the exact opposite: *χαριζόμενοι* is to be interpreted as *donantes* and *condonantes*.⁷⁷

Also in Eph. 6. 15-16, *merito repraehenditur Erasmus*, who added the word *balteus* (girdle) in his translation.⁷⁸ Moreover, Erasmus translated *super omnia* rather than *in omnibus* in Eph.

translatione sua expressit, habet enim hinc modum: Legem mandatorum in decretis sitam abrogans. Verum cum certior sit sensus Hieronymi et Graecorum, merito repraehenditur Erasmus, qui coniecturam miscuit textui scripturae. Indocte quoque egit Musculus, uersionem Erasmi inculcans in commentario Chrysostomi ... Intempestiua quoque est versio Erasmi in scholiis Oecumenii, cum illa nihil diuersum habeat a Chrysostomo ... Nihil igitur differt locus ad Colossenses ab eo, qui est in Epistola praesenti ad Ephesios nisi quod ad Colossenses omittat Apostolus praepositionem (in) quam in hac Epistola adiicit, qua omissa adeo non corrumpit sententia Pauli, quod uoluit Erasmus ut etiam planior efficiatur, quam praepositionem si legamus, exponere oportebit, ut hoc ualeat, quod per (in decretis) id est, per decreta, Sasbout 1575, p. 428a-b.

⁷⁶ *Ex quibus uerbis, clarum est Chrysostomum illud (semper pro uobis) retulisse adorantes. Vnde mirum est Musculus, cum suscepit Chrysostomum interpretandum proposuisse uersionem Erasmi, quae non conuenit cum expositione Chrysostomi: Quis uero sit sensus huius, dictum est in epistola ad Ephesios, in enarratione illius, omni tempore orantes. Et certissimus de hac re commentarius est apud Augustinum, Sasbout 1575, p. 450a.*

⁷⁷ *'Donantes inuicem)' Erasmus uertit largientes uobismetipsis, ut intelligas quod in alios benefeceris, id tuo, tuoque lucro magis fieri, quam eius, qui accipit. Addit deinde in annotationibus, donantes hoc loco non pro condonantes, siue ignoscentes positum esse, sed pro largientes, liberaliter dantes seu donantes. Nam Graece inquit, est χαριζόμενοι. Verum Chrysostomus, Theophylactus, et Oecumenius interpretatur, ut hoc ualeat condonantes, siue ignoscentes, qui omnes cum Graeci fuerint, nouerunt utique quid significaret χαριζόμενοι sed et diuus Hieronymus quem pro se citat Erasmus donantes exponit pro condonantes, quanquam et alterius expositionis meminerit, Sasbout 1575, p. 438b-439a.*

⁷⁸ *Qui uero respicit ad textum sermonis, et aduertit quod praecedat quidque sequatur, praefert posteriorem sententiam, quam amplexus est Erasmus, non solum in annotationibus, sed etiam in translationem suam ... Sed merito repraehendi-*

6. 16, changing the faithful meaning of the troublesome preposition ἐπὶ. Jerome had translated this as *super*, explaining that it properly has the meaning of *in*.⁷⁹ Again, Sasbout pinpoints the differences in interpretation between Erasmus and ‘our translator’ regarding the Greek expression εἰς αὐτὸ ἀγρυπνοῦντες in Eph. 6. 18. Translated as *et in ipso uigilantes*, it could mean ‘to be watchful’ either *ad spiritum* or *ad rem*: ‘our translator’, argues Sasbout, preferred the former option in his translation, while Erasmus the latter, by offering the reading *ad hoc ipsum uigilantes*.⁸⁰

Yet there are also instances where Sasbout agrees with – or at least does not explicitly reject – Erasmus’ readings. For instance, commenting upon Rom. 1. 4, Sasbout explains that the Vulgate translation *in uirtute*, is correct, since the preposition *in* corresponds to the Hebrew כִּי.⁸¹ Erasmus substituted that *in* with *cum*, which could also be accepted. Perhaps Sasbout is here attempting to demonstrate his superiority over Erasmus by underlining his knowledge of Hebrew, which Erasmus lacked.⁸² Though Paul wrote in Greek, his native language was Hebrew, and he might have translated certain concepts, words and sentence constructions from Hebrew, something that Erasmus would not have been able to understand. In the same verse, Sasbout agrees with Erasmus

tur Erasmus, inferens textui balthum, cum id sit priuati sensum, Sasbout 1575, p. 446b-447a.

⁷⁹ ‘(In omnibus sumentes scutum fidei)’ Erasmus uertit, *super omnia*. Ubi sciendum est quod, *super*, Latinis aliquando excellentiam significat ... Interdum licet rarius connectendi formula est ... Ad eundem modum Graeca praepositio ἐπὶ ambigua est, quam hoc secundo modo sumit Oecumenius pro propter. Hieronymus legit, quod uertit Erasmus, sed interpretatur ut noster interpretes, ut *super omnia*, id est, *in omni opere*, Sasbout 1575, p. 447a.

⁸⁰ ‘(Et in ipso uigilantes)’ Graecus sermo ambiguus est, referri potest uel *ad spiritum*, uel *ad rem*: Noster interpretes retulisse uidetur *ad spiritum*: In ipso scilicet Erasmus *ad rem* refert: Nam uertit *ad hoc ipsum uigilantes*, Sasbout 1575, p. 447b.

⁸¹ *secundum hanc interpretationem illud (‘in uirtute’) refertur ad ‘Filium Dei’ ... Et propositio (in) significationem habet beth כִּי Hebraici quod interdum est comitis, quemadmodum etiam hic uertit Erasmus, loco (in) substituens (cum,) Filius Dei cum potentia, id est, pollens uirtute*, Sasbout 1575, p. 252b.

⁸² This seems to be Sasbout’s opinion; otherwise, a reference to Hebrew is meaningless. For instance, also in Phil. 1. 9 he writes in *omni scientia*) *id est, cum omni scientia: Hebraismus est*, Sasbout 1575, p. 382b [= 392b]. In any case, the question about Paul’s knowledge of Hebrew is not definitely solved yet. Cf. Sanders 2009.

about the translation of the verb ὀρίζω, which means *destinare*, *decernere*, *definire* or *praeфинire*.⁸³ Concerning Rom. 7. 3, Sasbout approved Erasmus' textual-critical choice, since it was in line with that of Augustine and Origen.⁸⁴ Concerning Rom. 12. 15 Sasbout explains the imperative value of the infinite verbs *gaudere* and *flere*, while Erasmus thinks that an *oportet* is implied.⁸⁵

In Gal. 6. 6, Sasbout simply reports Erasmus' comment on the verb *catecizo*, which 'our translator left untranslated',⁸⁶ being the Greek καταγγέω, so that the translator made a kind of transliteration of the Greek word. By contrast, in Phil. 1. 10, Sasbout underlines Erasmus' diverging interpretation in respect to that of the Church fathers regarding the word διαφέροντα, translated in Latin as *potiora*: Chrysostom and his disciples interpreted it as *utilia*, while Erasmus interpreted it as *praestantia*. However, Sasbout does not indicate his preference for one of these two possible connotations of διαφέροντα.⁸⁷

Regarding Eph. 4. 31, Sasbout admits that Erasmus '*non male uertit ira as tumor*'.⁸⁸ In Eph. 5. 6 and 5. 12, Sasbout considers Erasmus' translation as a possible reading, even admitting in the latter verse that the 'Greek ... not only admits that sense, but also clearly

⁸³ Erasmus Graecorum praefert ... nam uox Graeca ὀρίζειν ... quam noster reddidit interpres, quae est destinare, decernere, definire uel praeфинire ... Definienti uel (ut uertit Erasmus) praeфинienti statuta tempora et caetera, Sasbout 1575, p. 253a.

⁸⁴ Nam Apostolus in sequentibus semper ad hominis personam refert uerbum ('uiuit') numquam ad legem. Praeterea ostendens baptizatos liberos esse a legis dominatione, pro ratione adfert ipsos esse mortuos. Posteriorem hanc sententiam amplectitur Augustinus, priorem Origenes. Quae adeo placuit Erasmo ut etiam in uersione sua eam expresserit: sensus est: lex ius habet in hominem, ac potestatem, et auctoritatem exercet, quoad uiuit homo, non post mortem, Sasbout 1575, p. 293b.

⁸⁵ Gaudere cum gaudientibus etc.) Graeco more dixit interpres gaudere pro quade. Usurpant enim ipsi infinitum pro imperatiuo. Opinatur Erasmus quod subaudiant (oportet.), Sasbout 1575, p. 321b.

⁸⁶ Erasmus quemadmodum noster interpres uocem Graecam reliquit non uersam, Sasbout 1575, p. 387b-388a.

⁸⁷ Graeca uox διαφέροντα, quam noster interpres uertit potiora, duplicis significationis est: significat et utilia et praestantia. Priorem significationem amplexus est Chrysostomus cum suis: Posteriorem expressit Erasmus in suam translationem, Sasbout 1575, p. 393a.

⁸⁸ Ira autem est, quae furore restincto desiderat ultionem, et eum quem nocuisse putat, uult laedere Erasmus priorem uocem non male uertit tumorem, Sasbout 1575, p. 438b.

exhorts it'.⁸⁹ Moreover, Sasbout affirms that when in Col. 1. 4 Erasmus considers *audientes* a causal participle in analysing this verse, the *sensus non malus est*. In other words, Sasbout is here recognizing the value of Erasmus' interpretation.⁹⁰ About the letter of Judas, verse 22, Sasbout analyses the Greek διακρινόμενος, rendered as *iudicatos*, but which could be interpreted either in the active form *diiudicantes*, as explained in the Greek *scholia*, or in passive form, *diiudicamini*, as Erasmus preferred.⁹¹ Sasbout does not indicate his own preference on the matter, but by highlighting the difference, he shows the obvious impact of Erasmus' works on textual-critical scholarship.

Additionally, commenting on Paul's two letters to Timothy, Sasbout refers to the Dutch humanist. First, concerning I Tim. 2. 5, he approves of Erasmus' translation of μεσίτης as *conciliator* and *intercessor*.⁹² Then, with regard to I Tim. 3. 2-4 he twice agrees with Erasmus' reading: first the humanist *uertit ... recte διδακτικόν* as *aptum ad docendum* and, second, σεμνότης as *reuerentia*, which is one of the possible connotations of that Greek word.⁹³ With

⁸⁹ ('magis autem') *corrigentis est, imo potius, Graecis additur coniunctio, quam in sua uersione expressi Erasmus, habet enim sic: Quin ea potius etiam arguite ... Haec ista significatio placuit Erasmo. Nam ipse uertit: sed omnia prodita, a luce manifesta fiunt ... Graeci admittunt et hunc sensum: Haec uitia, quae modo repraehendendi, a lumine manifestantur, nec solum admittunt, sed et plane ad huc inuitant*, Sasbout 1575, p. 440b.

⁹⁰ *Postea quam audiuius fidem uestram narrante (secundum Chrysostomum) Epaphra uel certe quoniam audiuius, ut sit participium causale quod placuit Erasmo, et sensus non malus est*, Sasbout 1575, p. 450a.

⁹¹ 'Et hos quidem arguite iudicatos' uos qui ita uiuistis, ut nunc dixi, Gnosticos qui sunt insanabiles arguite, hoc est, prodite, siue in apertum proferte, manifestate omnibus impietatem ipsorum. Iudicatos. Graece est διακρινόμενος, id est diiudicantes, siue dum diiudicamini. Potest enim et actiue et passiuie accipi. Graeca scholia actiue exponunt. Si inquirunt, adhibito iudicio uestro faciant secessionem a uobis: quae faciunt pro nostro interprete, qui iudicatos supple a uobis. Erasmus passiuie accipit: nam uertit: dum diiudicamini, Sasbout 1575, p. 483b-484a.

⁹² Erasmus putat recte transferri uocem Graecam, quae est μεσίτης, si quis dicat conciliatorem, uel intercessorem, Sasbout 1575, p. 490a. The printer wrongly wrote μεζίτης in place of μεσίτης.

⁹³ ('doctorem') Graecam uocem uertit Erasmus *aptum ad docendum, et recte: nam est διδακτικόν*, Sasbout 1575, p. 481b [= 493b]; ('filios habentes subditos cum omni castitate') siue ('ut Erasmus uertit') *reuerentia*: Graece est σεμνότης, quae uox multa significat, uidelicet grauitatem, reuerentiam, pudorem, liberalem et ingenium. Vult ergo Paulus ullum institui Episcopum, qui filios habeat morigeros, et liberali praeditis pudore, qui moribus compositis educationem patris sanctam comprobentaliis, Sasbout 1575, p. 494a.

respect to I Tim. 5. 23, Sasbout simply reports that Erasmus translated *μηκέτι* as *nec post hac*, in place of *noli adhuc*.⁹⁴ In the second letter to Timothy, Erasmus' name appears three times, first at II Tim. 2. 1-2: *tu ergo fili mi confortare in gratia quae est in Christo Iesu et quae audisti a me per multos testes haec commenda fidelibus hominibus qui idonei erunt et alios docere*. As Sasbout explains, the Greek codices generally split the sentence into two clauses: the first clause ends at *per multos testes*, and the second starts at *haec commenda*. The Latin codices, by contrast, split the sentence after *in Christo Iesu*: the new clause starts in that case at *et quae audisti*, which is to be linked to the verb *commenda*. Erasmus prefers the former Greek tradition, while Chrysostom went with the Latin codices: once again, Sasbout underlines the difference of opinion between the humanist and the Church father, but he avoids giving his own reading.⁹⁵

A few verses later, at II Tim. 2. 4, Sasbout is dubious about the reading *cui/ qui* in the sentence *ut ei placeat, cui se probabit*. Erasmus reads *ut ei, qui se in militiam delegit, placeat*, which is closer to the Greek sources. Sasbout therefore infers that, possibly, the *interpres* actually translated *ut ei placeat, qui se probabit*, but then the copyist erroneously changed *qui* to *cui*. To solve this problem, Sasbout argues, an appeal to the ancient Latin codices is necessary.⁹⁶ It is interesting to note that in this case, Sasbout distances himself from the (Henten's) Vulgate, following Erasmus instead, who was closer to the Greek. At II Tim. 3. 5, Sasbout reports that Erasmus translated the Greek *δύναμις* as *uis*;

⁹⁴ 'Noli adhuc aquam bibere') pro noli adhuc Graece est *μηκέτι*, quod Erasmus uertit, *nec post hac*, Sasbout 1575, p. 501b.

⁹⁵ 'Et quae audisti a me.') Locum hunc aliter distinguunt Graeci codices, aliter Latini. Iuxta Graecos ibi (per multos testes'), perfecta est periodus et principium nouae periodi ibi est: ('haec commenda'). Iuxta Latinos uero finitur periodus ibi ('in Christo Iesu'), et quod sequitur ('quae audisti a me') refertur ad uerbum, *commenda*. Iuxta priorem distinctionem subaudiendum est ('in his') quod in translatione sua expressit Erasmus uertit enim ad hunc modum: Tu ergo fili mi, fortis esto in gratia, quae est in Christo Iesu et in his quae audisti a me per multos testes. Latino-rum distinctionem sequitur Chrysostomus, Sasbout 1575, p. 509b.

⁹⁶ 'ut placeat ei, cui se probauit') id est, duci et imperatori exercitus, siue ille, qui agit delectum. Erasmus uertit, ut ei, qui se in militiam delegit, placeat: Atque ad eum modum habent Graeca, Unde magna suspicio est interpretem uertisse: non, cui, sed qui se probauit. Consulenda sunt uetusta exemplaria, Sasbout 1575, p. 509b.

in effect, the Vulgate translation *uirtus* could be misunderstood, since it might be the translation of ἀρετή, rather than δύναμις itself.⁹⁷ Once again, Sasbout prefers Erasmus' translation *uis* over the 'traditional' reading *uirtus* of the Vulgate. The final mention of Erasmus' name in Sasbout's work comes at Tit. 1. 10, where he simply reports that Erasmus translated as *intractabiles* the Greek ἀνυπότακτοι, in place of *inobedientes*.⁹⁸

Conclusion:
The Louvain Franciscan Reception of Erasmus:
Between Acceptance and Rejection

As I have shown in these pages, Zegers and Sasbout knew the work of Erasmus quite well, and I would say, they appreciated theoretically his textual-critical approach: to go *ad fontes*, in order to emend the New Testament (and of course all of Scripture), using the 'original' languages to better illuminate the real meaning of the text. However, in practice, Erasmus' works could not be considered as completely trustworthy for three main reasons: (1) he did not give due importance to the readings handed down by the Church fathers, either Greek or Latin; (2) he gave readings that sometimes betray erroneous doctrines; (3) he used unreliable Greek sources. Concerning the first reason, Sasbout in several instances shows the weakness of Erasmus' arguments by referring to Chrysostom, Origen, Theophylact, Oecumenius, Jerome, Gregory of Nazianzus, or other Church fathers. Zegers does the same thing when criticizing Henry van Grave, because he does not refer to the Church fathers, preferring to rely on Erasmus' work instead. Thus, the humanist did not base himself on the solid tradition of the Church, either Greek or Latin, in emending the New Testament.

⁹⁷ 'Habentem speciem quidem pietatis') *Pro specie, Paulus habet μορῶσιν, quod perinde sonat, quasi dicat, formationem. Notat eos, qui dictis norunt praescribere aliis, quomodo debeant uiuere pie, cum ipsi diuersa sequantur. Virtus huius loci non est ἀρετή, sed δύναμις. Unde Erasmus uertit, habentes formam pietatis, cum uim eius abnegarint. Sensus est: id, in quo sita est pietas Christiana, abiiciunt, ut amorem, spem et c.*, Sasbout 1575, p. 515b.

⁹⁸ ('inhobedientes') *Graece est ἀνυπότακτοι id est qui in ordinem cogi nolunt: Erasmus uertit intractabiles*, Sasbout 1575, p. 524b.

Strictly linked to this first reason is the second; indeed – argues Sasbout – Erasmus wrongly interprets some key passages with a strong doctrinal value, like Rom. 5. 12, Eph. 5. 32 and Phil. 2. 7. However, if Erasmus had appealed to the Church fathers rather than giving his own idiosyncratic interpretation, he would never have misunderstood the genuine meaning of the Scriptures. Regarding the third reason, Zegers recalls that the ‘less ancient’ Greek codices – those used by Erasmus in his work –, are less reliable than Latin manuscripts, which handed down the text of the Vulgate, but which the humanist showed little appreciation of. Moreover, Sasbout exposes another limit to Erasmus’ textual criticism of the New Testament: the humanist does not know Hebrew, whose expressions are conveyed in Paul’s use of Greek. Without the knowledge of Hebrew, the scholar who analyses the New Testament has no access to the genuine meaning of the text.

Nevertheless, both Zegers and Sasbout also showed an appreciation for Erasmus’ work. This is mainly true in Zegers’ case; indeed, he refers extensively to the humanist both in his *Scholion* and in his *Castigationes*, where he virtually never disagrees with Erasmus, though in places where the humanist did not distance himself from the reading of the Vulgate. By contrast, Sasbout in his *Explicatio* showed many places in which Erasmus has to be criticized (*merito reprobatur Erasmus*), but the Franciscan also showed when the humanist correctly translated the New testament (*non male uertit*), sometimes even preferring Erasmus’ translation to the traditional reading of the Vulgate, as in II Tim. 2. 4 and II Tim. 3. 5. It seems, therefore, that both Franciscans considered Erasmus’ scholarship useful, or at least ‘not to be damned’, as maintained by their common master Titelmans. However, this should not be taken to mean that his work is free of error. On the contrary, it must be corrected after a careful analysis of others sources, namely more reliable manuscripts and the works of the Church fathers.

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Abstract

This article deals with the reception of Erasmus' textual critical scholarship at the Louvain Franciscan Study House. The aim of this contribution is to fill a conspicuous gap in the contemporary literature on this interesting topic. Following Sartori's articles on Frans Titelmans (2008; 2005 and 2003), the literature has paid no attention to the Louvain Franciscan *studium theologicum*, which showed particular interests in Erasmus' work on the New Testament. I will focus on two largely unknown Franciscans, Nicholas Tacitus Zegers and Adam Sasbout, both disciples of Frans Titelmans, and analyze the references they make to Erasmus in their textual critical works. As would be expected from disciples of Titelmans, both men were sharply critical of Erasmus, but surprisingly, they were also appreciative of his work.

DANIEL JAMES (FR. BENEDICT) FISCHER

THE IMPACT OF ERASMUS ON THE 1614 PAULINE COMMENTARY OF CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, S.J.*

Cornelius a Lapide (Cornelis Cornelissen van den Steen) (1567-1637) was a Jesuit from the Habsburg Low Countries. Virtually unknown today and little studied, he was one of the most prolific and re-printed Bible exegetes of the Early-Modern Era. For at least ten generations Catholic seminaries used his commentaries for clergy formation throughout the world. These same commentaries then became go-to guides for preachers writing biblically based homilies. His influence on post-Tridentine Catholicism, though inconspicuous, is incalculable. This essay will examine a selection of Cornelius a Lapide's references to Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) in his 1614 commentary on the Pauline Epistles, *Commentaria in omnes Diui Pauli Epistolas* (every letter from Romans to Hebrews) and uncover three ways in which the great humanist scholar impacted A Lapide's philological studies and theological apologetic.

We use the Pauline commentary here because it is A Lapide's first commentary and contains the highest density of clear references to Erasmus, in fact one could make a sustained argument that in 1614 Erasmus was one of A Lapide's primary theological adversaries; certainly A Lapide takes the work of Erasmus very seriously. A Lapide's Pauline commentary is also roughly 100 years out (98 to be exact) from the 1516 publication of *Nouum Instrumentum*, so in light of this historical distance, we will consider

* Profound thanks to Prof. Wim François, Prof. H. J. de Jonge and Fr. Terrence Kardong, OSB for their lucid feedback and translation assistance on an earlier version of this essay.

the stereotyping of Erasmus as a caricature or ‘straw man’ among both the Jesuit Order and geographical area of the Southern Netherlands (i.e. Louvain and its environs) out of which A Lape was working. Then we will look at three ways Erasmus makes an impact on A Lape’s scholarship: first, listed with others; second, philologically; and third, theologically. We begin with a brief introduction to A Lape’s Bible scholarship and context.

Cornelius a Lape published his Pauline Letters commentary while working from the Jesuit study house in Louvain in 1614;¹ presumably he tackled the Pauline Letters first because the theological climate made it most pressing and pertinent for the needs of the time.² A commentary on the Pentateuch followed in 1616. Pope Paul V then called A Lape from Louvain to Rome where he would spend the rest of his life, teaching and eventually given full leave to write biblical commentaries.³ After moving to Rome A Lape published no commentary for 5 years. Then in 1621-1622 he released two massive Old Testament commentaries, the first on Jeremiah, Lamentations and Baruch, the second on the ‘Four Major Prophets’. He continued to write and publish a major line-by-line biblical commentary every three to seven years until his death in 1637 (see above note): the Twelve Minor Prophets in 1625, Acts of the Apostles / Canonical Epistles / Revelation

¹ Tension between the University of Louvain and the Jesuits prevented the Order from establishing a proper college there. See Roegiers 2012; François 2012.

² **First editions:** Antwerp publishers Martin Nutius, Jacob Meursius and their heirs released the premiere editions of A Lape’s commentaries in this order: *Commentaria in omnes D. Pauli epistolas*, Antwerp, 1614. *Commentaria in Pentateuchum Moysis*, Antwerp, 1616. [Move to Rome]. *Commentaria in Jeremiam Prophetam, Threnos et Baruch*, Antwerp, 1621. *Commentaria in quatuor Prophetas Maiores*, Antwerp, 1622. *Commentaria in duodecim Prophetas Minores*, Antwerp, 1625. *Commentaria in Acta Apostolorum, Epistolas Canonicas et Apocalypsin*, Antwerp, 1627. *Commentaria in Ecclesiasticum*, Antwerp, 1634. *Commentaria in Salomonis Prouerbia*, Antwerp, 1635. [d. March 12, 1637 Posthumous]. *Commentaria in Ecclesiasten, Canticum canticorum et Librum Sapientiae*, Antwerp, 1638. *Commentaria in Quattuor Euangelia* (2 vols), Antwerp, 1639. *Commentarius in Josue, Judicum, Ruth, II and IV Libros Regum Paralipomenon* (2 vols), Antwerp, 1639. *Commentaria in Josue, Judicum, Ruth, I Regum*, Antwerp, 1642. *Commentaria in II, III, IV Regum, I, II Paralipomenon*, Antwerp, 1642. *Commentaria in Esdram, Nehemiam, Tobiam, Judith, Esther, et Machabeos*, Antwerp, 1645.

³ This move to Rome also coincided with the transfer of power in Jesuit Generals (long-reigning Claudio Aquaviva to Mutio Vitelleschi), but I’ve not seen a connection mentioned.

in 1627, Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) in 1634 and Proverbs in 1635. However, no printing house published his Gospel commentaries until the posthumous edition of 1639, which serves as a kind of capstone to his long years as a Bible scholar. More posthumous commentaries followed, primarily on the wisdom and historical books, and by 1645 all the canonical books save Psalms and Job were represented by an A Lapede commentary; all of them were reprinted and re-edited numerous times, both separately and collectively. The first set was produced in ten folio volumes in 1681 (43 years after his death) and republished continually as a set by major printing houses throughout Europe for more than 200 years.⁴ If one judges by reprints, sets of A Lapede's Bible commentaries were the most successful in their genre, making their way around the globe through the vast Jesuit missionary outreach (existing even in North Dakota, USA). And here we find a very large, unexamined, unevaluated corpus of original Latin texts that had a profound but discreet influence as seminary references and pulpit aids for over 300 years. When one takes stock of the entire body of A Lapede's work, particularly in its 'set' form, one might wonder where to begin, so it's important to recognize that A Lapede's *opera omnia* is not a monolith; there are strategies for an efficient approach.

First, although an A Lapede set is published in canonical order, he did not begin his career with Genesis and die while finishing Revelation; his earliest commentaries are on Paul's Epistles. So if one wishes to study the evolution of A Lapede as a biblical scholar, he or she might begin with the Pauline commentaries (1614) and

⁴ **Reprints/sets:** A Lapede's most important reprints and sets are catalogued in Noll 2003, along with more extensive biographical information. Noll cites these as the most important editions: *Opera omnia*, Antwerp, 1681 (10 vols); Venice 1717 (11 vols); Turin 1838 (12 vols); Paris 1840-1846 (11 vols); Paris 1858-1863 (21 vols, with 3 Supplements and annotations by Crampon & Peronne, used for this paper); Lyons, 1865-1866 (20 vols); Paris, 1874 (26 vols). Latest Latin edition of the Gospels, Turin, 1935 (4 vols) and the letters of Paul, Turin, 1928-1930 (3 vols), edited by A. Padovani. Alexander Street Press has also provided transcriptions of the Pauline epistles (Antwerp, 1635 ed.), Pentateuch (Antwerp, 1714 ed.) and Gospels (Antwerp, 1732 ed.) commentaries on a searchable database, the Digital Library of the Catholic Reformation (DLCR) (also used for this paper). For an exhaustive listing of A Lapede's works and their editions prior to 1859 see the 15 columns of De Backer 1859, p. 413-421).

end with his posthumous works on the historical and wisdom books (through 1645). A Lapidé is remarkably consistent theologically, so his later commentaries (such as the 1639 Gospels) become replete with references to previously published commentaries because he never revised or retracted his earlier work. The Pauline commentary, vols XVIII and XIX of the Ludovicus Vivès Paris edition (1858-1863) used here, sets the standard and is an excellent entry point. The second approach is a two-volume index ascribed to Joseph-Maxence [J.M.] Péronne in 1878 (supplementing later editions of the Paris set).⁵ This *Memoriale Praedicatorum* is by no means exhaustive, but is an effective way to establish a foothold on the 21 volumes. The index entry for 'Erasmus' contains 22 citations all within the New Testament commentaries. The majority of them (17 of 22) are concentrated in the earlier Louvain phase of A Lapidé's career, primarily in the Pauline commentary.⁶ However, the two-volume index only

⁵ Péronne 1878.

⁶ Citations of Erasmus listed in Péronne's two-volume Paris set index of A Lapidé's *Opera Omnia* (Pauline commentary in bold; entries for two different volumes separated and listed singly e.g. '*Arianismi noui semina iecit*' in vols XV and XVII).

XV, 365, 2 – *Arianismi noui semina iecit*.

XVII, 371, 1 [Act. 20. 28] – *Arianismi noui semina iecit*.

XVIII, 4, 2 [*Prooemium de Praerogatiuis S. Pauli*] – *Asserit scriptores sacros interdum memoria lapsos*.

XVIII, 32, 2 [*Interpretes Epistolarum S. Pauli* (3,2 citation incorrect in Pauline index – vol. XIX, pg 560)] – *Erasmus Roterodamus de uariis fidei articulis dubie loquens oua posuit quae postea Lutherus et noui Ariani excluserunt*.

XVIII, 42, 2 [Rom. 1. 5] – *Apostolatus dignitatem carpit*.

XVIII, 97, 1 [Rom. 5. 12]; 99, 2 [Rom. 5. 12] – *Uiam strauit Pelagianis et Zuinglianis*.

XVIII, 97, 2 [Rom. 5. 12] – *Concilium Mileuitanum sugillat*.

XVIII, 304, 2 [I Cor. 7. 9] – *Eius impudentia de uirginibus sugillatur*.

XVIII, 359, 2 [I Cor. 11. 24]; 363, 1 [I Cor 11. 24] – *Attamen se uelle discerpi pro Eucharistiae ueritate dixit*.

XVIII, 360, 2 [I Cor. 11. 24] – *Eius efficax pro ea argumentum*.

XIX, 23, 1 [Phil. 2. 6] – *Erasmus Roterodamus de uariis fidei articulis dubie loquens oua posuit quae postea Lutherus et noui Ariani excluserunt*.

XIX, 220, 1 [I Tim. 3. 16] – *Omnia Scriptura loca de Christi diuinitate agentia aut enervat, aut detorquet*.

XIX, 339, 2 [Tit. 3. 10-11] – *Eius indocta impostura de haereticis de medio tollendis*.

XIX, 339, 2 [Tit. 3. 10-11] – *Eius in theologos sarcasmus*.

XIX, 360, 1 [Hebr. 1. 8] – *Eius de Christi diuinitate insulsa dubitatio in loco lucidissimo*.

appears to include discussion points or substantial references and may even be compiled from older indexes of commentary 'blocks' on several biblical books whose *editio princeps* were published together (e.g. Pentateuch, Pauline Letters, Gospels). The third approach is a digital keyword search of a limited number of his commentaries, which only in recent days has become possible (not only for A Lapidé, but Erasmus and many others) in the form of the *Digital Library of the Catholic Reformation* (DLCR). Here Alexander Street Press has done a tremendous service in publishing hand-keyed transcriptions of A Lapidé's Pauline, Pentateuch and Gospels commentaries for their DLCR project. In a DLCR search of A Lapidé's Pauline commentary Erasmus citations jump from 17 in Péronne's index to 249 in-text mentions (compared to a mere 11 times in the 1639 Gospels commentaries and only once in the 1616 Pentateuch commentary).⁷

When citing Erasmus, A Lapidé most often does not give the name (much less the edition) of the work he is using. It is clear that A Lapidé is using an edition of the *Annotationes* published after 1522. However there is some confusion after that, for he seems to be aware of the changes in 1527 (e.g. an addition to Tit. 3. 10 – see below), with the notable exception of Erasmus' 1527 revision of *propter unum* at Rom. 5. 12. It stands to reason that a panoply of Erasmus' writings was available at the Louvain Jesuit house where A Lapidé was working (not to mention other libraries and archives in the area), so he is very likely referencing an edition from 1535 or later, but A Lapidé does not address Erasmus' 1527 clarification that 'on account of one man' (*prop-*

XIX, 443, 2 [Hebr. 9. 20]; 444, 2 – *Eius sententia de Epistola ad Hebraeos reiiicitur*

XX, 433, 1 [I Petr. 1. 19] – *Eius expositio de propheta Deo Patre exploditur.*

XX, 514, 2 [I Ioh. 1. 1] – *Filium Dei perperam uocat sermonem.*

XX, 625, 2 [I Ioh. 5. 20] – *Arianizat pene ubique.*

⁷ Indexes and notes not included.

Why Erasmus references dropped so sharply between 1614 and 1639 is a matter of conjecture. The one citation in Pentateuch is clear enough: Erasmus did not comment on it. Two guesses about the dramatic decrease in citations in the Gospels commentary are that either A Lapidé felt that he had covered the necessary ground in the Pauline commentary or that Erasmus was no longer seen as a real influence (or threat) in the 1630s; a third factor could be regional, that the influence of Erasmus was felt more strongly in Louvain than in Rome (where A Lapidé spent the second half of his career).

ter unum) was a publication mistake and should have always been ‘through one man’ (*per unum*) (see below). So there is a question of whether A Lapide was using a pre-1527 edition for this comment.

In any case, if A Lapide references an Erasmian source other than the *Annotationes*, such as an edition of the Church fathers (e.g. St Cyprian’s commentary on I Corinthians) or one of Erasmus’ epistles, A Lapide will give an inexact, generic reference (e.g. ‘in a letter to Louis Beer...’). However A Lapide’s quotes of Erasmus are consistently close to verbatim and can all be located in Brill publications series *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, Ordinis Sexti* (VI/7, 9, 10), hereafter ASD.⁸ Let us now begin our short tour of A Lapide’s Pauline commentary and how Erasmus impacted it.

‘Interpretes Epistolarum’

We find the first significant mention of Erasmus in A Lapide’s introductory section *Interpretes Epistolarum Sancti Pauli*, a kind of *status quaestionis* of Pauline interpretation up to 1614.⁹ And we can see from the outset that A Lapide will make a definite distinction between Erasmus the philologist and Erasmus the theologian:

*Habet & Erasmus hic suas annotationes, grammaticales saepe, quibus uarias lectiones atque uim & significationem Graecae dictionis expendit. Verum de nonnullis fidei articulis, uti de diuinitate Filii, de descensu Christi ad inferos, de processione Spiritus Sancti à Patre & Filio, de peccato originali, de confessione sacramentali, dubiè & ambiguè loquitur, ouaque ponit quae postea Lutherus & Ariani excluserunt.*¹⁰

⁸ I have also referenced P. Allen’s edition of the epistles (Allen) and used the English translations of *Annotations on Romans* from the *Collected Works of Erasmus* (CWE 56).

⁹ This very interesting section also gives a substantial piece (419 words) to the ‘Ambrosiaster’ commentary from which Erasmus often builds his arguments (although Erasmus is not mentioned as the one who first questioned its authorship). We will look at the dynamics of ‘Ambrose’ and Erasmus below in the commentary on Phil. 2. 6.

¹⁰ CSS XVIII, p. 32b (all translations mine unless otherwise indicated).

Erasmus here too has his annotations, often grammatical, which expound various readings and the Greek word meaning and purpose. Nevertheless with regard to several articles of the faith [i.e. theology], such as the divinity of the Son, the descent of Christ into Hell, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, original sin and sacramental confession, his dubious and ambiguous speech lays eggs which afterward Luther and the [new] Arians hatched.

Throughout this essay we will find that A Lapide has a strategy of challenging Erasmus on his own ground, using philology for the philologist, and theology for the theologian in a kind of 'rhetorical equivalence'.¹¹ A Lapide brings the same 'apples-to-apples' method in his use of theological '*auctoritates*', never engaging Erasmus with arguments from scholastic theologians, but with the same Church fathers that Erasmus uses. In other words, when Erasmus makes a point using 'Ambrose' A Lapide responds by appealing to 'Ambrose', never Anselm or Aquinas.

A Lapide's overall position on Erasmus is quite circumspect. Although he clearly appreciates, indeed frequently employs, Erasmus' text-critical work, he does not give credit to Erasmus' industry and brilliance because he (A Lapide) has much deeper underlying concerns about the unresolved theological problems Erasmus left in his wake. One hundred years after the *Nouum Instrumentum* and its *Annotationes*, the hardworking Jesuit sees himself picking up the pieces of a broken Church. So A Lapide's first mention of Erasmus also lists a theological program through which he will confront Erasmus, we will examine two of those instances below, specifically the cases of original sin (Rom. 5. 12) and the divinity of the Son (Phil. 2. 6). A Lapide closes the list by alluding to the famous 'hatched egg' analogy 'that once studied the sermons of a Catholic priest who wished [...] to express vividly his conviction that Erasmus started the Reformation'.¹² In his own time Erasmus protested with characteristic wit, 'I laid a hen's egg; Luther hatched a bird of quite a different breed'.¹³

¹¹ Erika Rummel examines the evolution of Erasmus 'From Philologist to Theologian' in her excellent book on the *Annotationes* (Rummel 1986). Rummel's book contains little to no 'filler' and I have found myself returning to it often.

¹² Smith 1923/62, p. 209.

¹³ LB III, 840 quoted in Smith 1923/62, p. 209.

But nearly a century later the analogy is alive and well, and, as we will see below, this is not the only ‘hatched egg’ reference in the Pauline commentary; A Lapide indeed believed that Erasmus’ scholarship produced wide-ranging upheaval in the form of the Reformation.

The short *Interpres* mention also establishes A Lapide’s tone toward Erasmus. It corresponds closely to that of other Jesuits of his time although it is perhaps less severe than Possevino or Bellarmine.¹⁴ The Jesuits tend to exhibit a united front toward Erasmus at the turn of the seventeenth century. Their position is summed up well in the remark of Peter Canisius:

*Nam reuera postquam Erasmus Theologum agere coepit, abusus ille ingenio, nimium sibi tribuit ac sumpsit: Tum uerborum quam rerum studiosior, seuerum se praeiuit saepe Aristarchum, ubi nihil erat necesse.*¹⁵

When Erasmus began to play the theologian, he took on something beyond his powers and trusted too much in his own judgment; he was more attentive to words than to realities and often proved himself unnecessarily severe and hypercritical.

This also appears to be an accurate reflection of A Lapide’s attitude. In his wide-ranging study *Phoenix of his Age: Interpretations of Erasmus*, Bruce Mansfield devotes several pages to the growing severity of 2nd generation Jesuit criticism of Erasmus. Beginning with Pedro Ribadeneira’s famous remark in his *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* that ‘the reading of [Erasmus’ *Enchiridion* in his student days] chilled the spirit of God in [Ignatius] and gradually extin-

¹⁴ Hopefully this essay will help clarify the ambiguous claim of Nellen & Bloemendal that, while willing to reproach Erasmus, A Lapide ‘judges Erasmus rather positively’ and ‘quotes Erasmus’s translation [of James 2. 1] (“*ex opinione*”) and agrees with his justification in the *Annotationes*, **because, in his eyes, it is authoritative**’ (Nellen & Bloemendal 2016, p. 616 – emphasis mine). I’m not quite sure what ‘in his eyes’ means, but my findings indicate that A Lapide most certainly did not see Erasmus’ translation as authoritative. For their part Nellen & Bloemendal merely chose A Lapide ‘at random’ as an example of a seventeenth century Roman Catholic author and did not examine him in any depth. They are referencing his 1627 commentary on the Catholic Epistles.

¹⁵ P. Canisius, *D. Hieronymi Stridonensis epistolae selectae ... a vii*’, quoted and translated in Mansfield 1979, p. 50.

guished the ardour of devotion'.¹⁶ Ribadeneira's biography was published in the late 1560s (Ignatius died in 1556) and in the judgment of scholar John C. Olin it

embod[ies] an attitude toward Erasmus and a handling of the delicate problem of Ignatius and Erasmus more in keeping with the anti-Erasmian spirit of the Counter Reformation, that is of the time in which it was written, than with the actual facts of the case.¹⁷

Although there is some evidence of appreciation among the early Jesuits for Erasmus' work, Mansfield's study pulls one toward the conclusion that stereotyping of Erasmus as a good philologist and a reckless theologian began in the second generation of Jesuits.

However, in another section of *Interpretations of Erasmus*, Mansfield examines how 2nd generation reception of Erasmus in the southern Netherlands is more tempered, 'critical but not especially hostile or bitter'.¹⁸ For example, Franciscus Sweertius' (1567-1619) compilation *Athenae Belgicae* characterizes Erasmus as 'a great man, the light of the Netherlands, a miracle of nature, the phoenix of his age ... [who] spoke too freely on theological subjects'.¹⁹ A Lapede, formed by the scholarship of Louvain after growing up in nearby Bocholt, seems to convey this sympathy (albeit to a lesser extent). He does not go so far as a 'miracle of nature' moniker, but for the most part, A Lapede's Pauline commentary shows this same 'critical but not especially hostile' bent toward Erasmus, and in this regard he is perhaps more 'Lowlander' than Jesuit (at least during his time in Louvain). Although A Lapede's remarks will sometimes catch fire, he generally maintains a cool perspective and affability when evaluating the scholarship of Erasmus, even using the Humanist as a theological ally at one exceptional point (I Cor. 11. 24).

We will now turn to the commentaries themselves and look at three ways Erasmus is present: 1. Cited with others, 2. Philological, and 3. Theological.

¹⁶ Mansfield 1979, p. 48.

¹⁷ John C. Olin, 'Erasmus and St Ignatius Loyola', p. 116, quoted in Mansfield 1979, p. 48.

¹⁸ Mansfield 1979, p. 47.

¹⁹ Mansfield 1979, p. 47-48.

1. *Erasmus as Part of a List of Names*

As noted above, A Lapide references Erasmus 249 times in his Pauline commentary.²⁰ This number takes into account all the times Erasmus is named, but he is very often listed with two or three others. Erasmus' most frequent companion through the commentary is the French Hebrew scholar Vatablus (Francois Vatable †1547).²¹ In the *Interpretes Epistolarum* noted above, A Lapide places his description of Vatablus immediately after Erasmus, listed not as a heretic, but as one on whom the heretics rely:

*Vatablus Catholicus fuit, sed eius scripta ab haereticis excusa & deprauata sunt: alioqui uir ipse fuit egregie doctus, tam in Hebraeis, quam in Graecis. Acute litteram breuiterque persequitur: sed saepe à nostro Interprete diuersus est. Habet enim ipse propriam uersionem, uel potius uersionem Tigurinam Leonis Hebraei.*²²

Vatablus was a Catholic, but his writings are printed and distorted by the heretics: he was otherwise an eminently learned man, both in Hebrew and in Greek. He follows the literal meaning acutely and briefly: but he often differs from our translator [Jerome]. Indeed he has his own version, or rather the *Tigurinam Leonis* [Zurich version of Leo Jud].

Using the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate (SC-V – *Editio typica* 1598) as his base A Lapide will often list Erasmus and Vatablus together throughout the commentary when giving Latin variations for a scriptural text.²³ This generally occurs in a value-neutral way to nuance the original Greek.²⁴ For example in his commentary on Gal. 1. 4:²⁵ *qui dedit semetipsum pro peccatis nostris, ut eriperet nos*

²⁰ Indexes and notes not included.

²¹ A good recent article on Vatablus' work and context is Wursten 2011.

²² CSS XVIII, p. 33b.

²³ Vatablus is cited 259 times in the Pauline commentary.

²⁴ I categorized this nuancing as 'value neutral', although it is *ipso facto* a positive use or tacit agreement with Erasmus, considering that his idea is worth using at all.

²⁵ At this point it may be worth noting that Erasmus' *Annotationes* went through 4 editions and often heavy revision. The 1516 edition at 294 folio pages had almost doubled by 1519, and the final 1535 edition was 783 folio pages (Bentley 1983, p. 123). For this essay all Latin quotes from the *Annotationes* are

de praesenti saeculo nequam, secundum voluntatem Dei et Patris nostri (S-CV).²⁶ A Lapidé lists Erasmus with Jerome, Augustine and Vatablus when discussing the use of the Latin indeclinable *nequam* for rendering the Greek πονηροῦ. Here A Lapidé:

*Nota. Pro 'nequam', graecè est πονηροῦ, quod S. Hieron. uertit, 'malo'; August. 'maligno'; Erasmus, 'uersuto', uel 'misero' & 'laborioso'; Vatablus, 'aerumnoso', maximè scilicet ob peccata, quae admittimus in praesenti uita, quae tot peccandi occasiones habet, cùm futura uita & saeculum, ad quod nos ducit Christus, à peccato sit immune & impeccabile.*²⁷

Note that the word here rendered *evil* in the Greek, πονηροῦ, is rendered by S. Jerome *bad*, by Augustine *great* [*sic. wicked*], by Erasmus *crafty* or *miserable* or *full of toils*, by Vatablus *wearisome*, especially on account of sins committed in this present life, which affords so many occasions of sin; whereas the future world, to which Christ is leading us, is free from sin and is altogether pure.²⁸

We often find Erasmus in orthodox company when he is listed with others (i.e. Jerome and Augustine). However, A Lapidé does not appear to have an overt ideology in his choice of transla-

from ASD. After footnoting the English translation of the scripture verse I will give Erasmus' original annotation (or excerpts of it) in Latin, along with the ASD notation scheme to show the strata of different editions: thus: *A* = 1516 *B* = 1519; *C* = 1522; *D* = 1527; *E* = 1535. Reeve & Screech also have a published facsimile of the *Annotationes* with a different notation system to show the edition strata; although, as de Jonge has demonstrated, it is not 'as full, accurate and trustworthy as it should be' (de Jonge 1991, p. 113).

²⁶ Who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present wicked world, according to the will of God our Father (Gal. 1. 4 – DRB)

ERASMUS ANNOTATION GAL. 1. 4: [A] *De praesenti saeculo. ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος, id est, 'ex instanti'.*

Quanquam id Graeci nonnunquam praesens appellant. Quod hic uertit 'nequam', Ambrosius [B] et Augustinus [A] legit 'maligno' [B], et [A] Hieronymus 'malo'; Graece est πονηροῦ, quod & 'uersutum' significat et 'miserum ac laboriosum'. [D] Malum autem uocat hoc saeculum ad comparationem seculi futuri. [B] Augustinus pro 'eriperet', legit 'eximeret' in commentariis huius epistolae (ASD VI/9, p. 54, l. 11-16).

²⁷ CSS XVIII, p. 517a.

²⁸ Translation from *The Great Commentary of Cornelius a Lapidé* (1891-1896) (hereafter 'Cobb trans.').

N.B. Cobb has translated Augustine's *maligno* as 'great'. For more on the limited English translations of A Lapidé (Gospels, I-III Ioh., I & II Cor., Gal.) see Fischer, François, Gerace, & Murray 2020.

tors, but is simply showing the variety of renderings, indeed he merely builds on Erasmus' original comparisons with the addition of Vatablus (and Erasmus himself). Interestingly when A Lapide presents Erasmus as part of a list he almost never aligns him with his (Erasmus') inspiration Lorenzo Valla (2 times). Valla himself is only mentioned five times in A Lapide's entire work.²⁹ We'll now turn to the second impact Erasmus has on A Lapide, namely the hermeneutics of the literal meaning.

2. *Philology / Literal Meaning*

Erasmus was, in theory, a practical man and the focus of his biblical scholarship almost always held its gravity around fostering the spiritual transformation of individual Christian lives. This interior formation happened through reliance on Scripture and classical literature over (and at times against) religious ceremonies.³⁰ 'External worship is not condemned', he wrote in his *Enchiridion*, 'but God is pleased only by the inward piety of the worshipper'.³¹ Erasmus called this spiritual/ethical program *philosophia Christi*, and, when applied to A Lapide's interpretive matrix of 'four-fold' sense, is most aptly connected to a tropological, or moral interpretation of the Scriptures.

This primacy of the moral is evident in the structure Erasmus gives to the most systematic treatise he wrote on his method of interpretation, the *Ratio uerae theologiae* (1518). 'God speaks to us truly and efficaciously in the sacred books to the extent that he spoke to Moses from the burning bush', writes Erasmus, 'only if we come to the conversation with pure minds'.³²

Late in his career Erasmus had come to see a possibility for tropological meaning in every scriptural text. Reventlow points out

²⁹ For detailed analysis of Erasmus' use of Classical, Patristic and Medieval sources see Rummel 1986, p. 35-88.

³⁰ An interesting take on how Erasmus came to see the *philosophia Christi* as 'fundamentally incompatible with Paul's insistence on faith as cornerstone of the human relationship with God' is found in Greta Kroeker's conclusions to *Erasmus in the Footsteps of Paul* (Kroeker 2011, p. 139-140).

³¹ Smith 1923/62, p. 54.

³² Rabil 1993, p. 103. Quote from *Ratio uerae theologiae* (Holborn, p. 179).

that Erasmus' later essay *Ecclesiastes siue concionator euangelicus* 'sets forth [both] his most extensive discussion of the allegorical method' (ASD V/5, p. 159-260) along with his claim that 'the entire scriptures can be interpreted so (morally); "there is never not a place for tropology"' (ASD V/5, p. 256).³³ So it is important to note that his desire to uncover the tropological meaning was a kind of 'super-objective' that *preceded* Erasmus' search for the literal meaning. So here we have an important distinction in priority: A Lapede sees Erasmus' greatest value in his philology, applied to the literal sense of the text, and references him frequently for this reason; however, in Erasmus' eyes, the literal sense of the text is only important to the extent that it uncovers the tropological sense. Indeed Erasmus also encouraged allegorical interpretation of the Church fathers in pursuit of *philosophia Christi*. Albert Rabil, Jr. demonstrates that Erasmus' earlier writing (e.g. the 1501 *Enchiridion*)

emphasized allegory almost exclusively as a method of interpretation, for through allegory he found a means by which he could place the classical literature he loved in the service of religion.³⁴

Despite some reservations about 'over-allegorizing' Erasmus' patristic studies clearly demonstrate an early appreciation for reading allegory out of the Old Testament to explain Gospel ethics. Erasmus' later perspective seems to take a broad view of allegory as an 'extended metaphor' where 'one statement has a second, different meaning' although Erasmus is 'not always unambiguous' in his use of terminology.³⁵ Fundamentally for the Humanist, as both Reventlow and Louis Bouyer point out, the determinative factor of Old Testament allegorical interpretation was whether or not it produced 'profitable teaching' for the Christian. This tropological principle was consistent through Erasmus' earlier and later hermeneutics:

³³ Reventlow 2010, p. 62.

³⁴ Rabil 1993, p. 101. The whole of chapter III (p. 99-113) offers an excellent overview of Erasmus' methodology.

³⁵ Reventlow 2010, p. 62.

With the Fathers, Erasmus insists that all the Old Testament leads to Christ but, in his view, for the most part only through allegorical interpretation, apart from which numbers of text seem void of any profitable teaching.³⁶

It is debatable how much Erasmus' enthusiasm for allegory waned after his discovery of Valla's *Adnotationes* and subsequent intense scrutiny of the literal meaning.³⁷ But Valla's notes, combined with the deeper inspiration of the 'principles and practical example' in the work of St Jerome appeared to confirm an instinct that fueled Erasmus' lifelong pursuit of rendering the Greek New Testament text into a kind of Latin that would sanctify the workaday world.³⁸ His appetite for an accurate literal meaning naturally grew with increasing philological study, as did the conviction that original languages gave access to deeper truths about how to live a Christian life; truths concealed in the Greek New Testament text itself. Indeed, Erasmus saw the ancient words having a sacramental value which paralleled the incarnation of Christ. As he states in the 1516 preface to the *Annotationes*:

He who wonders why that divine spirit wished to hide his riches in these masks [i.e., syllables and letters] may wonder why the eternal wisdom assumed the form of a poor, humble, contemptible, and condemned man.³⁹

Here the outward guise of the sacred text becomes a 'mask' beneath which one can find the divine initiative, just as the human Jesus of Nazareth partially concealed and partially revealed the triune God. Erasmus drew upon this insight for his textual work and pursued the literal meaning with an unprecedented combination of verve and skill,

show[ing] himself a master of embryonic textual criticism that anticipated in several respects its modern form. He was able to detect the probability of scribal errors and give reasons for

³⁶ Bouyer 1959, p. 123.

³⁷ See Bentley 1983, p. 184; for remarks on Erasmus' more circumspect approach to allegory see p. 62.

³⁸ Rummel 1986, p. 15.

³⁹ Quoted in Payne 1970, p. 54.

them. He noted, for example, textual corruption due to homonyms ... and assimilation, the introduction of a passage from one place into another because of similarity. Erasmus especially deplored textual corruption that resulted from a scribe's deliberate changes in the text because it offended the scribe's literary task or his religious scruples, and he pointed out many cases of this kind.⁴⁰

In his groundbreaking study *Humanists and Holy Writ*, Jerry Bentley devotes 82 pages to how Erasmus forever changed the shape of biblical scholarship, noting no less than 8 hermeneutical principles that anticipated modern textual criticism.⁴¹ Furthermore, not only did Erasmus uncover textual variants, he developed explanations as to *how* they happened (some only proven later through archaeological discoveries). Bentley thus considers Erasmus' text-critical abilities superior to those of Origen or St Jerome. And we can also say, as evidenced in his later essay *Ecclesiastes siue concionator euangelicus*, that the Humanist never lost sight of the value of allegory. Toward the end of his career Erasmus appeared to find

an uneasy balance the Jeromian philological, historical traditions and the Origenistic spiritualizing traditions of biblical exegesis. In the *Annotationes* the philological, critical aspect predominates. In the *Paraphrases* Erasmus used the allegorical sense sparingly. In the expositions of the Psalms, how-

⁴⁰ Payne 2007, p. 414.

⁴¹ They are: 1. LATIN HOMONYMS – no variation in Greek text, but homonym variations in the Latin translation; 2. ASSIMILATION OF WORDS OR PHRASES INTO LATER MANUSCRIPTS – Latin manuscripts have additions found in no Greek, Latin or Patristic texts; 3. GREEK VARIANT READINGS; 4. USE OF PATRISTIC QUOTATIONS – first scholar to see its value; 5. INFERENCE ON BASIS OF PECULIAR LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF PATRISTICS – e.g. reconstructions from Latin translations of Origen & Theophylact showed an alteration of Greek Scripture quotes to conform to the Vulgate; 6. EDUCATED GUESSES – e.g. Paul's Hellenization of 'Aquila' at Acts 27. 4 served as the basis of Erasmus' conjecture for hapax 'southeast, north wind' (*Euroaquilo*), later confirmed in papyri discoveries; 7. DISCOVERY OF INTENTIONAL CHANGES IN THE GREEK – e.g. the final clause of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6. 13); 8. *DIFFICILIOR LECTIO POTIOR* ('more difficult reading is better') – scribes take the path of least resistance and will modify or simplify an older reading that doesn't make sense (see Bentley 1983, p. 140-161 [numbering and titles mine]).

ever, it is prominently displayed. The moral sense is pervasive throughout his exegesis of the Psalms and the New Testament.⁴²

Turning now to first and second generation Jesuit exegetes, steeped in traditional ‘four-fold’ interpretation, we find a guarded embrace of the Humanist’s text-critical scholarship.⁴³ As noted, Cornelius a Lapide makes consistent references to the *Annotations* in his own philological commentary on the literal meaning. Erasmus’ expert nuances of language have particular value in A Lapide’s efforts to uncover the ‘genuine sense and mind of sacred scripture’.

By the genuine sense, a Lapide appears to mean that while the Vulgate properly contains the true significance of scripture, only the original languages allow the deepest penetration into the mysteries of revelation and the meaning intended by the Holy Spirit. The original Hebrew and Greek therefore serve to ‘shed light’ on the Vulgate by allowing one to come to a fuller understanding of the truth that the Vulgate conveys.⁴⁴

When making commentary A Lapide will normally open his remarks with an assessment of the literal meaning of the text, followed by the allegorical, tropological and anagogical meanings, as applicable. So his basic matrix is a classic ‘four-fold’ approach. However, because it reveals the genuine sense, A Lapide roots his commentary more deeply and intentionally in the literal meaning than his medieval predecessors.⁴⁵ In fact, for A Lapide the literal

⁴² Payne 2007, p. 417.

⁴³ See Murray 2019, esp. p. 29-53.

⁴⁴ Murray 2017, p. 83. In this article on A Lapide’s use of Hebrew, Luke Murray addresses the claim of Jared Wicks that ‘the Jesuits studied the original languages in order to defend the Vulgate’ and argues that A Lapide’s vision of Hebrew is wider than a mere apologetic purpose (Murray 2017, p. 81-83; cf. Wicks 2008, p. 636-639; see also Murray 2019, p. 47-50).

⁴⁵ A Lapide includes a kind of ‘mission statement’ at the beginning of his Pauline commentary which reads: *Scopus itaque meus fuit, solide, breuiter, methodice et clare tradere sensum maxime genuinum et litteralem harum epistolarum, uti et reliquae deinceps S. Scripturae: ideoque ex textu Graeco, Hebraeo et Syro, atque ex Patribus et Doctoribus ea profero, quae sensum hunc genuinum uel demonstrant, uel illustrant. Hunc scopum in omnibus spectauit et spectro, in hunc ubique collimo; an assequar, Lectorum esto iudicium* (CSS XVIII, p. xi).

meaning is the determinative factor for the other senses. As Victor Baroni notes in his seminal work on Counter-reformation biblical scholarship, *La Contre-Réforme devant La Bible*:

C'est dans la recherche du sens littéral et original des textes que de La Pierre voit le principe fondamental de la méthode. Pour la forme, il se propose d'être solide, bref, méthodique et clair. En insistant sur l'importance première du sens historique, il semble bien qu'il voulait avant tout désarmer les critiques que les protestants adressaient à l'exégèse catholique, trop allégorique. Sa déclaration de principe ne l'empêche pas de recourir à la quadruple interprétation scolastique.⁴⁶

It is in search of the original and literal meaning of the texts that A Lapede sees as the fundamental principle of his method. As regards the form, he proposes strongly to be 'brief, methodical and clear'. By stressing the primary importance of the historical sense it seems he wanted above all to disarm the criticism that Protestants addressed to Catholic exegesis [as] too allegorical. His statement of principle does not prevent him from using the quadruple scholastic interpretation.

Note Baroni's categorical distinction between A Lapede's analysis of the literal meaning and the 'quadruple scholastic interpretation'.⁴⁷ Here we see how Erasmus, as a pioneer of humanist scholarship, has not only influenced A Lapede's approach to philology and the literal meaning, but exegesis of the entire Jesuit order, who combined text-criticism and the classics with doctrinal apologetic tactics.⁴⁸ We witness this integration most strongly in the century following Trent, before doctrinal concerns completely overtook humanist Catholic biblical scholarship.⁴⁹

Thus we frequently find Erasmus present in A Lapede's opening analysis of the literal meaning. A Lapede will at times engage Erasmus in a brief philological discussion, either as a negative contrast ('*uult*' or '*se*' are frequent trigger words in this case, along

⁴⁶ Baroni 1943/86, p. 282.

⁴⁷ Vol. XIX of the Paris set contains a 9 page introduction by Augustinus Crampon on *De sensu litterali* (CSS XIX, p. v-xiv).

⁴⁸ Jesuit principles of teaching and scholarship can be found in their *Ratio Studiorum*, which informed the Order from its earliest days.

⁴⁹ See Fischer, François, Gerace & Murray 2020.

with the names of Calvin and/or Beza), or as support (most often through a chronological listing with orthodox Catholic figures, as in the above).⁵⁰ As a general rule of thumb, the longer A Lapide's discussion with Erasmus, the more negative it tends to be. Further along in his Galatians commentary we have a good example not only of a negative criticism of Erasmus, but an illustration of A Lapide taking Erasmus to task on his own philological ground. At Gal. 4. 3, *...ita et nos cum essemus paruuli, sub elementis mundi eramus seruientes* (S-CV).⁵¹ A Lapide remarks:

Aliter Erasmus: 'Mundum', inquit, uocat per catachresin quidquid est uisibile, caducum, temporarium, uisibiles scilicet & corporales caeremonias legis ueteris. Nam haec uocat 'elementa mundi' Colos. 2. v. 20. in quibus sita erat Judaizantium superstitio, dicentium: Ne gustaueritis, ne tetigeritis, ne contrectaueritis, ut ibidem refert Apostolus. sed nomen 'mundi' non ita accipitur; nec eo ita abuti solet Apostolus, & Coloss. 2. alio sensu accipit 'elementa mundi', uti ibi ostendam. Dicam etiam plura de his 'elementis' v. 9.⁵²

Erasmus, however, thinks that 'the world' here by catachresis stands for whatever is visible, fading, temporal; namely the visible and physical ceremonies of the old law, which, in Col. 2. 20, he calls the 'rudiments of the world'. [...] But this is not the usual meaning of the word with the Apostle, nor is

⁵⁰ Bellarmine uses the same strategy in his *Controversies*.

⁵¹ 'So we also, when we were children, were serving under the elements of the world' (Gal. 4. 3 – DRB)

ERASMUS' ANNOTATION GAL. 4. 3: *...Sub elementis mundi* [E] *eram* [A] *seruientes. Δεδουλωμένοι, id est 'in seruitutem redacti' quod Ambrosius legit 'subiecti', et referendum uidetur ad 'sub elementa', ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα. [B] Quasi dicas 'sub elementa in seruitutem redacti'. [...] Nec uideo, cur diuus Hieronymus aliud quiddam uelit esse elementum hoc loco ad Galatas, aliud in epistola ad Colossenses. Certe utrobique de ceremoniis Iudaeorum agit et hominum institutionibus, quae uelut exordia data sunt hominibus rudibus adhuc et nondum capacibus euangelicae doctrinae. Nec ab his diuersum est quod scribit ad Hebraeos: 'Et cum deberetis esse magistri propter tempus, rursum necesse habetis ut doceamini, quae sint elementa principii sermonum Dei', τίνα τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς [Hebr. 5. 12]. Hic sensus mihi uidetur esse germanus, reliqui meo iudicio magis ostentant eruditionem aut ingenium interpretis quam ostendunt mentem Pauli. Neque est cur nos moueat quod Paulus adiecit 'elementa mundi'. 'Mundum' enim uocat, quicquid est uisibile et caducum. In huiusmodi rebus sita est superstitio caeremoniarum, 'ne gustaueris', 'ne tetigeris', [D] 'ne contrectaris' (ASD VI/9, p. 118, 120, l. 952-955, 964-975 – boldface mine).*

⁵² CSS XVIII, p. 550a.

it the meaning in Col. 2. 20, as I will prove when I come to comment on it. I will say more about these [*elementa mundi*] at v. 9.⁵³

There are a number of noteworthy articles in this comment, the first is A Lapidè's use of a technical grammatical term *catachresis* to describe Erasmus' overemphasis on the idea of *mundus*.⁵⁴ In his own note on the passage Erasmus does not use the word *catechresis*, but A Lapidè likely uses it here in order to show his grammatical 'chops' and confront the Humanist on his own linguistic ground. A Lapidè does not acknowledge that Erasmus' suspicion of catachresis is a highly sophisticated means of interpretation, he merely points out that it is incorrect. Second, Erasmus' annotation indicates that, in the mind of Paul, the term *mundus* can be equated with Paul's use of *στοιχεῖα* (*elementis*) here, and also in Gal. 4. 9, Col. 2. 20, and Hebr. 5. 12 to describe the religious festivals of the old law.⁵⁵ This interpretation opens up possibilities of aligning every appearance of the term *mundus* with religious ceremonies. In his commentary, A Lapidè takes pains to distinguish between 'the world', a term connected to the Jewish nation that first received the law:

'Mundum' uocat homines mundi, primo, Iudaeos, deinde alios omnes metonymice: uoluit enim Deus in uno mundi angulo, Iudaea scilicet, scholam aperire ubi rudimenta fidei et pietatis

⁵³ Cobb trans.

⁵⁴ Catachresis (from Greek *κατάχρησις* [misuse]): OED citation 1589. Catachresis is the 'application of a term to a thing which it does not properly denote; abuse or perversion of a trope or metaphor' (*The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984). The original Greek use of the term occurs in Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 8.25; 8.6.34; 36 where, contrary to the OED, *κατάχρησις* is the trope itself. Quint., *Inst. Or.* 8.6.34. It is 'the use of the wrong word for the context or the use of a word in an incorrect way' (many thanks to H. J. de Jonge for this clarification).

⁵⁵ A Lapidè on Col. 2. 20 (CSS XIX, 96b): *Secundò, 'elementa mundi' uocat uel legem Mosis (quae quasi rudimenta docebat fidei & uitae sanctae, cuius perfectionem docet Christus, ut dixi Galat. iv. 3. & 9.) uel potiùs principia & dogmata Philosophorum carnalium & mundanorum de caelis, angelis, eorumque cultu, & ritibus ac obseruantiiis carnalibus & mundanis, ut quae Plato & Simon atque Angelici docuerunt de purgationibus animarum per angelos, quae nihil habent consentaneum cum Scriptura, fide, Christo: haec enim 'elementa mundi' u. 8. uocat philosophiam & inanem fallaciam', ut ibi dixi. rursum uocat ea u. 22. praecepta & doctrinas hominum. ergo de dogmatibus hisce Philosophorum loquitur, non de praeceptis legis Mosi: haec enim non hominum, sed Dei fuerunt praecepta.*

*doceret homines, donec doctissimas ueritatis scholas aperiret per Christum in toto mundo.*⁵⁶

[S. Paul] calls the men of the world by the name of *the world*. The reference is first to the Jews, then, by metonymy, to all men. God willed to open, in one corner of the world a school, where He might teach men the rudiments of faith and piety, until He should open everywhere schools where they were most learnedly taught.⁵⁷

and more properly ‘the elements of the world’:

*hos enim dies, menses et annos uocat ‘elementa mundi’, tum quia alludit ad Gen. 1, ubi per dies septem Deus ‘elementa mundi’ creauit et produxit, ac denique die septimo, id est sabbato, requieuit, ideoque in creationis illius et quietis memoriam iussit a Iudaeis obseruari et coli sabbatum.*⁵⁸

the days months, times and years of verse [4. 10]. These [Paul] calls *elements of the world* by an allusion to Gen 1, where it is said that God created the *elements of the world* in seven days, and then rested on the seventh day, and instituted the Sabbath as a memorial among the Jews of His creative rest.⁵⁹

The ceremonial part of *elementa* enters the conversation because Jews arranged their religious festivals around the Sabbath which, in turn, was determined by the *elementa mundi*. The Jews themselves are the *mundus*, and after them all the nations who receive the imperfect law, but A Lapide’s point is that Paul’s use of *mundus* and *elementa mundi* is not an example of catachresis and the two should not be conflated. Although Erasmus’ expansion of the idea of *mundus* to include religious ceremonies fits well with his ‘low-church’ program of *philosophia Christi*, he fumbles an important theological distinction (at least in A Lapide’s eyes) that has far-reaching effects, and here we see a philological note beginning to enter the realm of theology.

Another example with a bit stronger tone occurs at A Lapide’s commentary on Hebr. 1. 8: *Ad Filium autem: Thronus tuus Deus*

⁵⁶ CSS XVIII, p. 549b, on Gal. 4. 3.

⁵⁷ Adapted from Cobb trans.

⁵⁸ CSS XVIII, p. 550a, on Gal. 4. 3.

⁵⁹ Cobb trans.

*in saeculum saeculi: uirga aequitatis, uirga regni tui*⁶⁰ (S-CV). In his annotation Erasmus expresses uncertainty as to whether *Deus* is in the nominative or vocative case. A Lapede's response:

*'Incertum est', inquit [Erasmus], 'an hic sit sensus, O Deus, sedes tua est in saeculum saeculi: an hic: Ipse Deus est tibi thronus in saeculum saeculi'. Verum certum est, τὸ 'Deus' esse uocatiui casus: nam Aquila & Symmach. uertunt, ὦ Θεέ. Rursum ineptus et insulsus esset sensus, si caperetur in nominatiuo; quis enim erit sensus, si quis sic interpretetur: Sedes tua, o Christe, est ipse Deus? Deus enim non est sedes, sed sedens in sede siue throno, et Christus non sedet in Patre, sed ad dexteram Patris. Rursum deitas non est sedes humanitatis, sed potius e contrario, humanitas est sedes, imo scabellum deitatis.*⁶¹

'It is uncertain', Erasmus says, 'whether the meaning is "O Lord, thy throne is from generation to generation" or "God himself is a throne to you from generation to generation"'. Truly it is certain that the word 'God' is in the vocative case; for Aquila and Symmach translate ὦ Θεέ. It would be inept and absurd if that sense were taken in the nominative case; for what shall the meaning be, if a person can interpret: 'Thy throne, O Christ, is God Himself'. God is not the seat, but sitting on the seat or throne, and Christ is not seated on the Father, but at the right hand of the Father. Furthermore, the deity is not the seat of humanity, but the other way around, humanity is the seat, rather the footstool, of the deity.

Again we have some flirting with theology here, but not a strong theological case; the focus stays on the literal/grammatical meaning. But one cannot help noticing the normally mild A Lapede's stronger, even sarcastic air as we move closer to open theological conflicts, to which we now turn.

⁶⁰ 'But to the Son: Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever: a sceptre of justice is the sceptre of thy kingdom' (Hebr. 1. 8 – DRB).

ERASMUS' ANNOTATION HEBR. 1. 8: [A] *Thronus tuus deus. 'Ο θρόνος σου ὁ Θεός. Incertum est, an hic sit sensus, 'o Deus, sedes tua est in seculum seculi', an hic 'ipse deus, est tibi thronus in seculum seculi'. Nam sermo Graecus anceps est. [B] Sed priorem sequuntur interpretes. [C] Chrysostomus annotauit & hic articulum esse additum, [D] ὁ Θεός: Quae quidem annotatio, non uideo quem habeat locum, nisi accipiamus ὁ Θεός dici Filio. Innuit enim Chrysostomus, articulo significari uerum Deum, De patre uero nec Ariani dubitant quin sit ὁ Θεός* (ASD VI/10, p. 236, l. 70-75 – boldface mine).

⁶¹ CSS XIX, p. 360a.

3. *Theological Points*

The third impact of Erasmus occurs when A Lapide directly confronts the theological consequences of Erasmus' scholarship. In her study of the *Annotationes* Erika Rummel explains how Erasmus' intention of fostering conversation led to a process of text stratification as Erasmus' 1516 version, *Nouum Instrumentum*, made up mostly of grammatical points, naturally became imbued with theology in later editions.

...Erasmus aimed not only at removing manifest errors, but also at stimulating discussion regarding suspect and ambiguous passages. [...] In this manner he hoped to prepare the way for others who, once the foundations had been laid, could consider the question in more detail[.]⁶²

Thus when others considered the question 'in more detail' and challenged him, Erasmus expanded his annotation with a response. As mentioned above, Erasmus revised the *Annotationes* four times as he strove to defend himself against the theological entanglements that came part and parcel with his new translation. A Lapide, examining Erasmus in hindsight, indicates at several points the fact that those who came into dialogue with Erasmus (e.g. Luther, Zwingli) ended up breaking away from the Church. In this section we will examine how A Lapide sees Erasmus' *Annotationes* becoming a bridge-point between the theology of the reformers and two ancient heresies, Pelagianism and Arianism.⁶³ Naturally A Lapide makes his case when he arrives at the biblical 'proof texts' that the Church fathers used in defense against these heresies.⁶⁴ We begin with a famous controversy regarding Rom. 5. 12.

Propterea sicut per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intrauit, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines mors

⁶² Rummel 1986, p. 32.

⁶³ See Coogan 1992 for a detailed discussion of Erasmus' defense against Robert Lee's accusations of Pelagianism and Arianism. This dense book devotes a chapter to each.

⁶⁴ A standard introduction to these fourth century heresies and the Church's response is Kelly 1960/78. See especially chapters IX-XIV which explain the unfolding of the Arian and Pelagian controversies in their original context.

pertransiit, in quo omnes peccauerunt (S-CV).⁶⁵ Since the time of St Augustine, Rom. 5. 12 was the navigation point for the doctrine of Original Sin. Traditional interpretation sees Original Sin as inherited 'through one man' (*per unum hominem*) i.e. from Adam 'in whom all have sinned' (*in quo omnes peccauerunt*). Erasmus' significant translation changes and annotations in these two places drew accusations of Pelagian sympathies from Louvain critics Edward Lee and Frans Titelmans.⁶⁶ The Humanist expanded his short notes in subsequent editions, eventually re-writing them entirely for the final edition of 1535. Thus the brief remarks at verse 5. 12 became the longest single annotation for Romans at 4500 words. Throughout the drama Erasmus condemned Pelagianism to protect himself, while at the same time continuing to deny that the verse could be used as a proof text for the doctrine of inherited Original Sin.⁶⁷ Ninety-eight years later, A Lapidé's own 3200 word commentary on this verse invokes Erasmus in three places, drawing a trajectory from Pelagius to Erasmus to the heretics.

*Pelagiani negantes peccatum originale, uti & Anabaptistae, Faber & Zuinglius (quibus uiam hinc strauit Erasmus) docent peccatum hinc uel metonymicè accipi, pro poena peccati, id est morte, quam solam dicunt in omnes pertransisse, ...*⁶⁸

The [new] Pelagians denying original sin, such as the Anabaptists, Faber and Zwingli (to whom Erasmus here has straddled

⁶⁵ 'Wherefore as by one man sin entered into this world, and by sin death; and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned' (DRB). Due to its extreme and unwieldy length I won't quote the Rom. 5. 12 rewrite from 1535. Below I have quoted the CWE English translation of Erasmus' 'pre-1535' annotation of the famous *quatenus* note. The ASD VI/7, p. 136-159, contains a robust textual, historical and theological analysis of the Rom. 5. 12 annotation.

⁶⁶ The central heresy of Pelagianism is an over-emphasis on the value of human works in attaining salvation, correlating to the idea that the human will is not compromised by an inherited Original Sin. Erasmus argues that Paul's words speak only of man's personal, individual sin in the wake of Adam's Fall (relative sense) vis-à-vis the Catholic dogma that Adam bore the semen of the whole humankind in him at the Fall and all of humanity inherited sin at that point (causal sense).

⁶⁷ For further analysis about Erasmus' theological perspective on Rom. 5. 12, see Christian Vrangbaek's essay 'Patristic Concepts of Original Sin in Erasmus' *Annotationes in epistulam ad Romanos* in this volume.

⁶⁸ CSS XVIII, p. 97a, on Rom. 5. 12.

the way) teach to understand sin here by metonymy for the punishment of sin, that is death, which they say only passes through everyone, ...

Again, we see here that A Lapide does not accuse Erasmus of outright heresy, something he (Erasmus) clearly and vehemently denies throughout his 1535 annotation on this verse, but that Erasmus *strauit uiam* for Zwingli and the Anabaptists to move outside orthodox Catholic doctrine. Notice again A Lapide's use of the technical term *metonymy*.⁶⁹ As noted above with *catachresis*, technical grammatical and linguistic terms are a clear mark of humanist study and A Lapide appears to use them strategically when he confronts the Humanist.

A second mention of Erasmus regards the translation change from the Vulgate *per unum* to *propter unum*. Here A Lapide is dismissive:

*'Per unum' Erasmus uertit, 'propter unum'. Sed perperam, & contra omnes interpretes: Graecum enim διὰ cum genitiuo, significat 'per', non 'propter'.*⁷⁰

Through one Erasmus translates *on account of one* but wrongly, and against all [other] interpreters, for the Greek διὰ with the genitive means *through* not *on account of*.

One wonders here why Erasmus would make the elementary mistake about the meaning of διὰ with the genitive, but on further investigation it appears that *propter unum* only appeared in editions of the *Annotationes* up to 1527. The *Collected Works of Erasmus* critical edition of Romans points out that in the first three editions of the *Annotationes*

on account of one man' (*propter unum*) was used. But Erasmus later insisted that the reading of the first three editions was due to collaborators who had prepared the text for the printer. His annotation clearly implied that he had always read 'through one man [*per unum*].'⁷¹

⁶⁹ Metonymy is naming a part to represent a larger whole (calling a businessman a 'suit' for example), in this case 'sin' represents 'death'.

⁷⁰ CSS XVIII, p. 97a, on Rom. 5. 12.

⁷¹ See *Responsio ad collationes* LB IX, 985E-986C; and on the preparation of the text for the printer cp. 384 introduction. CWE 56, p. 138. There are also detailed notes in ASD IV/3, p. 71, note to v. 12.

This raises an interesting point that A Lapidé is (perhaps unfairly) criticizing a rendering that Erasmus later clarified and corrected in the 1527 version. But the Jesuit likely considers *propter* vs. *per* a secondary point that merely colludes with the central problem. Namely that Erasmus' changes *in quo* to *quatenus*.

Erasmus based his own translation on the observation that the idiomatic Greek uses the prepositional phrase ἐφ' ᾧ not in a relative, but in a causal sense. The translation should therefore read not *in quo* ('in whom' [meaning Adam]) but *quatenus* ('since'). On this reading, Rom. 5. 12 refers only to personal sins and cannot be considered to validate the doctrine of Original Sin.⁷²

The *quatenus* note began as a 'half a dozen lines in 1516', but proved to be theological dynamite.⁷³ In his commentary on this verse A Lapidé again 'fights fire with fire'. After listing Erasmus with Theodoret and the Pelagians he uses Erasmus' own translation of Hebr. 9. 17 against him.

Quare perperam Erasmus, Theodor. & Pelagiani, τὸ ἐφ' ᾧ, uertunt, 'quatenus, in quantum', eò quòd scilicet in Adamo omnes peccauerunt. quam expositionem S. August. lib. 6. contra Iulian. 15. ait esse nouam & falsam. Nec mirum aut rarum est,

⁷² Bentley 1983, p. 172 and CWE 56, p. 151-152, n. 2.

⁷³ Drysdall 2006, p. 67.

ERASMUS' ANNOTATION of ἐφ' ᾧ prior to 1535: 'Some refer *in quo* [in whom] to Adam; among these is Ambrose, who philosophizes as well on this why [Paul] said *in quo* [masculine] meaning Adam, and not *in qua* [feminine], since sin arose from Eve – no doubt following Origen as he generally did; some to the particular sin of each person which is the view, I see, of Chrysostom and of Theophylact. And yet both views amount to the same thing. I do not think it unreasonable to take ἐφ' ᾧ in the sense of 'inasmuch as' or 'since', so that the meaning is that through one man sin came into the world; death, however, was the companion of sin; accordingly, death came to all inasmuch as all had sin. For one may find other passages, too, in St Paul, if I am not mistaken, where ἐν ᾧ or ἐφ' ᾧ has the sense of 'in this, that' or 'to whatever extent' or 'inasmuch as'. I had less confidence in this opinion before I discovered it had been proposed by the man whose scholia we have on all the Pauline Epistle, a learned man, as his text shows, though an impostor has added a preface, pretending the author was Jerome – to make the work more saleable. **Here is the scholion: 'In whom all have sinned, that is, in this, that all have sinned, they sin by the example of Adam'** (CWE 56, p. 151-152, n. 2). Unfortunately the 'learned man' Erasmus mentions in this final sentence turned out to be Pelagius!

*ἐπὶ cum datiuo significare 'in'; nam ad Hebraeos 9. v. 17. ἐπὶ νεκροῖς, idem est, etiam teste Erasmo, quod 'in mortuis'.*⁷⁴

Erasmus, Theodoret and the Pelagians wrongly translate ἐφ' ᾧ, since, in so far as, namely because by him [relative sense] all have sinned in Adam. St Augustine, in book 6.15 against Julian, says that this explanation is new and false. Nor is it strange or rare [that] ἐπὶ with dative means *in*; for at Hebr. 9. 17, ἐπὶ νεκροῖς, is the same and even by Erasmus' witness means *in the dead*.

To his credit Erasmus referenced other Scriptures by which he believed Pelagianism could be more effectively refuted.⁷⁵ But with his critique Erasmus claimed that a strong argument could not be generated against Pelagianism, and A Lapide sees Erasmus throwing away a weapon that the church had used to combat Pelagianism since the time of Augustine.

Let's consider another passage from Philippians that centers on the Christological heresy of Arianism.

*...qui cum in forma [μορφή] Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo: (Phil. 2. 6 – SC-V).*⁷⁶ At this theologically challenging verse A Lapide demonstrates how Erasmus casts

⁷⁴ CSS XVIII, p. 99b.

⁷⁵ In the *Responsio ad collationes*, LB IX, 988A Erasmus recommends Iob 25. 4 and 14. 4 (an infant is not free from sin from the day of birth) along with Ps. 51. 5 ('I was conceived in iniquity') (CWE 56, p. 158, n. 59).

⁷⁶ 'Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God' (DRB).

ERASMUS ANNOTATION PHIL. 2. 6 (excerpts): ... [B] *Diuus Ambrosius 'formam' interpretatur 'specimen' seu 'exemplum', quod in corpore humano obambulans, aederet tamen argumenta diuinitatis, 'Forma enim', inquit, 'Dei, quid est, nisi exemplum quod Deus apparet, dum mortuos excitat, surdis reddit auditum, leprosos mundat'?* [...]. *Scio magnos autores, Hilarium, Augustinum, ut caeteros taceam, sic interpretari: 'Non arbitratus est rapinam, quod esset aequalis Deo, nam quod erat naturae, non putauit esse rapinae. Cum esset in forma Dei, hoc est cum uere esset Deus'. Atque hanc praecipuam habent clauam, qua conficiantur Arian, qui solum Patrem uere uolunt esse Deum. Atqui si ueris agere fas est, quid magni tribuit Paulus Christo, si cum Deus esset natura, intellexit, id non esse rapinae, hoc est nouit seipsum? Illud autem compertum est nusquam maiorem uim fieri scripturis sacris quam ubi cum haereticis agentes nihil non detorquemus ad uictoriam. Tametsi non uideo quid hic [D] locus [B] proprie faciat aduersus Arianos, qui non negabant Dei Filium esse Deum, [D] imò et magnum Deum fatebantur et benedictum super omnia deum, [B] sed arbitrabantur Patrem aliquo modo peculiari dici Deum, quo Filius aut Spiritus sanctus non diceretur. Non hic agit Paulus quid esset Christus, sed qualem se*

doubt on the traditional connection of the Greek μορφή with the being of God the Father. Here A Lapede makes his case by examining Erasmus' use of the 'Ambrosiaster' commentary (*Commentarius Ambrosio ascriptus*).⁷⁷ In a weighty passage 'Ambrose' explains that Christ works miracles as a man in order to prove his divinity.⁷⁸ Erasmus builds upon 'Ambrose's' remarks by equating the idea of the miracles of Christ with the miracles of the saints and uses it to undermine a long-standing proof text against the Arians.⁷⁹ Here A Lapede:

*Ratio Ambrosii est, Quia, inquit, Apostolus loquitur de Christo Iesu, id est, de Christo homine, scilicet post incarnationem, non ante. Hoc avidè arripit Erasmus, additque hinc contra Arianos pro Filii diuinitate non posse validum confici argumentum: nam & alii Sancti fecerunt miracula, itaque ediderunt specimen aliquod diuinitatis, nec tamen fuerunt dii. Ita Erasmus hinc & alibi oua posuit Arianismi, quae noui nuper Ariani excluserunt.*⁸⁰

The rationale of 'Ambrose' is because, he says, the Apostle [Paul] speaks about Christ Jesus, that is, about Christ the man, namely after the incarnation, not before. Erasmus eagerly seizes this, and adds that a strong argument against the Arians for the divinity of the Son cannot be accomplished from this point. For some of the Saints too have done miracles, and set forth some example of divinity, nevertheless they were not gods. Thus Erasmus here and in other places laid the eggs of arianism, which the new Arians have hatched not long ago.

gereret uidelicet nobis aedens exemplum. Deus erat, homo erat. [...] (ASD VI/9, p. 288, 290, l. 229-232, 245-258).

⁷⁷ 'Ambrosiaster' is the designation the Benedictines of St Maur gave to an anonymous Pauline commentator in their 1686-1690 edition of the works of St Ambrose, whose commentary had been mistakenly ascribed to Ambrose, mentor of St Augustine. As A Lapede notes in his *Interpretes* section, this commentary was not written by Ambrose, but is theologically sound and a wealth of insights about the Pauline Epistles. A Lapede's 1614 commentary does not use the name 'Ambrosiaster' so I will here place 'Ambrose' in quotes.

⁷⁸ PL 17, 431-442.

⁷⁹ The central heresy of Arianism is the denial that God the Son (Jesus) is 'one in being' and 'consubstantial' with the Father. Arianism comes in many forms (as does Pelagianism), but always sees Jesus as less in some degree than God the Father. As noted above see Coogan 1992 and Kelly 1960/78 for historical and doctrinal explanations.

⁸⁰ CSS XIX, p. 23a, at Phil. 2. 6.

So we see here another case of overextension as Erasmus makes theological inferences from a patristic writing and gets into hot water. We might also recall the abovementioned quote from A Lapide's fellow Jesuit P. Canisius that when Erasmus moved too far into theology he 'took on something beyond his powers and trusted too much in his own judgment'. In adding to the commentary of 'Ambrose', Erasmus takes the interpretation in a heretical direction, and he receives the full brunt of A Lapide's 'the eggs of Arianism' (*oua posuit Arianismi*) accusation while 'Ambrose' remains unscathed. A Lapide's tone regarding this passage is actually quite measured if we compare it to commentary on the same passage from his Jesuit confrere Robert Bellarmine:

I ask you Erasmus, if you have accepted pay from the Arians, will you be able diligently to promote their cause? ... You do not deny that this text [of Philippians] is a main weapon of Catholics against Arius, and nevertheless you say this weapon is worthless. Therefore what remains for you to say but that the cause of the Arians is better than that of the Catholics?⁸¹

Thus Bellarmine represents a more severe perspective from the same generation of Jesuits as A Lapide. We can also detect an increasingly sarcastic tone in A Lapide's comments as he does commentary on a sarcastic Erasmus. As with his use of technical grammatical terms, A Lapide seems to measure out his sarcasm in proportion to his adversary. It later becomes clear, however, that A Lapide views Erasmus' sarcasm as extremely unhelpful.

In a final negative example we turn to an interesting exchange about the punishment of heretics. Erasmus' remarks on Tit. 3. 10, *Hæreticum hominem post unam et secundam correptionem deuita* [παραιτοῦ] (S-CV),⁸² are not examined in any of the literature

⁸¹ Bellarmine 2016, '2nd General Controversy' preface, p. 279.

⁸² 'A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, avoid' (DRB).

ERASMUS' ANNOTATION TIT. 3. 10 (excerpt): ... [A] *Deuita. παραιτοῦ, id est, 'reice', non est περὶ ἵστατο, quod mox eodem uerbo expressit.* [B] *Hic locus est, quem senex quidam theologus, et imprimis seuerus in concilio produxit. Cum uenisset in quaestionem, num quis esset locus in literis canonicis qui iuberet hæreticum affici supplicio capitis, 'deuita, deuita', inquit putans deuicare Latinis esse de uita tollerere.* [C] *Id ne quis suspicetur meum esse commentum, accepi ex Ioanne Coleto, uiro spectatae integritatis, quo praesidente res acta est.* [B] *Eamus nunc et negemus periculosum esse errare in uerbis. Sic iureconsulti furem suspendunt, quod lex latronem*

I consulted, but is a place where A Lapidè takes him most strongly to task. He appears to agree with Erasmus on the general point: Paul is not suggesting that heretics deserve the death penalty; the two interpretations are opposed at the point of tone. Although both scholars are witty and often sarcastic, the difference is in the direction of sarcasm. Erasmus directs his sarcasm toward the Church, albeit in order to create discomfort for reform.⁸³ A Lapidè directs his sarcasm away from the Church, toward outside threats or agitation. In his commentary A Lapidè first chastises Erasmus for his sarcasm against theologians, but then levels a very strong critique when Erasmus points his finger at theologians for killing heretics when he (Erasmus) should be blaming Kings and Emperors. At this verse we find A Lapidè at his most personal and severe as he addresses Erasmus directly in second person. To my knowledge it only happens once in the Pauline commentary:

Nota Primò. Pro 'deuita', graecè est παραιτού, id est, reiice, auersare, refuta.

Suggillat hic more suo mordaciter Erasmus theologos, quòd ex hoc Apostoli loco probent haereticos esse puniendos & plectendos, putantes scilicet 'deuita' idem esse quod 'de uita tolle', sicuti 'decapita' idem est, quod caput illi deme. Nec hoc sarcasmo contentus, similem, sed acriorem non tam ignorantiam, quàm iniustitiam impingit Iureconsultis, dum subdit: 'Sic Iureconsulti furem suspendunt, quòd lex latronem plecti capite iubeat, & Galli furem uocant latronem ("larron"); sic medici inscitia uocabulorum subinde uenenum dant pro remedio'. Erras Erasme, non haec Iurisconsultorum Gallorum fuit stoliditas, sed Principum & magistratuum iusta lex & sanctio, quae ubique fures cruci, uti latrones rotis, adiudicat. Multò minùs Theologorum inscitia, sed Regum & Imperatorum decreta, haereticos ad rogum condemnant. Quis, oro, interpretum uel Patrum Latinorum tam uecors, tam insulsus fuit, ut 'deuita' diceret idem esse quod 'tolle de uita?'⁸⁴

plecti capite iubet et Gallorum uulgus furem latronem appellat. Sic medici frequenter errant magno capitis nostri periculo, [D] dum ob inscitiam uocabulorum uenenum porrigunt pro remedio (ASD VI/10, p. 214, l. 480-490).

⁸³ For more on Erasmus' use of humor see: Gordon 1990; Martin 2015; Screech 1999; Thompson 1974.

⁸⁴ CSS XIX, p. 339b, at Tit. 3. 10.

Note firstly. For *deuita* the Greek is *παραιτοῦ*, that is, reject, be averse to, refuse. Erasmus bitingly derides here, as is his way, the theologians, because they prove from this passage of the Apostle that heretics are to be penalized and punished with blows, because they think namely *deuita* is the same as *tolle de uita*, the same as decapitation, and the same as remove the head. Not content with this sarcasm, he blames the lawyers for a similar, but worse form, not so much ignorance, as injustice, when he says: Thus the lawyers hang thieves because the law commands that a '*latro*' be hit at the head and the French call a thief a '*latro*' ('*larron*'). Thus inexperienced doctors, out of ignorance of words, give poison for a remedy. You're wrong Erasmus. This was not the stupidity of the French lawyers, but of the law and sanctions of princes and magistrates, which everywhere judge thieves to be crucified and robbers for the wheel. Much less the ignorance of Theologians, but the decrees of Kings and Emperors sentence heretics to the stake. Which, I pray, interpreter or Latin Father has been so senseless, so absurd, [to suggest] that *deuita* might mean the same as *tolle de uita*?

A Lapide's comment on this passage illustrates well the post-reformation Jesuit attitude toward Erasmus' sarcastic language. Although A Lapide consistently recognizes Erasmus' brilliance as a philologist, as evidenced from his frequent consulting of the *Nouum Testamentum* to provide nuance, Erasmus' playful language was not well received after the brutality which occurred on both sides of the reformation. For A Lapide, the execution of heretics is no laughing matter. However, his disdain for the direction of Erasmus' tone does not prevent him from using the Humanist's 'fringe' status to strategic advantage, for if Erasmus is a theological ally, so much more can he claim that Zwingli is outside the boundaries of orthodoxy, as we see in A Lapide's commentary on the Eucharist.

We end our selective trip on a more conciliatory note, turning to a positive theological showing of Erasmus in A Lapide's I Corinthians commentary. A Lapide mentions Erasmus 26 times in his exegesis on I Corinthians and six times in the long commentary on I Cor. 11. 24 (*Hoc est corpus meum*). Most significantly offering two fairly long quotes from Erasmus' epistles in which the Humanist testifies to Conrad Pellikan about the Real Pres-

ence of Christ in the Eucharist.⁸⁵ In his book on Erasmus and the Sacraments, John Payne explains the context of Erasmus' letter:

To Pellican, associate in theology with Oecolampadius at Basel who had recently been won over to the latter's Eucharistic view, Erasmus wrote a long letter [dated 15 October 1525] after learning that Pellican was spreading the rumor in Basel that Erasmus agreed with him on the rejection of the Real Presence. [...] This letter was passed around against Erasmus' wishes and printed, at first under the title *Expostulatio ad quendam amicum admodum pia et Christiana Erasmi Roterodami*.⁸⁶

Ironically, as much as Erasmus was against proof-texting, A Lapede uses quotes from the Humanist himself as proof texts in constructing a comprehensive argument for the Real Presence, beginning with Erasmus advocating the power of multiple attestation:

*Rursum non solùm Paulus, sed & alii omnes, uidelicet Matthaeus, Marcus, Lucas, eodem modo iisdemque uerbis, 'Hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus', hanc coenam et historiam enarrant [...] nullus est qui tropum explicet, uel insinuet, uti alibi solet unus alium, cùm obscurior est, explicare. Quo argumento conuictus Erasmus, Conrado Pellicano, à quo ad Zuinglianismum sollicitabatur, ita rescribit: 'Ad id, uidelicet non esse in Eucharistia uerum corpus Christi, negaui semper me posse animum inducere, praesertim cùm Euangelicae atque Apostolicae litterae tam euidenter nominent corpus quod datur, & sanguinem qui effunditur'.*⁸⁷

Again, not only Paul, but Matthew, Mark, and Luke record the institution in the same way and in the same words: 'This is my body; this is my blood' ... [none of them explains a figure of speech here, or suggests that it is a figure of speech, as one author usually explains another when the other is obscure]. Erasmus was convinced by this argument, and replied to the attempts of Conrad Pellican to convert him to Zwinglianism: 'I have always said that I could never bring

⁸⁵ See Payne 1970, p. 141 and 297, n. 82. Erika Rummel also has an analysis of Erasmus' treatment of the Eucharist in *Annotations* (Rummel 1986, p. 156-160).

⁸⁶ Payne 1970, p. 297, n. 82.

⁸⁷ CSS XVIII, p. 359b. Quote in Allen VI (1926), ep. 1637, l. 33-35.

my mind to believe that the true body of Christ was not in the Eucharist, especially when the writings of the Evangelists and S. Paul expressly speak of the body as given and of the blood as shed'.⁸⁸

As the quote from Erasmus continues it becomes very strong,

*Et infrà: 'Si tibi persuasum est, in synaxi nihil esse praeter panem & uinum; ego membratim discerpi malim, & omnia perpeti, quàm profiteri idem quod tu profiteris nec patiar ut tui istius dogmatis me auctorem facias, uel comitem. Ita mihi contingat numquam à Christo seiungi. Amen'. Ita Erasmus.*⁸⁹

'If you [Pellikan] have persuaded yourself that in Holy Communion you receive nothing but bread and wine, I would rather undergo all kinds of suffering, and be torn limb from limb, than profess what you do; nor will I suffer you to make me a supporter or associate of your doctrine; and so may it be my portion never to be separated from Christ. Amen'. Thus Erasmus.⁹⁰

A Lapide then gives, in a list of points, the General Councils that attested to the truth of the Real Presence (including Trent) and refers the reader to the writings of John Garetius and Bellarmine who also cite Patristic testimonies and professions of faith about the Real Presence. He closes the long paragraph with the famous words of Erasmus to Louis Beer (Basel, 30 March 1529):

*'Numquam, inquit, mihi persuaderi potuit, neque poterit, Christum, qui ueritas est & charitas, tam diu passurum fuisse dilectam sponsam suam haerere in errore tam abominando, ut crustulum farinaceum pro ipso adoraret'.*⁹¹

You will never persuade me that Christ, who is Truth and Love, would so long suffer His beloved bride to remain in abominable an error as to worship a piece of bread instead of Himself.⁹²

⁸⁸ Cobb trans. modification in brackets by H. J. de Jonge.

⁸⁹ CSS XVIII, p. 359b. Quote in Allen VI (1926), cp. 1637, l. 115-127.

⁹⁰ Cobb trans.

⁹¹ CSS XVIII, p. 360b. Quote in Allen VIII (1930), cp. 2136, l. 221-226.

⁹² Cobb trans.

In his commentary A Lapidé uses Erasmus to frame the passage for strategic reasons, namely Erasmus' position as a 'fringe' figure. Despite his at times ambiguous theology, Erasmus falls in line with the tradition of Councils. So A Lapidé traces a trajectory from the 'outer limits' of Erasmus through his fellow Jesuit Robert Bellarmine, a central point of orthodoxy, and back to Erasmus, whose testimony A Lapidé now aligns *against* Zwingli's theology. Further down, in dealing with the question of the Eucharistic presence having to undergo suffering, A Lapidé again uses Erasmus' florid prose to bolster appeal:

'Deus, inquit Erasmus praefat. in libros Algeri, qui iuxta naturam non minùs est in cloacis, quàm in caelis, non laedi potest, nec inquinari: ita nec corpus Domini glorificatum'.⁹³

Erasmus (Præf. in lib. Algeri.) says. 'God, who, according to nature, is as truly in the sewers as the skies, cannot be hurt or defiled, nor can the glorified body of the Lord'.⁹⁴

This quote is from Erasmus' important preface to his 1530 edition of Alger of Liege's (c. 1131) *De ueritate corporis et sanguinis Dominici in Eucharistia*, where

Erasmus gives his most complete statement on the subject [of the Eucharist]. Though rejecting speculation, remaining cool to transubstantiation, and emphasizing many times the mystery, Erasmus affirms 'the true substance of the body and blood of the Lord'.⁹⁵

So here at the I Corinthians commentary we find A Lapidé more than willing to employ Erasmus as a theological ally, giving witness to the ongoing influence of Erasmian scholarship. In relating Erasmus' Eucharistic theology A Lapidé quotes him fairly and gives a good representation. And through his strategic positioning of direct quotes from the Humanist within a remarkable spectrum of citations of Church councils and fathers A Lapidé

⁹³ CSS XVIII, p. 363a. See Allen VIII (1930), ep. 2284, l. 81-82: *...concorditer sensisse in Eucharistia esse ueram substantiam corporis et sanguinis Dominici*. Alger's treatise in PL 180, *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis dominici*.

⁹⁴ Cobb trans.

⁹⁵ Payne 1970, p. 146.

accomplishes a summary of the wide range of Catholic tradition and demonstrates Erasmus' piety as the ultimate criterion for fidelity – a victory for *philosophia Christi*.

*Conclusion:
Different Men, Different Ages*

Although the impact of Erasmus on A Lapide has not been thoroughly examined we can draw some conclusions from this short survey. First, A Lapide takes Erasmus' skill with the Greek language seriously, to the point where he likely had a copy of the *Annotiones* at hand when he did his own commentary. However, due to Erasmus' ambiguous theological positions, A Lapide does not give him enough credit for his sophisticated textual-critical methods. Second, A Lapide consistently deals with Erasmus on his own ground, using rhetorical equivalence when evaluating the Humanist's scholarship: grammar for grammar, theology for theology, Church father for Church father, sarcasm for sarcasm. A Lapide also never counters Erasmus with arguments from *auctoritates* that Erasmus did not use and endorse (e.g. Thomas Aquinas). This finding accords with the fact that A Lapide quotes Erasmus accurately and fairly, restating his arguments rather than twisting them. Third, A Lapide shows some severity toward Erasmus' sarcastic tone and freewheeling ways, but ultimately sees him as a shady ally. The faithful Jesuit is, so to say, a 'company man', and, when he can, moves Erasmus' provocative work toward definitive statements in line with Catholic orthodoxy.⁹⁶ Both Erasmus and A Lapide were men who desired a good and holy Church, and despite their differences we find an interesting similarity in the different brands of optimism we see at work, each reflective of his era. A Lapide's optimism stems from his faith in the time-tested Truth of Church teaching. As is the impression of Baroni:

Sur toute cette œuvre monumentale semble régner un optimisme imperturbable: le texte sacré est inattaquable; la critique historique n'offre aucune difficulté insurmontable;

⁹⁶ Jarrot 1970, p. 122.

l'interprétation traditionnelle dans ses variantes est riche de vérités multiples; l'hérésie est confondue; le dogme catholique trouve partout sa confirmation.⁹⁷

Throughout [A Lapide's] monumental work imperturbable optimism seems to reign: the sacred text is unassailable; historical criticism offers no insurmountable difficulty; the traditional interpretation is rich in variants of multiple truths; heresy is confounded; [and] Catholic dogma everywhere confirmed.

One hundred years earlier, Erasmus does his scholarship in a spirit of openness and free inquiry, his optimism is in the limitless possibilities of a world where the study of Scripture and *philosophia Christi* prevails. Theologically he is willing to live at the grey limit, examining the edge and hopefully not falling off. Thus Erasmus pushes biblical criticism to the edges of orthodoxy, in turn, A Lapide pulls it back to center, and so the dialogue continues.

Appendix: Citation Frequency Chart

<i>BOOK:</i>	<i>Erasm</i>	<i>Erasmus</i>	<i>Erasmo</i>	<i>Erasmi</i>	<i>Erasmmum</i>	<i>Total</i>
Intro	2	2	0	0	0	4
ROM.	0	28	2	0	1	31
I COR.	4	20	1	0	1	26
II COR.	5	18	1	0	0	24
GAL.	2	15	1	0	0	18
EPH.	11	19	2	0	0	32
PHIL.	8	16	1	0	1	25
COL.	2	8	0	0	0	10
I THESS.	0	2	0	0	0	2

(*cont.*)

⁹⁷ Baroni 1943/86, p. 280.

<i>BOOK:</i>	<i>Erasm</i>	<i>Erasmus</i>	<i>Erasm</i>	<i>Erasmi</i>	<i>Erasmum</i>	<i>Total</i>
II THESS.	2	4	0	0	0	6
I TIM.	3	13	2	0	1	19
II TIM.	1	7	1	0	0	9
TIT.	1	7	1	0	0	9
PHIL.	0	2	1	0	0	3
HEBR.	9	21	1	0	0	31
TOTAL CITATIONS FROM A LAPIDE = 249						
Notes:	1	5	0	14	4	24
PENT.	1	1	0	0	0	2
MT.	0	5	0	0	1	6
LC.	0	3	0	0	0	3
IOH.	0	2	0	0	0	2

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Abbreviation

DLCR = *Digital Library of the Catholic Reformation*, Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press L. L. C. and partners, 2017.

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- ASD IV/3 = *Moriae encomium id est Stultitiae laus*, ed. C. Miller, 1979.
- ASD V/5 = *Ecclesiastes sive de ratione concionandi (Libri III-IV)*, ed. J. Chomarat, 1994.
- ASD VI/7 = *Annotationes in Epistolam ad Romanos*, ed. P. F. Hovinck, 2011.
- ASD VI/9 = *Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum (pars quinta)*, ed. M. L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk, 2009.
- ASD VI/10 = *Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum (pars sexta)*, ed. M. L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk, 2014.
- CWE 56 = *Annotations on Romans*, ed. R. D. Sider, Toronto, Buffalo, NY & London: University of Toronto Press, 1994 (The Collected Works of Erasmus, 56).
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- LB = *Opera Omnia, emendatiora et auctiora, ad optimas editiones, precipue quas ipse Erasmus postremo curauit, summa fide exacta, doctorumque uirorum notis illustrate. Recognouit Joannes Clericus* [Leiden: Petrus vander Aa, 1703-1706], Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961-1962 (11 vols).
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- *Des. Eras. Roterod. epistolarum opus complectens uniuersas quotquot ipse autor unquam euulgauit, aut euulgatas uoluit, quibus praeter nouas aliquot additae sunt & praefationes, quas in diuersos omnis generis scriptores non paucas idem conscripsit* (1558 edition), Basel: In officina Frobeniana per Hieronymum Frobenium, et Nicolaum Episcopium. Source: University of Oxford, Bodleian Library: Allen C.9 in DLCR.

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Abstract

This essay examines the transmission and reception of Desiderius Erasmus' text-critical Bible scholarship in the work of the prominent early-modern Catholic biblical commentator Cornelius a Lapide S.J. (1567-1637), especially in his 1614 commentaries on the Epistles of Paul written during A Lapide's time in Louvain. The paper makes three points of evaluation. It first (1) looks at the frequency of A Lapide's citations of Erasmus, particularly in terms of textual-critical matters – a frequency that is highest in the Pauline commentaries in comparison to A Lapide's other biblical work. Secondly, (2) the paper investigates A Lapide's assessment of how Erasmus' philological scholarship led to theological entanglements as the Reformation unfolded. A third (3) important point of attention is the measure and tone of A Lapide's responses, which serve as a good barometer not only in creating a picture of the man, but also of the shape of the Jesuit order in 1614. On a para-level, the essay examines the question of authority in biblical matters.

PART II

RENAUD ADAM

THE FIRST EDITION
OF THOMAS MORE'S *UTOPIA*
IN LOUVAIN, ITS PRINTER DIRK MARTENS
AND THE ERASMIAN NETWORK
IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
EXPLORING THE ROLE OF A HUMANIST
NETWORK IN A PRINTING HOUSE
IN THE LOW COUNTRIES *

Utopiae imprimendae prouinciam Theodoricus noster lubens ac gaudens susceperit
(‘My friend Martens has undertaken the task of printing the *Utopia* with the
greatest pleasure’).¹

With these words, Gerard Geldenhouwer starts a letter addressed to Erasmus, dated November 12, 1516, from Louvain, in which he explains that Dirk Martens, one of the first printers in the Low Countries, agreed to print Thomas More’s *Utopia*. We may find it surprising that the English humanist gave his text to this particular printer and not to a famous humanist printer like Johann Froben in Basel or Josse Bade in Paris. In fact, the answer lies in the name of the addressee of this letter: Erasmus. More did not choose Martens randomly, but had been guided by his friend Erasmus, who was living in Brabant at that time and was working directly with this printer, even in his workshop. With this choice, Erasmus offered to Thomas More the opportunity to have members of their common circle monitor closely the printing of *Utopia*, do the proof-reading and direct the publishing.

This well-documented case is an excellent example to describe the nature of collaborations between a printer and humanists in the early years of the sixteenth century. The correspondence of Erasmus, supplemented by information contained in the first edition of the *Utopia* itself, will help us to study the role and the

* I want to thank Dr Susie Speakman Sutch (University of Ghent) for rereading my text and the editors for their comments.

¹ Allen II (1910), ep. 487, l. 1-2 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 487, l. 1-2).

composition of the network of humanists working closely with Dirk Martens.² It will also give us an opportunity to describe the key role Erasmus played in the humanist book market in the Low Countries and, more specifically, to depict the relationships between him and the printer of *Utopia*. But, before we address the central topics of this article, it is important to present Martens' biography; because his life has attracted less attention from scholars than, for example, that of his colleagues Aldo Manuzio or Johann Froben.³

*Dirk Martens and the Dawn of Humanist Printing
in the Low Countries*

The history of Dirk Martens begins in the middle of the fifteenth century (c. 1446/7) in Flanders, in the little town of Alost, half-way between Brussels and Ghent and located about 60 kilometres from the University of Louvain.⁴ He was the son of Joos Martens and Johanna de Proost.⁵ He married the sister of Bartel Coecke, bell-founder and member of a renowned family in Alost.⁶ They had four children: Petrus, printer in Louvain (d. c. 1524); Barbara (d. c. 1535), married to the printer Servatius Sassenus I (d. 1557), successor to Dirk Martens; Susanna and Bernarda, both deceased before 1527.

Less than 20 years after the printing of the Gutenberg Bible, Dirk Martens founded with his *socius* ('associate') Johannes de

² Biographical information on the persons mentioned in this article can be found in: Bietenholz 1986-1987. I follow the spelling of the name used in this book.

³ Lowry 1979; Sebastiani 2018.

⁴ The biographical sketch of Martens is based on: Heireman 1973; Rouzet 1975, p. 140-142; Adam 2009a; Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009; Adam 2018.

⁵ The Proosts were one of the most powerful families in Alost. Dirk Martens' uncle, Jan Proost (d. 1475), was lord of Eertbrugge and Schellebelle, mayor of Alost at several times and councillor of Charles the Bold. With his wife Alexandrina van Steelant he founded the convent of the Black Sisters in Alost in 1474 (de Potter & Broeckaert 1873-1876, vol. 2, p. 31-32; vol. 3, p. 108-110; Van Rompaey 1967, p. 157-158, 616, 623, 638).

⁶ De Potter & Broeckaert 1873-1876, vol. 2, p. 69, 71; vol. 4, p. 293. These authors do not specify where they found this information. Until now, I have not been able to support or refute it. The well-known painter Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550) is one of the famous members of this Coecke family.

Westphalia, in his hometown, the first printing house of the Southern Low Countries. Together they published three books in 1473: Denys Rykiel's *Speculum conuersionis peccatorum* (which is the first dated book printed in the Southern Low Countries), treatises attributed to Pseudo-Augustinus and Enea Silvio Piccolomini's *De duobus amantibus*.⁷ The next year they printed four other books: Aristoteles' *Logica uetus* (May 6), Petrus Hispanus' *Textus summularum* (May 26), Battista Mantuanus' *De uita beata* (October 1), and a theological treatise written by the Carmelite from Bruges Peter de Bruyne, *Tabulare Fratrum Ordinis Deiferae Virginis Mariae de Carmelo* (October 28).⁸ After that, Dirk Martens printed only two books, just before closing the workshop. A short time earlier, Johannes de Westphalia had broken their partnership to launch a new venture in Louvain where he published his first book on December 9, 1474: Petrus Crescentiis' *Ruralia commoda*.⁹ He was active there till the end of the century.

Westphalia and Martens certainly met in Venice, the place where people willing to learn the art of printing converged and where the *Tedeschi* ('Germans') formed a community.¹⁰ Italy, and more specifically Venice, deeply influenced the two men and their respective work. In Alost, they used types designed by the Venetian punchcutter Bartholomaeus Cremonensis.¹¹ They were the first to publish in the Low Countries a novel written by an Italian humanist, Piccolomini's *De duobus amantibus*.¹² Martens summarized his program in the colophon of Mantuanus' *De uita beata*, printed on October 1, 1474: *Qui Venetum scita Flandrensis affero cuncta* ('bring the elegance of the Venetians to his fellows Flemish').¹³ More than book design, Martens aimed to

⁷ ISTC id00248300, ia01283100, ip00671700. The most recent compilation of Martens' publications is available in: Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 201-235.

⁸ ISTC ia01014400, ij00229050, ib00095900, ir00005500.

⁹ ISTC ic00966000.

¹⁰ The citizens from the Low Countries were associated by Italians with Germans. About the German printers in Venice and their community: Zorzi 1986; Kikuchi 2014.

¹¹ Juchhoff 1928.

¹² On the distribution of Piccolomini in the Low Countries, see: Adam 2009b.

¹³ ISTC ib00095900, f. 28v.

disseminate Italian culture in the Low Countries. He fulfilled his dream by the end of his life. The following sections describe the efforts he undertook to achieve this ambition.

Martens left Alost after publishing *Tabulare*, returning there some 12 years later, in 1486. Some scholars think that he was active in Spain.¹⁴ They argue that the *Teodorico Aleman jnpressor de libros* ('Theodorus German, printer of books') who was granted protection by the Spanish kings in 1477 was Dirk Martens. Alexandre Vanautgaerden and I have shown that this theory is based on unsubstantiated arguments.¹⁵ In fact, our point is that Martens went back to Italy to expand his technical knowledge. How else can it be explained that the printer was in possession of Erhard Ratdolt's types after his return to Alost? He bought these types exactly when Ratdolt left Venice to return to his hometown, Augsburg. The first book published in the second printing house of Alost was a speech addressed to the Emperor Frederick III in Bruges on August 13, 1486, written by the Venetian ambassador, Ermolao Barbaro.¹⁶ It is tempting to think that Martens met Barbaro during his voyage to the Low Countries. The publication of this typically humanist text might suggest that Martens will finally bring the elegance of the Venetians to his fellow compatriots. However, he distanced himself from modern Italian literature to print such medieval authors as Henricus Suso or Angelus de Clavasio, and liturgical books such as breviaries.¹⁷

After the death in 1493 of two Antwerp printers Matthias Van der Goes and Gheraert Leeu, Martens established his workshop in that city. His first publication was the letters of Christopher Columbus relating his voyage of discovery to the Indies, a text that appeared first in Spanish after the explorer's return.¹⁸ Martens published around 20 books and indulgences in Antwerp before moving to Louvain in 1497.¹⁹ The following year he pub-

¹⁴ Petit 1882; Colin & Hellinga 1973, p. 107-108.

¹⁵ Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 28.

¹⁶ ISTC ib00103000.

¹⁷ ISTC is00874000, ia00720000, ib01143970, ib01144450, ib01184300.

¹⁸ ISTC ic00761500.

¹⁹ He matriculated on June 15, 1497 (Schillings 1958, p. 156, no. 75). The statutes of the University of Louvain specify that booksellers, and later printers,

lished a breviary for the use of Liège.²⁰ Martens seems to have specialized in liturgical productions. He printed another breviary for the use of Salisbury and synodal statutes for Liège and Arras.²¹

This venture did not encounter the success that the printer had hoped for. He returned to Antwerp in 1502 after publishing a dozen books. His workshop was located *op die Steenhouwersteveste* (the 'Stone-Cutters Ramparts').²² We do not know if he relocated to his former printing house. However, he chose a place at the heart of the area dedicated to the printed book south of the Collegiate Church of Our Lady, in a triangle formed by the *Kammenstraat* (the 'Breweries Street'), the *Steenhouwersvest* (the 'Stone-Cutters Rampart') and the *Lombaerdeveste* (the 'Lombards Rampart'), with a particular focus on the *Kammerpoort* (the 'Breweries Gate').²³ More than 75 percent of the printers who worked in the city before 1520 could be found in this area.²⁴ The concentration of these printers not far from the collegiate church can be easily explained by the presence of the *Onze-Lieve-Vrouwepand* ('Our Lady Market'), which had been the nucleus of the trade in paintings, sculpture, altarpieces, books and engravings since 1460.²⁵

Antwerp was the place where a meeting and collaboration took place that would leave a strong mark on Martens' future career. What happened was that the *typographus* ('typographer')

were obliged to join the *congregatio uniuersitatis* (university community) after swearing an oath in the rector's hands that they would exercise their business without ruse or fraud (*absque dolo et fraude*). On the legal framework of the book trade in the Southern Low Countries, see: Adam 2017.

²⁰ ISTC ib01163600.

²¹ ISTC ib01178700, is00745000, is00727200.

²² This information is provided in the colophon of one mint ordinance: *De valuatien ende ordinantien vanden gbelde: Dese valuacie es gheprent Thantwerpen op die Steenhouwersteveste by mi Dircsz Martens van Aelst* (USTC 438164, f. 10v). The USTC gives the wrong dating of c. 1500. At that time, Martens was active in Louvain. In fact, this mint ordinance was printed after 1502.

²³ On the printers' settlement in Antwerp, see: Adam 2014, p. 23-25.

²⁴ Printers settled in these streets: Govaert Bac, Adriaen van Berghen, Symon Cock, Jan van Doesborch, Henrick Eckert, Mathias van der Goes, Michiel Hillen, Adriaen van Liesvelt, Dirk Martens, Thomas van der Noot, Henrick Pieterszoon, and Willem Vorsterman (Adam 2014, p. 23).

²⁵ Vroom 1983, p. 78-91; Vermeylen 2003, p. 24-27; Van der Stighelen & Vermeylen 2006.

was contacted by Erasmus on February 15, 1503, and asked to publish his *Lucubratiunculae aliquot*, a volume of about a hundred sheets containing one of his most important treatises, the *Enchiridion militis christiani* (1503).²⁶ The fame of the Dutch humanist was not yet that of the future author of the *Moriae Encomium*. He was still relatively young, in search of patrons and trying to approach the court of Burgundy. One year later, Martens printed the address Erasmus delivered on January 6, 1504, at the festivities organized by the States of Brabant celebrating the return of Philip the Handsome from his first sojourn in Spain.²⁷ During this period, Erasmus had already published *De praecellentia potestatis imperatoriae* by Jacob Anthoniszoon, with a preface signed by him in which Erasmus let it be known that the author had asked him to help him find a printer.²⁸

Shortly after this, Martens took a break from his career in the printing business. He published nothing until the issue of Francesco Filelfo's *Breuiiores elegantioresque epistolae* in 1507.²⁹ Is it possible that he was having financial difficulties? Two booksellers from London, Joost Pilgrim and Henry Jacobi, commissioned five of the eight books he printed between 1507 and 1508.³⁰ Martens' financial situation seems to improve in the next years. The proportion of humanist authors constantly increased. Martens reissued Erasmus in 1509 and published Poliziano's and Mirandola's collection of letters and the treatises written by Rudolf Agricola.³¹

When he arrived in Antwerp, Martens was in possession of four Venetian Gothic types and one Greek font, all probably acquired from Erhard Ratdolt in Venice.³² He used his Greek alphabet for the first time in 1491 to reproduce some parts of Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale* commented by Johann Syn-

²⁶ USTC 400246.

²⁷ USTC 415544.

²⁸ USTC 436667.

²⁹ USTC 436744.

³⁰ USTC 436749, 436751, 400282, 436764, 441932. On these two booksellers, see: Duff 1905, p. 79-80; Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 45-46, 157, n. 2.

³¹ USTC 436768, 404689, 440880, 403652.

³² Hellinga 1966, vol. 1, p. 79-80.

then.³³ It should be noted that this is the first use of moveable Greek type in the Southern Low Countries.³⁴ Without going so far as to dethrone black letters, which were still favoured by customers, the usage of other kinds of types nevertheless increased from 1500 onwards. Martens was the first to generalize the use of Roman letters. Black letters were first confined to reproducing titles and colophons before disappearing. Martens remained in Antwerp until 1512 when he moved his workshop again to Louvain. The last book printed on *Steenhouwersvest* was the *Plusculae fabulae* by Aesop and Avianus, revised by Adrianus Barlandus (April 22, 1512).³⁵

The new Martens' workshop was located in Louvain *e regione scholae iuris ciuilis* ('close to the Civil Law Faculty'), on the present-day 'Naamsestraat'. The printing of Lucianus' *Complures dialogi* translated by Erasmus, on August 14, 1512, marks the beginning of the last chapter of Martens' long career which ended with Nicolaus Clenardus' *Tabulae in grammaticen Hebraeam* in 1529.³⁶

The final confirmation of Martens' status as a humanist printer took place in this chapter of his life. He focused on printing classical authors such as Aesop, Lucian or Cicero (writers studied at the Faculty of Arts), and humanists such as Erasmus, Vives or Filelfo. He acquired new trilingual types, which enabled him to print in the three sacred languages, i.e. Latin, Greek and Hebrew.³⁷ In this spirit, he abandoned his old Greek alphabet in 1515, by then worn and incomplete, for a new one directly inspired by the fonts designed for Aldo Manuzio. Three years later, Hebrew appears in the *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, a leaf printed for the students of the *Collegium Trilingue* learning this language.³⁸ Four years later, in June 1522, italics were used for the first time in

³³ ISTD ia00445560.

³⁴ Painter 1960.

³⁵ USTC 400314.

³⁶ USTC 436841, 437460.

³⁷ On the typographic material used by Martens in the sixteenth century, see: Vervliet 1968, p. 63, 70, T 12, R 15, It 5; Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 50-70.

³⁸ This publication seems not to be recorded in USTC. For bibliographical information, see: NK 2303.

his publication of the Pauline epistles.³⁹ This font was created by the punchcutter Jean Thibault.⁴⁰ Martens was not entirely satisfied with this alphabet. He quickly bought another one of higher quality.

The printer was really proud of his material and made no secret of it. He said in the colophon of Rudolf Agricola's *De inuentione dialectica* that he printed it *characteribus (ut est uidere) faberrimis* ('with types artfully designed, as you can see').⁴¹ Elsewhere, he explained that he is a leader in trilingual printing:

in excudendis Latinis, nulli cedo, in Graecis, perpaucis, in Hebraicis ambimus similem laudem.

regarding Latin edition, I cede to no one; I have few rivals for Greek; I want to deserve the same praises for Hebrew printing.⁴²

Martens ended his career after publishing around 270 books. He had already decided to leave the book business in 1524 and let his son, Petrus, take control of his venture.⁴³ Petrus was associated to his father's enterprise before taking over its control. His work is documented on June 26, 1522, in a letter written by a collaborator of Dirk Martens to Erasmus in which he explained that Petrus had left Louvain for Basel two weeks before.⁴⁴ But, the death of Petrus, after printing four books, forced his father to resume his business for a few years. Dirk Martens finally retired to the convent of the Hermits of St William in Alost where he died five years later, on May 28, 1534.⁴⁵

³⁹ USTC 437196.

⁴⁰ Vervliet 1968, It 5.

⁴¹ USTC 400342.

⁴² This quote comes from Martens' afterword to Erasmus' *Declamationes* printed in 1518 (f. 71r) (USTC 400389). The letter signed by Martens is edited in: Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 181, text 14.

⁴³ Petrus Martens published four books under his name, two written by Adrians Barlandus, one by Juan Luis Vives and the last by Lucianus Samosatensis. The list can be found in: Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 235.

⁴⁴ Allen V (1924), ep. 1296, l. 15-17 (translation: CWE 9 [1989], ep. 1296, l. 15-16).

⁴⁵ Martens' grave is actually located in the chapel of St Sebastian in the collegiate church St Martin in Alost (Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 135-136).

Martens is, thus, of great importance for the history of the spread of the art of printing in the Southern Low Countries. He introduced the use of three alphabets (Greek, Hebrew and italic) and generalized the use of Roman types. He also printed the first novel by an Italian humanist in the Low Countries. The Alost printer is also known as the first editor of one of the most important philosophic works written during the Early Modern Period: Thomas More's *Utopia*. The following section will describe the major steps that led to the printing of this text.

Utopia in Press

This section begins on September 3, 1516, when Thomas More wrote these words to Erasmus:

Nusquamam nostram nusquam bene scriptam ad te mitto: praescripsi epistolam ad Petrum [Aegidium] meum. Cetera tu ut recte cures, expertus sum non esse opus ut te adhorter.

I send you my book of Nowhere, and you will find it is nowhere well written; it has a preface addressed to my friend Peter [Giles]. Well, you must do what you can for it. I know from experience that you need no urging.⁴⁶

This letter indicates that More had completed his book – *Nusquamam* (*Nowhere*), More's first choice of a title for *Utopia* – by early September and sent the manuscript to his friend Erasmus, with a prefatory dedicated to his other friend Peter Giles. This triangular friendship – Erasmus, Giles, More – is the key to understanding the composition of *Utopia* and its later printing.⁴⁷ The late Professor L.-E. Halkin of the University of Liège used to say about Peter Giles that he is 'un de ces seconds rôles que l'amitié a fait rentrer dans l'histoire'.⁴⁸ This story can be better understood if we come back to 1515 and to the origin of More's *Utopia*.

⁴⁶ Allen II (1910), ep. 461, l. 1-2 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 461, l. 1-2).

⁴⁷ Wojcichowski 2011.

⁴⁸ Halkin 1988, p. 72.

Thomas More began writing his famous book when he travelled to the Low Countries in early May 1515 in order to conduct trade negotiations on behalf of Henri VIII.⁴⁹ The suspension of the negotiations in July allowed him to go to Antwerp and meet Peter Giles, secretary of the Antwerp city council. Erasmus, a close friend of both, suggested this meeting and is at the origin of the close friendship between the two men. What would become Book II of *Utopia* and the introduction of Book I were conceived in Antwerp. Peter Giles had certainly helped More to compose the book. He even became a character in its narrative. He is the third interlocutor of this story, listening with More to Raphael Hythlodæus' travel history. More portrayed his friend in the beginning of *Utopia* with these words:

Ibi dum uersor, saepe me inter alios sed quo non alius gratior, inuisit Petrus Aegidius Antuerpiae natus, magna fide, & loco apud suos honesto, dignus honestissimo, quippe iuuenis haud scio doctiorne, an moratior. Est enim optimus & literatissimus, ad haec animo in omnes candido, in amicos uero tam propenso pectore, amore, fide, adfectu tam sincero, ut uix unum aut alterum usquam inuenias, quem illi sentias omnibus amicitiae numeris esse conferendum. Rara illi modestia, nemini longius abest fucus, nulli simplicitas inest prudentior, porro sermone tam lepidus, et tam innoxie facetus, ut patriae desyderium, ac laris domestici, uxoris, & liberorum, quorum studio reuiscendum nimis quam anxie tenebar (iam tum enim plus quatuor mensibus abfueram domo) magna ex parte mihi dulcissima consuetudine sua, & mellitissima confabulatione leuauerit.

While I stayed there, among my other visitors, but of all of them the most welcome, was Peter Giles, a native of Antwerp, an honourable man of high position in his home town yet worthy of the very highest position, being a young man distinguished equally by learning and character; for he is most virtuous and most cultured, to all most courteous, but to his friends so open-hearted, affectionate, loyal, and sincere that you can hardly find one or two anywhere to compare with him as the perfect friend on every score. His modesty is uncommon; no one is less given to deceit, and none has a wiser simplicity of nature. Besides, in conversation he is so polished and so witty without offence that his delightful

⁴⁹ Hexter 1965. On More's stay in the Low Countries, see: Sacré 2016.

society and charming discourse largely took away my nostalgia and made me less conscious than before of the separation from my home, wife, and children to whom I was exceedingly anxious to get back, for I had then been more than four months away.⁵⁰

Thomas More praises the kindness and hospitality of Giles who helped him to mitigate his homesickness and his ardent desire to see his wife and children. Finally, More was recalled in October. He composed in London Book I and the conclusion of *Utopia*. In a letter to Ulrich von Hutten written in 1519, Erasmus said about More that, at that time, he was frantically busy, which explains a certain unevenness in the style of Book I.⁵¹ More had already complained about his overburdened work schedule in his prefatory to Giles:

Dum causas forenseis assidue alias ago, alias audio, alias arbiter finio, alias iudex dirimo, dum hic officij causa uisitur, ille negocij, dum foris totum ferme diem aliis impartior, reliquum meis, relinquo mihi, hoc est literis, nihil. Nempe reuerso domum, cum uxore fabulandum est, garriendum cum liberis, colloquendum cum ministris. [...] Inter haec quae dixi elabitur dies, mensis, annus. Quando ergo scribimus?

I am constantly engaged in legal business, either pleading or hearing, either giving an award as arbiter or deciding a case as judge. I pay a visit of courtesy to one man and go on business to another. I devote almost the whole day in public to other men's affairs and reminder to my own. I leave to myself, that is to learning, nothing at all. When I have returned home, I must talk with my wife, chat with my children, and confer with my servant. [...] Amid these occupations that I have named, the day, the month, the year slip away. When, then, can we find the time to write?⁵²

On September 20, 1515, More wrote again to Erasmus, reminding him that he sent his *Nusquama* some time ago and that he longs to see it published soon:

⁵⁰ More 1965, p. 48-49.

⁵¹ Allen IV (1922), ep. 999, l. 260-261 (translation: CWE 7 [1987], ep. 999, l. 283-284).

⁵² More 1965, p. 38-41.

ornatam etiam egregia et magnifica laude, eaque si fieri posset a pluribus non litteratis modo, sed etiam his qui sint ab administranda republica celebrati.

well-furnished too with glowing testimonials, if possible not only from several literary men but also from people well-known for the part they have taken in public affairs.⁵³

As Peter R. Allen showed, Thomas More's ambition with this demand was to carry *Utopia* 'with a group of names which would clearly identify it for the knowledgeable sixteenth-century reader as a document of northern European, not just English, humanism'.⁵⁴

On October 2, Erasmus replied to More in a letter in which he complains of his financial problems, asking him to intervene. After that, he mentions briefly that *De insula deque caeteris curabuntur omnia* ('as for your Island, and all other things, they shall be taken care of').⁵⁵ He also added in the final lines:

P[etrus] Aegidius plane te deamat. Nobiscum assidue uiuis. Mire fauet tuae Nusquamae teque ualde salutat cum tuis omnibus.

Peter Giles is devoted to you. You are constantly present with us. He is delighted with your *Nowhere*, and greets you most warmly, you and all yours.⁵⁶

It might seem surprising that Erasmus does not say a word about what he thinks of More's *Insula* [i.e. the island of *Utopia*] or that he does not ask what he is supposed to do with it. Jack H. Hexter explains that 'there is nothing really odd in this exchange', because Erasmus had presumably read the first version of this book, discussed it with Thomas More, and organized with him how to bring the manuscript to print. This exchange certainly took place during his stay in More's own house as a guest in the first half of August.⁵⁷

⁵³ Allen II (1910), ep. 467, l. 15-17 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 467, l. 16-18).

⁵⁴ Allen 1963, p. 97.

⁵⁵ Allen II (1910), ep. 474, l. 23-24 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 474, l. 26-27).

⁵⁶ Allen II (1910), ep. 474, l. 29-30 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 474, l. 34-36).

⁵⁷ Hexter 1965, p. xvi.

On October 17, Erasmus launched the process. He wrote to Peter Giles, from Brussels, that:

Nusquamam adorno. Tu fac praefationem mittas, sed ad alium potius quam ad me, ad Buslidium potius.

I am getting the *Nowhere* ready; mind you send me a preface, but addressed to someone other than me, Busleyden for choice.⁵⁸

This passage shows us that Erasmus is very familiar with printing techniques. He is 'dressing' the manuscript before sending it to the printer. This intimacy with the typographic world comes from his close contact with printers. Throughout his career, Erasmus did not hesitate to work directly with printers, even in their workshop.⁵⁹ Then, as the most experienced, Erasmus told Giles how to proceed and asks him to dedicate his prefatory to Jérôme de Busleyden, archdeacon of Cambrai and councillor of the future Charles V.⁶⁰ *Utopia* opens with this letter, dated November 1, 1516.⁶¹ Some may wonder why Erasmus did not want to be the dedicatee of Giles' prefatory. Was Erasmus ashamed of the book, as the letter he sent to Ulrich von Hutten in 1519, in which he mentioned the uneven Latin of *Utopia*, might imply. Richard Marius, More's biographer, also suggests that Erasmus was maybe not fully pleased with More's defence of *Moriae Encomium* against Maarten van Dorp.⁶² There is still another possibility: maybe More and Erasmus had already decided together to choose someone other than Erasmus himself.

On October 31, More responded to Erasmus. He is delighted to hear that Peter Giles approved of his book:

⁵⁸ Allen II (1910), ep. 477, l. 5-7 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 477, l. 7-9).

⁵⁹ See: Allen 1913-1915; Crousaz 2005; Vanautgaerden 2012. The working relation between Erasmus and Martens is developed in the next section.

⁶⁰ More met Busleyden, founder of the *Collegium Trilingue*, in Louvain during his diplomatic mission to the Low Countries. He visited Busleyden's house in Mechelen and writes of Busleyden and of the Mechelen mansion in several of his *Epigrammata* (De Vocht 1950, p. 50-65, 80-85; Sacré 2016, p. 198-199).

⁶¹ More 1965, p. 20-25.

⁶² Marius 1974, p. 240.

Nusquamam nostram gaudeo probari meo Petro; si talibus placeat, incipiet placere et mihi.

I am delighted to hear that Peter approves of my *Nusquama*; if men such as he like it, I shall begin to like it myself.⁶³

He is also wondering if he will receive the same approval from his two friends Cuthbert Tunstall and Jérôme de Busleyden and also from the chancellor Jean Le Sauvage, whom he met during his diplomatic mission.⁶⁴ Busleyden's opinion can be found in the congratulatory letter addressed to More published in *Utopia*: his *Utopia* will make him immortal.⁶⁵ More had to wait until late November or early December to discover Tunstall's positive reaction.⁶⁶ Nothing has been recorded about Jean Le Sauvage's impression. Some proofs were apparently sent to a few selected friends to receive their views on the book.

On November 12, Gerard Geldenhouwer, member of Louvain's humanist circle and Dirk Martens' collaborator, wrote to Erasmus:

Utopiae imprimendae prouiciam Theodoricus noster lubens ac gaudens suscepit. Insulae ipsius figuram a quodam egregio pictore effictam Paludanus noster [Jean Desmarez] tibi ostendet; si quid mutatum uelis, scribes aut figurae annotabis. [...] Adhibebo omnem diligentiam ut Utopia ornate in publicum prodeat; ut prosit lectori, non offendat.

My friend Martens has undertaken the task of printing the *Utopia* with the greatest pleasure. The plan of the island itself has been drawn out by a capital artist, and Paludanus [Jean Desmarez] will show it to you; if you would like any alterations, either let me know, or note them on the draft. [...] I will take great care to see that *Utopia* makes its public appearance in style, so that readers may get the benefit of it, and not be put off.⁶⁷

⁶³ Allen II (1910), ep. 481, l. 62-63 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 481, l. 68-69).

⁶⁴ Allen II (1910), ep. 481, l. 63-64 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 481, l. 69-70).

⁶⁵ More 1965, p. 36-37. Busleyden sent his letter to Erasmus on November 9, 1516 (Allen II [1910], ep. 484; translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 484).

⁶⁶ Allen II (1910), ep. 499, l. 35-39 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 499, l. 38-42).

⁶⁷ Allen II (1910), ep. 487, l. 1-7 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 487, l. 2-7).

As we can see, Geldenhouwer had played an important role in printing *Utopia*. He was in charge of reviewing the proofs and assuming the link between the printing shop and Peter Giles, editor of the text. This letter also shows that the drawing for the cut of *Utopia*'s island woodcut was completed by early November and that Erasmus' advice about its composition was sought.⁶⁸ Besides, Peter Giles drew the Utopian alphabet and wrote a tetrastichon in this fictitious exotic language with a Latin translation, as he explained in his prefatory to Jérôme de Busleyden (dated November 1, 1516):

*Tantum tetrastichum uernacular Utopiensium lingua scriptum,
quod a Mori discessu, forte mihi ostendit Hythlodæus apponen-
dum curauit aliquot annotatiunculis.*

There was only a poem of four lines in the Utopian vernacular which, after More's departure, Hythlodæus happened to show me. This verse, preceded by the Utopian alphabet, I have caused to be added to the book. I have also appended some brief annotations in the margins.⁶⁹

Did More ask at that time to change the name of *Nusquama* by *Utopia*?

On November 18, Erasmus sent a short letter to Peter Giles in which he says *Utopia in manibus est typographi* ('*Utopia* is in the printer's hands').⁷⁰ *Utopia*'s printing started, thus, before all the texts were in Martens' hands. The congratulatory letter addressed by Jean Desmarez (Paludanus), Louvain professor of eloquence and poetics, to Peter Giles is dated December 1.⁷¹ This explains why *Utopia*'s Book I begins on signature b₁r. Martens left a blank sheet to print preliminary texts, but he had incorrectly determined the space these texts would require. Another one, printed without any signature, had been added. It is very difficult to determine the exact date of the printing of *Utopia*, because the book bears

⁶⁸ On this woodcut, see: Schulte Herbrüggen 1997. Unfortunately, the name of the 'capital artist' remains unknown, despite efforts to identify him (debates summarized in: Schulte Herbrüggen 1997, p. 228-229).

⁶⁹ More 1965, p. 22-23.

⁷⁰ Allen II (1910), ep. 491, l. 13 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 491, l. 11).

⁷¹ More 1965, p. 26-29.

no colophon. On December 15, More wrote to Erasmus *nunc expecto haud alio animo quam mater peregre redeuntem filium* ('I now expect [*Utopia*] daily with the feelings of a mother expecting her son's return from foreign parts').⁷² The book was released during the last two weeks of December. William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, sent a letter on January 4, 1517, to thank Erasmus for offering him a copy.⁷³ Nine days later, on January 13, More had received one as the letter he wrote to Erasmus shows in which he thanks him and all the friends who had participated in this adventure (Busleyden, Desmarez and, of course, Giles).⁷⁴ The editor of Erasmus' correspondence, Percy Allen, suggested that *Utopia* might have been intended by More as a *strena* (New Year's gift).⁷⁵

The first edition of *Utopia*, printed by Martens, is an in-quarto reproduced in 54 folios, which means that 13,5 sheets of paper were necessary to print one copy.⁷⁶ The number of copies that had come off the presses is unknown.⁷⁷ The pages are unnumbered.⁷⁸ The title page is followed on its verso by the sketch of the island of *Utopia*. The Utopian alphabet and Giles' *Tetrastichon* are printed on f. [2r]. The *Hexastichon Anemolii* is on the next page. Giles' letter to Busleyden (f. [3r-4r]) and Desmarez's letter and poem (f. [4r]-a₁r) follow these texts. The printer inserted thereafter an epigram on *Utopia* by Gerard Geldenhouwer and one by Cornelius Grapheus. Next comes the congratulatory letter addressed by Busleyden to More (a₁r-a₂v), followed by the *prefatio* ('foreword'), namely, More's letter to Giles (a₂v-a₄v). The text

⁷² Allen II (1910), ep. 502, l. 26-27 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 502, l. 29-31).

⁷³ Allen II (1910), ep. 508, l. 1-3 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 508, l. 1-4).

⁷⁴ Allen II (1910), ep. 513, l. 6-8 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 513, l. 6-8).

⁷⁵ Allen II (1910), ep. 461, intro.

⁷⁶ More 1895 offers a critically edited text, without introductory pieces, except for More's letter to Giles.

⁷⁷ By that time, books were generally printed in editions of from 1000 to 1500 copies (Gaskell 1974, p. 161). In 1507, the Benedictine abbey of Werden (now Essen-Werden) on the Ruhr commissioned Martens to print two liturgical books, both reproduced in 1000 copies (Oosterbosch 1997).

⁷⁸ The signatures are, after four unsigned leaves, a-l⁴ m⁶.

occupies the rest of the book (b₁r-m₆r); Book II begins on e₃v. The last leaf (m₆v) bears Martens' typographical device.

Erasmus promoted More's book in his circle by dispatching it to some friends or advising others to read it. Lord Mountjoy received one around New Year, as we have seen.⁷⁹ Antonius Clava, member of the Council of Flanders, Guillaume Budé and Guillaume Cop, for example, were invited by the Dutch humanist to buy a copy.⁸⁰

Utopia quickly became a great success.⁸¹ Erasmus asked More for a corrected copy in March 1517.⁸² In early October, Gilles de Gourmont, a leading French printer, printed the second edition in Paris.⁸³ Due to hurried composition, proof-reading and printing, this version contains numerous mistakes in spelling. Erasmus complained about it to More:

Vidi tandem Utopiam Parisiis excusam sed mendose.

I have at last seen the Paris print of your *Utopia*, but it is full of mistakes.⁸⁴

Erasmus then charged Johann Froben to print a better version, which was issued in March 1518 with a prefatory signed by Erasmus.⁸⁵ Another one came off the same press six months later, in November.⁸⁶ The following editions are posthumous and mainly derived from the Basel edition of November 1518.⁸⁷

⁷⁹ Allen II (1910), ep. 508, l. 1-3 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 508, l. 1-4).

⁸⁰ Allen II (1910), ep. 524, l. 18-21; ep. 534, l. 56-58; ep. 537, l. 16-17 (translations: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 524, l. 18-20; ep. 534, l. 58-60; ep. 537, l. 21-23).

⁸¹ More was a little bit disappointed in Martens' edition. See: Rogers 1947, ep. 31, l. 35-36; ep. 34, l. 1-6.

⁸² Allen II (1910), ep. 543, l. 11-13 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 543, l. 14-15).

⁸³ USTC 144673. On this edition, see: Hexter 1965, p. clxxxv-clxxxvii.

⁸⁴ Allen III (1915), ep. 785, l. 50-51 (translation: CWE 5 [1979], ep. 785, l. 53-54).

⁸⁵ USTC 630792. On this edition, see: Hexter 1965, p. clxxxvii-clxxxix. This edition is the basis of the critical edition made by the Yale editors of 'The Complete Works of St Thomas More', because 'it appears to be the last edition in which More is likely to have had a direct hand' (Hexter 1965, p. clxxxvii).

⁸⁶ USTC 630793. On this edition, see: Hexter 1965, p. clxxxix-clxc.

⁸⁷ Hexter 1965, p. clxc-cxciv; Cave 2008.

Erasmus & Martens

Thus, Erasmus played a key role in the printing and distribution of More's *Utopia* from Louvain. This would not have been possible without his close relationship with Dirk Martens. The two men met in 1503, as we have seen in the first part of this article. Erasmus worked directly inside the printing office, as he will do regularly thereafter with other printers. He described his work in a letter to Desmarez printed at the end of the *Gratulatorius Panegyricus ad Philippum Archiducem Austriae*, dated in 1504 *Antuerpiae ex officina chalcographia* ('from Antwerp, in the printing house'):

Vix dum prima pagella recens et adhuc ab officina madens coeperat ostentari atque (ut fit in re noua) aliis ab aliis per manus tradi; Erasmus interim, quem scis quantopere semper delectarit Appelles ille post tabulas latitans, nusquam non aures arrectas habebat, undique captans, non quam maltis placeret [...], sed qua parte displiceret.

The moment that the first fresh page, still damp from the press, began to be shown about and passed from hand to hand, as novelties usually are, your friend Erasmus cocked up his ears (for you know how much delight he always took in that story about Apelles hiding behind his paintings), catching at every indication, not how many readers approved of it since for me at least one single's man verdict would fully suffice to bolster my self-esteem [...], but where it failed to win approval.⁸⁸

Panegyricus, printed around February, marks the end of the first collaboration between the two men. Erasmus returned to Louvain till December when he went back to Paris after four years in the Low Countries. It would be more than ten years before Martens tried to make contact with Erasmus. Maarten van Dorp, Louvain professor of theology, acted as an intermediary. He wrote these words to Erasmus in September 1514:

Theodoricus Alustensis chalcographus, qui Enchiridion et Panegyricum impressit, orauit me uti se commendarem tuae humanitati. Cupiuit plurimum uidere te, cupiuit hospicio comiter

⁸⁸ Allen I (1906), ep. 180, l. 5-12 (translation: CWE 2 [1975], ep. 180, l. 7-14).

ac liberaliter excipere, et ea de causa Antwerpiam profectus, ut rescuit te non illic sed Louanii esse, ilico recurrit ac totam ambulans noctem uenit postridie Louanium sesquihora ferme postquam abiisses. Si qua in re potest tibi gratificari, omnia pollicetur, et haud scio an omnium hominum uiuat homo tui amantior.

Dirk van Alost the printer, who printed your *Enchiridion* and *Panegyricus*, has asked me to remember him to you. He wanted very much to see you, and indeed to entertain you in a friendly and hospitable fashion, and set off to Antwerp for the purpose; when he heard you were not there, but at Louvain, he came straight back, and by travelling all night reached Louvain the next day about an hour and a half after you had gone. If there is anything he can do for you, he makes every promise, and I doubt if there is a man anywhere who is more devoted to you.⁸⁹

Scholars wishing to illustrate the mutual friendship existing between the printer and the humanist frequently use this episode.⁹⁰ The need for Dorp to remind Erasmus that Martens had published his *Enchiridion* and *Panegyricus* would indicate that the two men no longer had contact since the publication of these two books. The next year, Dorp is still lobbying in favour of Martens. He sent another letter on August 27, 1515, to Erasmus asking him again to let the *chalcographus* ('printer') have something to print.⁹¹ The Dutch humanist was at that time in Basel fully involved with the edition of his St Jerome's *Opera omnia*, printed by Froben in May 1516.⁹²

The collaboration between Erasmus and Martens really began in June 1516, when the Dutch humanist returned to Brabant to assume his function as a councillor of Charles V. They will work together all throughout Erasmus' stay until October 1521. This period can be described as an 'Erasmian fireworks'. During these four years Martens' workshop published a hundred books:

⁸⁹ Allen II (1910), ep. 304, l. 148-156 (translation: CWE 2 [1975], ep. 165-174).

⁹⁰ De Gand 1845, p. 26-27; van Iseghem 1852, p. 114-116; Reedijk 1974.

⁹¹ Allen II (1910), ep. 347, l. 368-372 (translation: CWE 3 [1976], ep. 347, l. 395-398).

⁹² USTC 679364. See on this edition: Vanautgaerden 2012, p. 363-367.

the equivalent of two thirds of his previous production. The writings of Erasmus represent almost half of the catalogue of the typographer with a large number of *principes* and *Paraphrasis*. Dirk Martens printed 51 texts of Erasmus and 17 books translated, edited or annotated by the Dutch humanist, which means the reproduction of an equivalent of 68,000 copies. Martens, printer of 32 *principes*, can be considered as the second printer of Erasmus, far behind the 150 *principes* printed by Johann Froben.⁹³ Martens' printing house was at this moment completely devoted to the cause of the Prince of humanists.

Erasmus did not limit himself to offering in exclusivity his own texts to Martens. He also served as a literary agent, as we have seen with More's *Utopia*. But Martens did not always follow his prestigious guest's advice. He was reluctant to accept the publishing of *Euersio munitionis aduersus unicam Magdalenam* by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester.⁹⁴ In 1520 he even refused to print an apology against Luther written by Joannes Driedo, professor in Louvain's Faculty of Theology. Erasmus expressed his disappointment to Adrianus Barlandus.⁹⁵ Was Martens embarrassed by publishing polemical texts?

In any event, it was well known that the humanist and his typographer had a privileged relationship. Edward Lee, one of the greatest detractors of Erasmus, wrote to him on February 1, 1520, complaining that he could not find any printer for publishing his text and that Martens would certainly not help him because:

*quum alioqui nulla spes esset ut is tibi tam uiratus satis ex fide
ageret meum negocium.*

there was no hope that he, who was always your sworn vassal,
could be properly trusted in any business of mine.⁹⁶

⁹³ The most recent list of Erasmus' *principes* can be found in Vanautgaerden 2012, p. 501-525.

⁹⁴ Allen IV (1922), ep. 1030, l. 8-9 (translation: CWE 7 [1987], ep. 1030, l. 13-15). Bibliographical reference for this edition: USTC 400407.

⁹⁵ Allen IV (1922), ep. 1163, l. 10-11 (translation: CWE 8 [1988], ep. 1163, l. 12-14).

⁹⁶ Allen IV (1922), ep. 1061, l. 661-662 (translation: CWE 7 [1987], ep. 1061, l. 12-14). On this case, see: Vanautgaerden 1997.

The 'sworn vassal' even welcomed Erasmus in his house for four weeks after his return from Basel, between September and October 1518, even though two doctors had diagnosed his serious illness as the plague.⁹⁷ Erasmus was deeply moved by Martens' attention. He described his recovering in Martens' house with these words:

Ad Theodoricum typographum diuerto, amicum tam syncerum ut uel hoc uno beatus sim futurus, si res animo responderet. [...] Postridie accerso chirurgum. [...] Abiens chirurgus clam dicit Theodorico et famulo peste essem. [...] Post dies aliquot uenit chirurgi pater, incipit, idem iudicat, et in os asseuerat germanam esse pestem. [...] Apud Theodoricum curatus fere quatuor hebdomadis in cubiculum meum remigraui.

So I took refuge with Dirk the printer, such a good friend that I could be happy with him alone if things went as I could wish. [...] Next day I sent for a surgeon [...]. As the surgeon went away he told Dirk and my servant in confidence that it was the plague [...]. Some days later the surgeon's father came and examined me; he was of the same opinion and assured me to my face that it was a genuine case of plague [...]. My recovery in Dirk's house lasted some four weeks, and I went back to my own rooms.⁹⁸

Erasmus did not forget that he was in business with Martens. He even defended Martens' interests against his colleagues, avoiding a commercial conflict with Basel. On December 5, 1517, Erasmus received a letter written by Beatus Rhenanus, on behalf of the Froben firm, in which he complained that Martens printed the *princeps* of Paul's letter to the Romans. Erasmus answered Rhenanus the next day that it would be uncivil to compete with Martens, the *pauperculus* ('little poor') printer.⁹⁹ He added that:

Paraphrasin eram missurus Basileam, libellum ut coniectabam uendibilem. Caeterum cum uiderem nihil omnino adferri, suspicabar eos esse plus satis oneratos; itaque commisi huic nostro.

⁹⁷ On his travel, see: Gibaud 1985.

⁹⁸ Allen III (1915), ep. 867, l. 195-249 (translation: CWE 6 [1982], ep. 867, l. 210-267).

⁹⁹ Allen III (1915), ep. 732, l. 19-21 (translation: CWE 5 [1979], ep. 732, l. 20-24). Bibliographical reference of this edition: USTC 441213.

I had in mind to send my paraphrase to Basel – a book that will sell, I thought. But when I saw that nothing whatever came, I suspected that they had too much work, and so I gave it to this man here.¹⁰⁰

Martens' edition did not satisfy Erasmus. A copy with some revisions by him was sent to Rhenanus, as well as to other friends such as Peter Giles.¹⁰¹ This act is not so innocent as it seems: Froben published the revised version in January 1518.¹⁰² Erasmus also used Martens to take 'revenge' on Froben who had published in 1518 an unauthorized version of his *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*, conceived in Paris in 1498.¹⁰³ Lambertus Hollo-nius, Froben's proof-reader, obtained this manuscript by fraud (did he steal it from Erasmus in Louvain or purchase a copy?). Froben reissued the text in 1519.¹⁰⁴ Very angry, Erasmus disowned the Basel edition and gave to Martens the first authorized and expanded edition, printed on March 1, 1519, with these words in the title *per Erasmus recognita* ('reviewed by Erasmus').¹⁰⁵ Six months later, Martens was charged with issuing a revised version.¹⁰⁶ The Louvain printer challenged his colleague by copying the typical Froben's title-page frame, substituting his device for Froben's.¹⁰⁷ Erasmus was above all a pragmatist. He managed to create a certain closeness and friendship with Martens, but he will defend Martens' interests only if he defends his own interests first. Some printers complained to him about this, as Josse Bade on September 29, 1516:

¹⁰⁰ Allen III (1915), ep. 732, l. 15-18 (translation: CWE 5 [1979], ep. 732, l. 17-20).

¹⁰¹ Allen III (1915), ep. 732, l. 18-19; ep. 736, l. 19-20 (translation: CWE 5 [1979], ep. 732, l. 20; ep. 736, l. 22-23). None of the five copies still preserved bears Erasmus' manuscript corrections (Brussels, Royal Library, Inc A 1.951; Cologne, Stadtbibliothek, GB IV 3810; Cambridge, University Library, Syn.6.51.18; Oxford, Bodleian, Anitq.e.N.1517.1, Don.e.8/3). We want to thank all the conservators of these libraries for their help. The dispatching of this edition by Erasmus is studied in Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 83-84.

¹⁰² USTC 665618.

¹⁰³ USTC 657249.

¹⁰⁴ USTC 655634.

¹⁰⁵ USTC 403077.

¹⁰⁶ USTC 437048.

¹⁰⁷ On this case, see: Bierlaire 1977, p. 13-20; Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 97-100.

Itaque e re nostra faceres si uni unam operam addideres, nec prius quam illius exempla distraxerit immutes; quod in Similium opera seruasti ex parte, si priorem impressorem [Mathias Schürer] praemonuisti, et Theodericum [Martens] ad ea imprimenda non es hortatus.

It would thus be greatly to our advantage if you would assign each individual work to a single printer, and not to revise it until he had sold off all the copies; a practice which you have observed in the *Parabolae* to some extent, if you have given your previous printer [Mathias Schürer] prior warning, and not encouraged Martens to print it.¹⁰⁸

Erasmus' stay in the Low Countries ended in October 1521. He returned then to Basel to Froben's printing house. The Alost printer will no longer receive any *princeps*. Martens' name will occur sporadically in the correspondence of Erasmus. In November 1527, Conradus Goclenius, professor of Latin at the *Collegium Trilingue* and Erasmus' representative in the Low Countries, mentioned the epitaph written by Erasmus. Martens is portrayed as an old man (he is 80 years old), consumed by the gout and a widower, who has survived all his children.¹⁰⁹ In any event, the collaboration with Erasmus was very beneficial for Martens: his printing house became one of the centres of the Northern humanist community for a few years. As Catherine Kikuchi showed in her study on printing networks in Venice in the fifteenth century, each actor (authors, printers...) acquires a status in the prism of his relations.¹¹⁰ So, thanks to Erasmus, Martens was symbolically perceived by his fellows as a humanist printer.

'Accuratissime recognita', Martens' Collaborators

Dirk Martens did not work only with Erasmus. He co-operated with different scholars. The first documented is a student of the Canon Law Faculty of Louvain (*scholasticus iuris pontificii*), Johannes de Luxembourg (*Johannes Lu(c)enborchensis*). He cor-

¹⁰⁸ Allen II (1910), ep. 472, l. 9-13 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 472, l. 11-16).

¹⁰⁹ Allen VII (1928), ep. 1899, l. 67-84. Erasmus made a mistake. Martens' daughter Barbara was still alive in 1527.

¹¹⁰ Kikuchi 2018, par. 13.

rected the proofs of *Declamatio philosophi, medici et oratoris de excellentia dispuantium* by Filippo Beroaldo and *Praeconia Mariae* by Petrarca both printed in 1501 in a single volume.¹¹¹ His name also appears in the colophon of Bonaccorso da Pistoia's *Declamatio de nobilitate*, published in Louvain on December 1, 1501.¹¹² Nothing more was heard of Johannes de Luxembourg after these publications.¹¹³

The publication of Angelo Poliziano's *Epistolae lepidissimae* in Antwerp on May 4, 1510, marks the beginning of regular co-operation between Martens and renowned scholars for the preparation and supervision of his productions.¹¹⁴ A man whom we have already met edited this book: Peter Giles. Historians traditionally traced the beginnings of the collaboration between Giles and Martens to the years 1503-1504 when Erasmus was reviewing his proofs of the *Gratulatorius Panegyricus ad Philippum Archiducem Austriae*. Still according to these historians, their mutual friendship would have started in Martens' printing house.¹¹⁵ There is no evidence to support this hypothesis, either in the correspondence of Erasmus or in Martens' publications.¹¹⁶

However, printing Poliziano's *Epistolae* reviewed by Giles is a milestone in the career of Martens. This was a crucial step for a typographer wanting to address humanist customers. It is well known that these scholars highly appreciated the aesthetics of books, but their priority was mainly focused on the philological qualities of a text. For example, Ermolao Barbaro did not hesitate to correct himself a large number of copies of his *Castigationes Pliniana*e printed in Rome by Eucharius Silber 1492-1493, despite the presence of an important *erratum*, because he was dissatisfied with the printing.¹¹⁷ Similarly, Martens apologized

¹¹¹ USTC 438256.

¹¹² USTC 400228.

¹¹³ There is no record of Johannes Lu(c)enborchensis' matriculation. There is a *Johannes Balistarius de Lutsenburgho* registered on August 22, 1500, but the length of studies in the Faculty of Arts is of 24 months. Therefore, he cannot be a member of Canon Law Faculty after only one year in Arts (Wils 1946, p. 202, no. 121).

¹¹⁴ USTC 404689.

¹¹⁵ De Le Court 1880-1883; Nauwelaerts 1986.

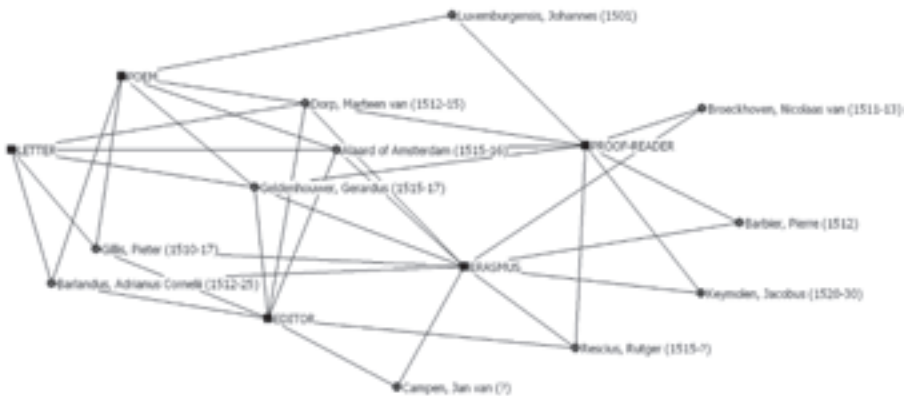
¹¹⁶ Adam & Vantautgaerden, p. 75-76.

¹¹⁷ ITC ib00100000. See: Charlet & Hirstein 2003.

to his customers in the *erratum* of Erasmus' *Apologia ad Jacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*, issued in 1517, for the misprints left by the carelessness of his workers.¹¹⁸

Dirk Martens gathered around him a cénacle of humanists who worked directly with him and some even became close friends. The below map illustrates the Martens' galaxy. There are five nodes: four describing which job was done for Martens (proof-reading, editing, writing letters or poems) and a fifth to illustrate connections with Erasmus. This map was conceived from information contained in the colophons, in the prefatory letters, on the title pages where the different types of interventions (proof-reading, editing...) are specified. Erasmus' correspondence has allowed me to clarify the existence of links between the Dutch humanist and all these men.

Scholars acquainted with the ideas of the Renaissance and also close to Erasmus surrounded Dirk Martens. They are, in the chronological order of their collaboration: Johannes de Luxembourg (1501), Peter Giles (1510-1517), Nicolaas van Broeckhoven (1511-1513), Pierre Barbier (1512-1513), Adrianus Cornelii Barlandus (1512-1525), Maarten van Dorp (1512-1515), Alaard of Amsterdam (1515-1517), Gerard Geldenhouwer (1515-1516),



MAP 1
Erasmus' circle activity in Martens' printing house

¹¹⁸ USTC 400368 (f. 43v). The text is edited in Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 170-171, text 9.

Rutger Rescius (1516-?), Jacobus Keymolen (c. 1520-1530) and Jan van Campen (?).¹¹⁹ Some of these collaborators worked with Martens occasionally, as for example Johannes de Luxembourg, others more frequently. Adrianus Barlandus worked the longest, from 1512 to 1525.

Who were these men? Some of them were promising scholars such as Nicolaas van Broeckhoven, who taught at St Martin's school before leading the Latin School of Antwerp in 1517, or Pierre Barbier, who would serve as chaplain and secretary of Chancellor Jean Le Sauvage from 1516. Others were personalities from the academic world such as Adrianus Barlandus, professor of Philosophy; Rescius, appointed in September 1518 to the chair of Greek at the *Collegium Trilingue*; Maarten van Dorp, at that time professor of Latin in the Faculty of Arts; and Jan van Campen, professor of Hebrew at the *Collegium Trilingue*.¹²⁰ Alaard of Amsterdam taught for a while at Alkmaar before coming to Louvain. Gerard Geldenhouwar was in the service of Charles V, attached to Philip of Burgundy, admiral of Flanders, who afterwards became bishop of Utrecht.

One of Martens' employees has not yet received particular attention: Jacobus Keymolen Alostensis, formerly known as Jacobus Alostensis.¹²¹ His name is documented for the first time in a letter written by Conrad Goclenius to Erasmus on July 14, 1530. Erasmus was looking for a *famulus* ('servant').¹²² Goclenius was thinking that *Jacobus*, who had been in the *durissimum ministerium* ('severe service') of Martens for approximately ten years and whose hands were experts in Latin and Greek, would be an ideal candidate for the job. This is the reason why *Jacobus* was sent to Erasmus. The next year, on November 19, 1531, Jakob Jespersen informed Erasmus that *Jacobus Alostensis* had not returned to Louvain. The man had replaced Jespersen as a Greek teacher to Jacopo Canta, chamberlain to Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio,

¹¹⁹ More information on their work in: Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 75-86.

¹²⁰ There is a question mark beside the name of Jan van Campen because his name cannot be found in any of Martens' works. It is more than likely that the professor of Hebrew helped Martens to print his publication in Hebrew for students of the *Collegium Trilingue* where Campen taught.

¹²¹ Nauwelaerts 1986.

¹²² On Erasmus' servants, see: Bierlaire 1968.

and had been sent to Italy where he was in charge of a printing house.¹²³ Jespersen did not specify the location of this workshop. I discovered it in Bologna where five books were printed by *Jacobus Keymolen Alostensis*/*Giacopo Keymolen* between November 1532 and March 1535: two editions of *L'ambasciaria di David re dell'Etiopia al santissimo signore nostro Clemente papa VII* and its Latin version, a *Tabula* of Justinian's *Institutes* and the *De coena ac prandii portione* by the physician Luciano Bello.¹²⁴ Keymolen had a career similar to those of many who could not make their fortune in the book industry, wandering from one city to another.

The choice of the typographer focused on people involved in his direct environment. In Antwerp, he enlisted the services of Peter Giles; in Louvain, he chose members of the Faculty. Unfortunately, a number of them did not always sign their work, which prevents us from knowing all the efforts made by some. The best example is Rutger Rescius. His shadow hovers over the Hellenistic orientation of the editorial choices made by Martens at the end of his career, when Martinus published more books in Greek than in Latin.¹²⁵

An important question remains: were Martens' collaborators all linked together? We have seen that they had close connections with Erasmus, but what about among each other? The map on the next page – based on their correspondence, the works they produced together and on biographical information¹²⁶ – will answer this question.

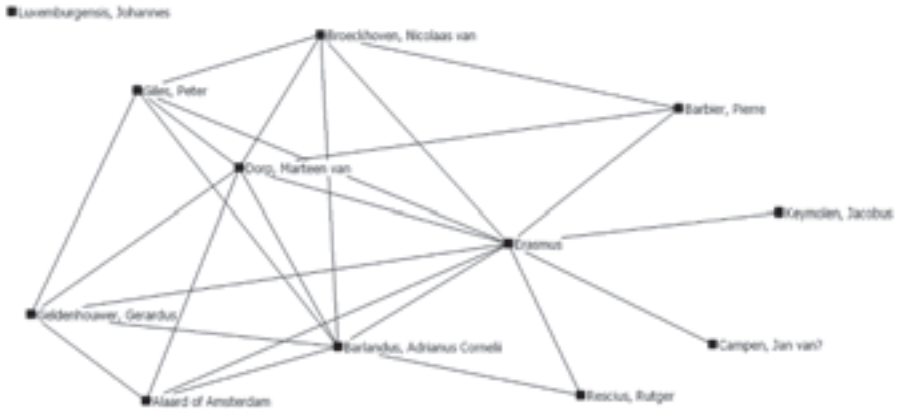
This map shows a real network highly connected. Erasmus had links with all of them (except Luxemburgensis), but a lot of them also had interconnections with each other. Maarten van Dorp and Adrianus Barlandus are the more connected to this group, each connected to seven members. Some of them were even close friends. Peter Giles dedicated his edition of Rudolf Agri-

¹²³ Allen IX (1938), ep. 2570, l. 53-57 (this letter has not yet been translated in CWE).

¹²⁴ EDIT-16 1499-1500, 4974, 36314, 67645. Keymolen's activities in Bologna are briefly described in: Sorbelli 1929, p. 97-98; Serra-Zanetti 1959, p. 43.

¹²⁵ Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 64.

¹²⁶ Tools used: NK, USTC, Daxhelet 1938; De Vocht 1928; 1934; 1950; Bietenholz 1986-1987.



MAP 2
Martens' collaborators' connections

cola's works to his *amicus* ('friend') Maarten van Dorp, printed by Martens on January 31, 1512.¹²⁷ Obviously, the two men did not know each other before they had come into contact through Nicolaas van Broeckhoven, who frequented Dorp in the College of Lily, one of the colleges of the university.¹²⁸ Giles and Dorp introduced Geldenhouwer to Erasmus. The same Geldenhouwer wrote a prefatory letter dedicated to his *amicus* ('friend') Barlandus in the Plinius Minor's *Epistole familiares* commented by the latter and printed by Martens in April 1516.¹²⁹ So, there are strong and plentiful links between these men, except for Johannes de Luxembourg who was not a member of this humanist circle.

Involvement in Martens' workshop is often mentioned in the correspondence of these humanists. Maarten van Dorp wrote to Erasmus in September 1514 explaining to him that he was in charge of the edition of his *Cato*:

Catonem abs te castigatum mihiq[ue] creditum castigate impressit [Dirk Martens], me erratorum uindice.

The *Cato* you corrected and entrusted to me he has printed very accurately, and I corrected the mistakes.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ USTC 403652. On the dating of this book, see our remarks in: Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 75-76.

¹²⁸ Adam & Vanautgaerden 2009, p. 83.

¹²⁹ USTC 407308. This letter is edited in: Daxhelet 1938, p. 263-264.

¹³⁰ Allen II (1910), ep. 304, l. 156-157 (translation: CWE 3 [1976], ep. 304, l. 174-176). Bibliographical reference of this edition: USTC 442211.

Another example is given by a letter Rutger Rescius wrote to Erasmus on March 8, 1517. Rescius was preparing an edition of Erasmus' collections of letters under the supervision of Peter Giles. He asked Erasmus:

Theodericus igitur hac epistolae parte excudenda relicta in praesentia ad te ipsum exemplar mittit, obnixe orans ut super istius loci lectione sibi quamprimum sententiam tuam aperias. Praeterea cupit, si quid sit quod epistolarum praefationi subiungi queat commode, id ad se dari. Reseruauit enim ei integram pagellam utrinque mundam, quum dimidiam uix partem occupabit.

Dirk has therefore left this part of the letter to be printed later, and sends you the actual copy, begging you to let him know what you want done about the reading in this place as soon as possible. He would also be glad, if there is anything that could conveniently be added to the preface of the letters, if it might be sent to him. He kept for it a whole page blank on both sides, while it will hardly fill half of it.¹³¹

It seems that Erasmus did not answer because Martens had to fill the blank with a prefatory by Peter Giles dedicated to a member of the Antwerp city council, Gaspard van Halmale, and an index table. As we have already seen with the *Utopia*, this example shows that these scholars frequently worked in teams, dividing among them the various tasks of the editing job.

They also provided to Martens material for publication. Alaard of Amsterdam, for example, delivered the autograph manuscript of Rudolf Agricola's *De inuentione dialecta*, which was printed on January 12, 1515.¹³² Alaard of Amsterdam ensured the supervision of the edition with Maarten van Dorp and Gerard Geldenhower. Alaard of Amsterdam was paid 20 ducats for proof-reading this manuscript.¹³³ The same also worked with other printers. He gave the manuscript of the future Adrian VI's *Computus* to Michiel Hillen, who printed the book in February 1520.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Allen II (1910), ep. 546, l. 9-14 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 546, l. 10-15).

¹³² USTC 400342.

¹³³ Alaard of Amsterdam mentioned it in another edition of Agricola's work (Agricola 1539, p. 205).

¹³⁴ USTC 410677. The colophon reads: *Impressum Antuerpiae diligentissime ex exemplari Alardi Amstelredami.* (f. 8v) ('Printed diligently in Antwerp on the basis of Alaard of Amsterdam's exemplar').

The function of these humanists could therefore be similar *mutatis mutandis* to the job of the director of a collection that we see nowadays in publishing houses. Their tasks consist indeed of reviewing the latest proofs, advising the boss in his editorial choices and getting in touch with authors.

The correspondence of Erasmus provides a good deal of evidence on the links that bound Dirk Martens to the humanist community of the Low Countries. One of the most delicious anecdotes is the description by Maarten van Dorp of a Bruegelian meal with the printer on the occasion of the visit of Jacobus Nepos, a *famulus* of Erasmus, in July 1518:

Litteras tuas, ornatissime Erasme, non dici potest quam acceperim cupide; tum autem quam gestienter audierim uel Iacobum tuum aduentasse: porro ut iniunxerim Theodorico nostro, Bacchi mystae, ne quo illum pacto sineret abire quin colloqueremur, quin pranderemus una. [...] Et ecce dum nos fabulamur maxime, Theodoricus potitat maxime partesque agitat suas haud quaquam instrennue, ne ipse quidem interim otiosus a fabulis. Omnibus paene linguis, loquitur dixerim an obturbat? Germanica, Gallica, Italica, Latina; ut in hoc apostolicum quempiam renatum credas; ut uel Hieronymum quamuis multilinguem, si non elegantia, numero tamen linguarum ausit prouocare.

The receipt of your letter, dear Erasmus and most honoured friend, gave me unspeakable satisfaction, and no less was the pleasure with which I heard of the arrival of your man Jacobus; so much that I promptly instructed our friend Dirk, that devotee of Bacchus, on no account to let him depart until we could have a talk, until we could dine together [...] While we were absorbed in conversation, picture Dirk absorbed in drinking, and by no means slow to play his part, for he too was meanwhile left out of the conversation. He spoke, or should I say interrupted, in almost all languages – German, French, Italian, Latin – so that you might suppose he was some character from the apostolic age reborn, and he bravely challenged Jerome, the great linguist, not perhaps in elegance but in the number of tongues he spoke.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Allen III (1910), ep. 852, l. 1-15 (translation: CWE 6 [1982], ep. 852, l. 2-18).

When he is mentioned in the correspondence between humanists of the former Low Countries, Dirk Martens is not presented as just any printer, but as a full member of their inner circle. He is usually mentioned in familiar terms. As we have seen, Gerard Geldenhouwer wrote to Erasmus that *Theodoricus noster* ('our Dirk') agreed to publish the *Utopia* of Thomas More. Later, when Peter de Corte gave some details on the activity of Martens' presses to Franciscus Cranevelt, member of the Great Council of Mechelen, he spoke about *prelo Alostensis nostri* ('the press of our man from Alost').¹³⁶ For some humanists, Martens' workshop was more than merely a place they frequented for professional reasons.

This relationship between Martens and Giles was epitomized by a close personal friendship. When travelling in Antwerp, Martens did not hesitate to pay a visit to the town clerk. These meetings provided a place where they could catch up on the latest news as, for example, when in April 1517 Martens told Giles of the warm and friendly reception given by the theologians at Louvain to Erasmus.¹³⁷ Maybe Martens was with Giles on that day when Thomas More – who had been at divine offices in Notre Dame – was returning to his lodging when he happened to see Giles in conversation:

cum hospite quodam, uergentis ad senium aetatis, uultu adusto, promissa barba, penula neglectim ab humero dependente, qui mihi ex uultu atque habitu nauclerus esse uidabatur.

with a stranger, a man of advanced years, with sunburnt countenance and long beard and cloak hanging carelessly from his shoulder, while his appearance and dress seemed to be those of a ship's captain, (named Raphael Hythlodæus).¹³⁸

It would better explain why Martens was chosen to print *Utopia*...

¹³⁶ De Vocht 1928, p. 365-366, ep. 135, l. 11-16. Cranevelt's network was studied by Verweij 2009.

¹³⁷ Allen II (1910), ep. 515, l. 5-7 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 515, l. 7-9).

¹³⁸ More 1965, p. 48, l. 18-23 (translation: More 1965, p. 49, l. 20-23).

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To conclude, although not strictly speaking a humanist, Martens can be considered as a crucial link in the scientific community of the Low Countries in the early sixteenth century. He introduced the use of three alphabets (Greek, Hebrew and italic) and generalized the use of Roman types. He is also the first to print in the Low Countries a novel written by an Italian humanist. His workshop was a centre of intellectual production of these regions and a meeting place for his network of humanists. The printing of *Utopia* shows that, for a time, Martens was at the centre of the Northern humanist world. Erasmus had certainly a key role, but it would not have happened without the help of the humanists Martens gathered around him. These men, like today's directors of collection, reviewed the latest proofs, advised him in his editorial choices and got in touch with authors. Some even played a crucial role, like Rescius who, at the end of Martens' career, probably became the editorial director of the workshop. This first study on the Leuven printer's networks also allowed us to reveal how close these scientists were to 'their' printer, but also how they were well-connected together.¹³⁹ The conclusion may return to Erasmus himself who said about Martens in a letter to Guillaume Budé, on February 15, 1517:

Unicum hunc habemus τυπογράφον καὶ τοῦτόν γε ἄξιον ἡμῶν.
we have one printer there and the sort of printer we deserve.¹⁴⁰

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Abbreviations

EDIT-16 = *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* (<http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/>).

ISTC = *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search).

¹³⁹ I have studied the problematic of printers' network in the Early Modern Low Countries in: Adam 2018, vol. 1, p. 180-205. For the fifteenth century Venice, see Kikuchi 2018.

¹⁴⁰ Allen II (1910), ep. 531, l. 524-526 (translation: CWE 4 [1977], ep. 531, l. 583-584).

NK = W. Nijhoff & M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 3 vols, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1923-1971.
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Abstract

This chapter explores the nature of collaborations between a printer and humanists, through the analysis of the printing process of the first edition of Thomas More's *Utopia*. More chose the printer Dirk Martens, from Louvain, under the guidance of his friend Erasmus, who was living in Brabant at that time and was working directly with this printer, even in his workshop. With this choice, Erasmus offered to Thomas More the opportunity to have members of their common circle monitor closely the printing of *Utopia*, do the proof-reading and direct the publishing. This well-documented case will help us to study the role and the composition of the network of humanists working closely with Martens. It will also give us an opportunity to describe the key role Erasmus played in the humanist book market in the Low Countries and, more specifically, to depict the relationships between him and the printer of *Utopia*.

GILLIAN CLARK

THE TRAVELLER RETURNS: *UTOPIA* AND THE *CITY OF GOD*

1. 'Lectio', 1501:

More's 'Public Lecture of St Augustine, De Ciuitate Dei'

In 1501 Thomas More was beginning his career as a lawyer. The religious life was also a possibility: he had kept his connection with the community of the Charterhouse, and he had not yet married. He had excellent Latin, and he was learning Greek from William Grocyn, rector of St Lawrence Jewry in the City of London. According to his first biographer, his son-in-law William Roper, it was in this church that More 'read for a good space a public lecture of St Augustine *de ciuitate Dei*', and attracted more hearers than Grocyn did with his lectures on Dionysius the Areopagite, which were given at around the same time in St Paul's Cathedral.¹ A letter of More to John Holt refers to Grocyn's lectures and thereby dates them to 1501, when More was 22 or 23.²

More's respect for Augustine is not in doubt. An early letter calls Augustine 'a most serious man and the fiercest foe of falsehoods', and More several times cited Augustine (though sometimes at second hand), especially in the late 1520s and early 1530s in his arguments against Luther.³ But does it follow that More's engagement with *City of God*, in 1501, influenced *Utopia* in

¹ Roper 1935, p. 6.

² Raitiere 1973, p. 144, n. 1.

³ More, *ep.* 5. For his knowledge of Augustine, see Keen 2013, p. 1422; further bibliography in Stock 2001, p. 124, n. 5. Baker-Smith 2000, p. 13, claims that 'More knew [Augustine's] works intimately, and *The City of God* is quoted more often by More than any other of his writings'.

1516? No text of his ‘public lecture’ survives. Erasmus, who first met More in London two years earlier, was not present to hear him. In the brief biographical account of More he sent to Ulrich von Hutten in 1519, Erasmus mentioned the *lectio* in relation to More’s early reading of the orthodox Fathers, but did not connect it with *Utopia*, which, he said, was chiefly about the English commonwealth because More knew it best.⁴ Roper, writing around 1557, set the ‘lecture’ in the context of More’s impressive classical learning in his youth. He said nothing about its content, and his phrase ‘a good space’ leaves it unclear how many lectures More gave on *City of God*. It is also unclear what a ‘lecture’ was in this context. Present-day scholars speak of ‘a course of lectures’, but More may have given a *lectio* in the older sense, that is, reading from a text which few people possessed and commenting on it as he saw fit, just as Augustine himself had done when reading Virgil with his students.⁵ Printed editions of *City of God* had been available since 1467, but many people knew Augustine’s works only from *florilegia*, *compendia*, and incomplete texts.⁶

This interpretation of the *lectio* is supported by More’s next biographer, Nicholas Harpsfield, writing a year or two after Roper. Harpsfield wrote that More ‘openly reade in the Church of St Laurence in London the bookes of the saide St Augustine *de ciuitate Dei*, to his no small commendation, and to the great admiration of all his audience. His lesson was frequented ...’⁷ Harpsfield added that *City of God* is a difficult text, requiring both ‘divinity’ (that is, theology) and profane knowledge. But only in 1588 was there any indication of the content of More’s ‘lecture’, in the first life to be published in print: the *Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More* by Thomas Stapleton.⁸ Born in the month of More’s death in 1535, Stapleton drew on memories

⁴ CWE 7, p. 21 and 23 (letter 999).

⁵ Augustine, when ‘reviewing’ (*recensere*) three books of Virgil with his students, gave a *tractatio*, a lecture or discussion, when he thought it appropriate: Augustine, *c.Acad.* 2.4.10. For a different sense of *lectio*, see Grantley McDonald in this volume: the *lectiones* of John Clement were lessons in Greek.

⁶ Kent 2012, p. 227–231. Augustinian *florilegia* were discussed in another *Lectio* conference (2017).

⁷ Harpsfield 1932, p. 13; for his life, see p. clxxv–cxci.

⁸ For Stapleton in context, see Sheils 2009.

from people who had known More, including John Clement and his wife Margaret Giggs, who had been respectively More's protégé and More's ward.⁹ Roper and Harpsfield wrote in English, but Stapleton, who moved to Leuven in 1559 then to Douai in 1569, wrote in Latin, the common European language of learning. To the report that More gave this *lectio*, Stapleton added *non quidem eius operis theologica discutiens, sed philosophica tantum et historica*, 'not, indeed, discussing the theological matters in this work, but only the philosophical and historical'; for, he observed, the earlier books of *City of God* are almost entirely concerned with history and philosophy. This comment suggests that More concentrated on Books 1-10; if so, there are consequences for the relationship of *City of God* to *Utopia*.

City of God has 22 books, which are about the length of a chapter in a present-day academic work. Augustine summarised its overall structure in his *Retractationes*, the annotated list of his books, and in a letter he wrote when *City of God* was complete he explained to Firmus, who had asked for a copy of the whole, how to bind these 22 books (*quaterniones*) in either two or five codices.¹⁰ Books 1-10 refute those who prefer their own gods to the founder of the city of God: 1-5 address those who think many gods are to be worshipped for the sake of blessings in this life, 6-10 those who think that many gods are to be worshipped for blessings in the life after death. These ten would form either the first codex of a two-codex set, or the first two of a five-codex set. Then Books 11-22 discuss the origin, course, and due end of 'that city', namely the city of God, four books to each topic. Augustine also provided a *breuiculus* (summary) of the contents.¹¹ The letter to Firmus, which is now often printed as a prologue to *City of God*, was first published in 1939 by Dom Cyrille Lambot of Maredsous, who found it in two medieval manuscripts of *City of God*.¹² But even without the letter, or even without a text of the *Retractationes*, More need not have been in doubt about Augustine's plan.

⁹ On his sources, see Stapleton 1928, p. xv.

¹⁰ *Retr.* 2.69; *Epistula ad Firmum*, now renumbered *ep.* 1A*.

¹¹ On the *breuiculus*, and its relation to the chapter-headings (*capitula*) which precede the text in many manuscripts, see O'Daly 2020, p. 311-312.

¹² Lambot 1939.

Augustine worked on *City of God* for thirteen or more years (c. 412/13 to 426/7), in which he was often interrupted by the ‘bishop’s burden’ of administration and by other urgent demands.¹³ Many readers have wondered whether, during those years, he saw the structure as clearly as he did in retrospect. His long rhetorical developments, and his assumption that all his readers were as interested as he was in everything he mentioned, make it only too easy to lose the thread. Medieval scholars found it helpful to provide contents-lists and headings, and in 1938 Henri-Irénée Marrou famously characterized Augustine as a typical *lettré de la décadence*, much better at brilliant passages than at organized argument.¹⁴ But Augustine, an experienced teacher and preacher, was aware of these hazards. He declared the purpose of *City of God* in his preface, summarised his plan of work at the end of Book 1, reaffirmed it in a second preface at the start of Book 11, and from time to time reassured his readers that he knew how far he had got and how much remained to be done.¹⁵ It would be evident to More that Books 1-10 replied to the enemies of the city of God, whereas Books 11-22 discuss the origin, the course, and the due ends of the two cities, the earthly and the heavenly, which are intermixed in this present age.

This is not to say that there is no history or philosophy in Books 11-22. The early history of the two cities consists almost entirely of Biblical exegesis, because Augustine knew from the *Chronological Tables* of Eusebius, in Jerome’s Latin translation, that there were 2242 years of human history, from Adam to Abraham, before any Greek or non-Greek history was available.¹⁶ But the first part of Book 18 offers a rapid survey of the history of the earthly city, with a focus on its false gods, derived from Varro *de gente populi Romani*; Book 19, which begins with a virtuoso display of Varro on 288 possible accounts of the supreme good, engages with Stoic debate on the role of the wise man in politics; and in several contexts Augustine contrasted Christianity with

¹³ O’Daly 2020, p. 35-37.

¹⁴ Marrou 1938; in Marrou 1949 he changed his mind.

¹⁵ For example, at the end of Book 10 and the beginning of Book 11, and at the beginning of Book 18. At 19.21 Augustine refers back to a commitment made in 2.21.

¹⁶ Grafton & Williams 2006; Mosshammer 1979.

Platonism on the relation of body and soul, and on what follows from this for the status of the emotions and for life after death.¹⁷ He also used the scientific knowledge of his time. For example, in discussing the seventy-two nations into which the peoples of the world were divided, Augustine considered reports of 'monstrous' human races and rejected the idea of the Antipodes (*ciu.* 16.8-9); and in Book 21 he invoked science to prove that bodies can burn everlastingly, so hell is not impossible. Augustine himself pointed out in the letter to Firmus that he had when appropriate defended Christianity while refuting the follies of the impious, and vice versa. But for classical humanists, Books 1-10 were more obviously of interest. It is still the case that when Augustine's big book is divided into two volumes, Books 1-10 attract more interest, and fuller annotation, than Books 11-22.¹⁸

If More's text of *City of God* was that of Mentelin (Strasbourg 1468) or of Amerbach (Basel 1489), *Augustinus de ciuitate Dei cum commento*, it would also be evident to him that there was much more commentary on Books 1-10 than on Books 11-22.¹⁹ Commentary on a text was immediately visible: it was printed in the margins surrounding the text, which might be in two columns. Mentelin and Amerbach offered the commentaries composed in the early fourteenth century by two English Dominicans, Nicholas Trevet and his younger contemporary Thomas Waleys.²⁰ Trevet, who came from Somerset in the south-west of England, studied at Oxford and Paris. He wrote commentaries on Boethius, Livy, Seneca and others, always because colleagues or students asked for them. In the preface to his commentary on *City of God* he said that, although Robert Kilwardby OP had assisted readers by providing contents-summaries in place of the brief headings, Augustine's references to little-known events and to pagan lit-

¹⁷ For example, *ciu.* 13.16-20; 14.3.

¹⁸ In 2003 the series 'Corpus Christianorum' published the critical edition of B. Dombart & A. Kalb in a single-volume (softback) Scholars Version, combining the hardback volumes 47 and 48 in a book of xlv + 889 pages. This was a notable technical achievement.

¹⁹ Saak 2013, p. 61 notes that although Augustine was so often cited as an authority in the later middle ages, none of his works was part of the university curriculum, and only *City of God*, *Confessions* and *On the Trinity* attracted commentary.

²⁰ Smalley 1960, p. 58-65 on Trevet, p. 75-108 on Waleys.

erature, especially in Books 1-10 and Book 18, were obstacles to reading. So, at the repeated request of his brothers, Trevet would try to explain. Trevet could not always get the books he wanted, and Waleys, who had better resources, sometimes pointed out mistakes. But Waleys decided to comment only on Books 1-10, so Trevet remained standard for the rest.

If Stapleton's informants were correct about the content of the 'lecture', did More, like his predecessors, give most attention to Books 1-10, and if so, what follows for the relationship of *City of God* to *Utopia*? Stapleton observed *non quidem eius operis theologica discutens, sed philosophica tantum et historica*. The translation offered in this paper, 'not, indeed, discussing the theological matters in this work, but only the philosophical and historical', gives a different impression from the widely-cited translation by Philip Hallett: 'he did not treat this great work from the theological point of view, but from the standpoint of history and philosophy'.²¹ Dominic Baker-Smith adds a further comment which depends on his own interpretation of More's purpose: 'from the historical rather than the theological perspective: from the point of view, then, of a theory of human institutions'.²² It is reasonable to suggest instead that in 1501, More's interest in *City of God* was that of a humanist who saw the text chiefly as a source of classical learning in history and philosophy. In early Renaissance editions and commentaries, the approach was humanist, literary and philosophical rather than theological; Augustine and other Church Fathers were grouped with classical authors; and Augustine was in particular a source for the rediscovery of Platonism.²³ The lectures of More's Greek teacher Grocyn, on the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius, exemplify this Platonist interest at the time when More discussed *City of God*.²⁴

Two decades later, another Renaissance humanist in the circle of More and Erasmus wrote a commentary on *City of God*. It too suggests a particular interest in classical learning and especially in

²¹ Stapleton 1928, p. 9.

²² Baker-Smith 2000, p. 29.

²³ Kristeller 1944. Visser 2013, p. 70, observes that for Renaissance humanists *City of God* was 'gratefully used as a goldmine for historical knowledge'.

²⁴ On More's friends who were interested in Platonism, see also Baker-Smith 2000, p. 15.

Platonism. In 1516, a month after sending *Utopia* to the printer, Erasmus met Luis Vives, who had moved from Spain to Paris and then to the Low Countries, where he was licensed to lecture at Leuven. Erasmus was planning his edition of the complete works of Augustine, to improve on Amerbach's publication of 1505-1506.²⁵ He asked Vives to contribute a text of *City of God*, with commentary. For the next few years Erasmus kept up the pressure and Vives wished he had given himself more time, because *City of God* is so long and so diverse and raises so many questions about history, mythology, natural and moral philosophy, and theology. At the point when he had revised seven books of text and commentary, Vives observed that except for Books 8-10 (on Platonism in comparison with Christianity) and Book 18, the other books would need less work, because they are less diverse, and much of the material is obvious to anyone.²⁶ Later in 1522, Vives said that he had aimed at brevity, but it was not possible when he discussed subjects less familiar to theologians, such as history and mythology and philosophy, especially Platonism. Brevity was easy to achieve in other books, because stories from scripture are well known, and he had indicated theological questions only briefly, or there would have been no end to discussion.²⁷ He argued for a separate printing of several hundred copies of *City of God*, on the grounds that humanists read scarcely any other work of Augustine, and many people would not want the complete works, or could not afford them.²⁸ His edition was indeed published (though not in such numbers), by Froben of Basel in 1522, in advance of the complete edition of Augustine in 1528/9. In his introductory essay, Vives observed that some Dominicans in the faculty at Leuven thought that his commentary was superfluous, because Trevet and Waleys and Passavanti (another Dominican) had done all that was needed; he listed their mistakes.²⁹

²⁵ Before Amerbach published the Collected Works (1505-1506), many of Augustine's works were not available in print, especially the anti-Manichean and anti-Pelagian treatises. See Visser 2011, p. 19-20, on Amerbach's purpose.

²⁶ CWE 9, p. 16, 18 (letter 1256 from Vives).

²⁷ Fantazzi 2013, p. 1877; CWE 9, p. 52-53 (letter 1271 from Vives).

²⁸ CWE 9, p. 18 (letter 1256 from Vives).

²⁹ CWE 9, p. 53, n. 6.

A commentary written over several years is a very different undertaking from a public *lectio* ‘read for a good space’, but More may well have shared the perspective of Vives, and of the Dominicans, on the aspects of *City of God* which most needed discussion. In 1522 Vives dedicated to Henry VIII of England his commentary on *City of God*, ‘wherein St Augustine has collected as in a treasury the best part of those readings which he had selected in the ancient authors’.³⁰ Through Erasmus, Vives knew and admired Thomas More, who was by then an adviser to Henry, and who in 1523 helped Vives to a position at the newly-founded (1517) Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which had a special concern for the study of Greek. At one point in his commentary Vives brought together Plato and Lucian, the two major influences on *Utopia*, and added some frankly irrelevant praise of More. Augustine, arguing that Roman religion gave no moral guidance, countered (*ciu.* 2.7) a possible objection that philosophers give guidance: first, they rely on human reason, and second, there is no temple to Plato where his books are read, but there are temples and stage performances where stories of the gods offer bad moral examples. Vives correctly observed that this is one of Plato’s reasons for banning poets from his Republic. Hence, he added, come the words Lucian, in his *Necromanteia*, gives to Menippus, who says that as a boy he heard the poems of Homer and Hesiod, and thought that their stories about the gods showed that the gods approved such behaviour. So far, so relevant; but Vives went on to say that he quoted Lucian in More’s Latin translation, and for the rest of a long paragraph he enthused about More, engaging to write further at an appropriate time.³¹

For present-day classicists, the reference to ‘those readings which [Augustine] had selected in the ancient authors’ is a warning signal. Augustine was a teacher of rhetoric before he was a bishop, and he used a favourite rhetorical tactic: make the opponent’s witnesses testify in favour of your own case. He knew that his opponents did not recognise the authority of scripture, so he

³⁰ Cited by Kristeller 1944, p. 366.

³¹ This is one of the few comments by Vives which are included in the selection of Tasker (Augustine 1945) to accompany his revised version of the English translation of *City of God* by John Healey (1610).

cited instead authorities they did recognise.³² He selected quotations which he could exploit without regard for their context or for the intention of their author.³³ But Vives expected both More and Henry to welcome the ‘treasury’ of classical readings. If this was More’s attitude in 1501, there were many possibilities for his ‘lecture’. Augustine cited classics of Latin literature which formed the core curriculum of late antique education: Cicero for rhetoric and philosophy, Virgil on the foundation of Rome, Sallust for morally intense history, the dramatist Terence for character and for moral sentiments in elegant style. Parents paid good money, Augustine said, to have their children absorb these works in early life.³⁴ Many of these texts were well known to later centuries, but Augustine also cited works for which he proved to be the only or the major source.

On Roman religion, Augustine claimed, Cicero’s friend Varro was the acknowledged authority who had expounded religious practice and offered seemingly profound hidden meanings. On Platonism, the philosopher Porphyry, who lived not long before Augustine’s own times, was especially famous. There is a question whether Varro and Porphyry were in fact as influential as Augustine said, or whether they provided versions of Roman cult and of Platonism which served Augustine’s purpose.³⁵ But for classical humanists, it was important that Augustine’s account of Roman religion offers a contents-summary of the lost *Antiquitates rerum diuinarum* of Varro. Most of the fragments of this work also derive from *City of God*; they include remarkable detail of the names, functions, and rituals of Roman gods, which Varro said he wanted to rescue from oblivion. Augustine claimed that Varro rejected both ‘mythical’ theology (stories about the gods) and ‘civic’ theology (Roman civic cult), and that he sought to interpret both as representations of ‘natural theology’, that is, the basic principles of the universe. More’s ‘lecture’ could also have included Augustine’s citations from a lost work of Seneca *de superstitione*, which again provided sensational detail of Roman cult; and from the

³² *Ciu.* 4.1.

³³ On Augustine’s forensic technique, see Humfress 2012.

³⁴ *Ciu.* 1.3.

³⁵ Clark 2007 on Porphyry; 2010 on Varro.

lost *Historiae* of Sallust, which Augustine used to undermine Sallust's claim in his *Catiline* that in early Rome justice and goodness prevailed by nature not by laws.³⁶ In particular, while Grocyn lectured on Dionysius the Areopagite, More could have discussed Augustine's engagement with Platonism. For Augustine, Platonism did not mean Plato's *Republic*: it meant metaphysics. He knew something about Plato from handbooks and reports, especially from Cicero; his early philosophical dialogues are in the Platonic tradition, mediated through Cicero; but the only work of Plato which Augustine can be shown to have read is the part of the *Timaeus* which Cicero translated into Latin.³⁷

Augustine said that it would be especially challenging to refute those who thought many gods should be worshipped for blessings after this life, because they included the philosophers whom he regarded as the best because the closest to Christianity.³⁸ These were the Platonists, who held that the soul is immortal and that the universe was created by God, who is wholly good. But Platonists were at fault in relying on human reason, and in holding that *daimones*, the lesser gods, deserved worship and could mediate between gods and humans, whereas Christians know that Christ is the only mediator and that angels want us to worship God alone. In the course of his argument in Books 8-10, Augustine cited or paraphrased his fellow-countryman Apuleius; the *Asclepius*, the only book of the *Corpus Hermeticum* to be available in Latin translation; a few passages of Plotinus; and some lost works of the third-century philosopher Porphyry, whose *Introduction to Aristotle's Categories* became a standard medieval textbook on logic.³⁹ Augustine followed earlier Christian apologists in citing Porphyry's rejection of sacrifice, and used Porphyry's challenge to theurgy (rites intended to purify the soul) as part of his argument that *daimones* cannot mediate. Porphyry, he claimed, came near

³⁶ *Ciu.* 2.17, Sallust, *Cat.* 9; see O'Daly 2020, p. 272-278, and p. 282-283 for Seneca.

³⁷ In the mid-380s, at Milan, Augustine was given *platoniorum libri*, 'books of Platonists' (*Conf.* 7.9.13). It is possible, but not certain, that they included Latin translations of Plato as well as Platonist authors, notably Plotinus. For the debate on their content, see O'Donnell 1992, vol. 2, p. 413-418.

³⁸ *Ciu.* 8.1.

³⁹ On Augustine's almost-Christian Porphyry, see Clark 2007.

to acknowledging the Trinity, but was prevented from acknowledging the Incarnation by his pride in human reason. Platonists, in Augustine's reading, taught that reason connects human beings with the divine, but is imprisoned in the material body and distracted by its needs and emotions, so on death the body will be discarded, not transformed in the resurrection of body and soul.

Was it this fascinating material on Roman tradition, religion, and Platonism which drew More's audience to St Lawrence Jewry? Or was it the sense, shared with many in later generations, that *City of God* is (in words Augustine borrowed from Cicero) a great and demanding work, which one really ought to read if only there were time? There is no evidence to provide an answer to these questions; there are only general expectations about the interests of a brilliant young humanist, and of his audience, in 1501.

2. 'De optimo rei publicae statu'

One of the lost texts for which *City of God* is a major source may make a stronger connection with *Utopia*: Cicero's philosophical dialogue *De re publica*. *City of God* was almost the only source for this work until a palimpsest from the Vatican library was announced at the end of 1819 and first published in 1822.⁴⁰ By a pleasing coincidence, the palimpsest survived because a fine fifth-century text of the dialogue was scraped off, at the monastery of Bobbio in North Italy around 800, to make room for Augustine's expositions of the psalms. It is almost certain that More owed to *City of God* any knowledge of Cicero's dialogue. Before the first print edition of the fragments by Robert Estienne (1539), William of Malmesbury, among others, had tried to collect them: cross-references in other works of Cicero, citations by grammarians, and the longer quotations and summaries of argument which are found in *City of God*.⁴¹ But it is not likely that More had one of these collections, or that it would have increased his knowledge.

⁴⁰ My thanks to the anonymous reader who provided the precise dates.

⁴¹ For the history of the text, see Kempshall 2001.

Res publica has a range of meanings. Literally, the phrase means ‘public property’ or ‘public concerns’. ‘Country’, ‘government’, and ‘state’ are all in use as translations, though with the warning that ‘the state’ as distinct from ‘the people’ is not a classical concept.⁴² English translators often use the old-fashioned term ‘commonwealth’, because that word conveys both common property and common ‘weal’ or well-being. When Cicero wanted in other works to discuss the best constitution, or best form of government, he used the phrase *optimus status rei publicae*, ‘the best condition of the *res publica*’.⁴³ So the full title of *Utopia* in some early Latin editions, *De optimo reipublicae statu deque noua insula Utopia*, ‘On the best condition of a commonwealth and on the new island Utopia’, links *Utopia* with Cicero, including Cicero transmitted by Augustine, and places the book in a tradition of early modern political debate which, as Dominic Baker-Smith says, goes back to Plato’s *Republic*.⁴⁴

Renaissance political theorists debated whether the ‘best condition of the commonwealth’ is achieved by entrusting government to one man, a philosopher-king as envisaged by Plato, who takes on the burdens of office so that everyone else can engage in philosophy and escape the corruption of politics; or whether all citizens ought to participate, so as to exercise the civic or ‘other-related’ virtues.⁴⁵ There was consensus that a commonwealth is in its best condition if, and only if, its laws are just and thereby promote the common good, so that its citizens can live and live well as befits human nature and dignity. For Baker-Smith, expert in Renaissance literature and culture, it was natural to assume that More read *City of God* in relation to this debate. But his description of *City of God* as ‘a footnote – admittedly rather a long one – to Plato’s *Republic*’ is, to say the least, an unexpected approach to reading *City of God*, and one which misinterprets Augustine’s purpose.⁴⁶ Perhaps Baker-Smith was misled by the comments of later philosophers that the city of *Republic* is, as Plato suggested,

⁴² Schofield 1995.

⁴³ Schofield 1995, p. 68.

⁴⁴ Baker-Smith 2000, p. 1. Surtz and Hexter (More 1965, p. cxciv), comment on the difficulty of translating *res publica* in the title page of *Utopia*.

⁴⁵ See Skinner 1987 on the terms of the debate and its presentation in *Utopia*.

⁴⁶ Baker-Smith 2000, p. 13.

an ideal city laid up in heaven, and the city of Plato's *Laws* is for this world.⁴⁷

Plato's 'republic' is a thought-experiment: an imagined city which exemplifies, on a large scale, the principle that justice is giving everyone their due. Everyone is educated to do their own job, not someone else's, just as each part of the soul is educated to do its own job, not the job of another part. Augustine's city of God is not a thought-experiment, but rests on his understanding of scripture, which he believed to be divinely inspired. It is the community of all rational beings, angels as well as humans, who love God even to disregard of themselves. Part of this community is already in eternal life, part is still in mortal life, away from the home in heaven to which it will ascend. In this mortal life, its members cannot be identified, because the city of God is intermixed with the earthly city, which is the community of all rational beings, angels as well as humans, who love themselves even to disregard of God. Only in the Last Judgement, at the end of time, will the cities be separated.

Medieval political theorists offered selective readings of Augustine to support their interpretations of the city of God on earth: it is a community which manifests justice, because temporal rule is acknowledged to be God's gift and is subject to the authority of the Church.⁴⁸ These medieval readers may not have had complete texts of Augustine, but even if they did, it is easy to see how the evidence which refutes such interpretations can be overlooked by intelligent and well-informed people who read *City of God* in accordance with their own interests. Augustine himself is partly to blame for misreadings, because he assumed that his readers knew what he meant by the two cities, the heavenly and the earthly, symbolised by Jerusalem and Babylon; he had worked with this theme for over a decade.⁴⁹ The opening sentences of *City of God* contrast the city of God with the earthly city, but Augustine did not offer until much later the definition which is always quoted, and which is paraphrased above. It comes at the end of his four books on the origins of the two cities (*ciu.* 14.28). Readers

⁴⁷ O'Meara 2003, p. 92-93.

⁴⁸ Kempshall 2001.

⁴⁹ Van Oort 1991.

embarking on Book 1 learn that the city of God, of which scripture says glorious things, in this sequence of time 'is away from home [*peregrinatur*] among the impious, living by faith, patiently awaiting the stability of its eternal abode'.⁵⁰ The earthly city, which delights in the praise conferred by (unattributed, but very familiar) words of Virgil, seeks to dominate but is itself dominated by the lust for domination. It is all too easy to continue reading on the assumption that the city of God is the Church, and the earthly city is Rome and its successors in secular power. But Augustine very soon made it clear (*ciu.* 1.1) that citizens of the earthly city may become citizens of the city of God, and at the end of Book 1 (*ciu.* 1.35) he added that people who share in Christian sacraments may prove to be citizens of the earthly city, and that the two communities are intermixed until the final judgement.

It should, then, be evident that the city of God on earth is not the same as the visible and institutional Church. Augustine's citation of Cicero *De re publica* contributed to making this less evident to readers who were interested in the best kind of society. Cicero composed *De re publica* in the late 50s BCE, with a dramatic date of 129 BCE. He took Plato's *Republic* as a model, but chose to discuss an actual city, namely Rome, not an imagined city. He was interested in the best kind of city and the best form of government, especially in the 'mixed' constitution which combined monarchy, aristocracy and democracy; in the training and character of the ideal statesman; and in the debate prompted by the philosopher Carneades on whether justice or injustice is essential for government. *De re publica* was known in Roman Africa of Augustine's time: it appears in his discussions with two correspondents, and the grammarian Nonius Marcellus, who taught in a nearby town, is a source for some of the fragments.⁵¹ But it is clear that much of Cicero's discussion was not relevant for Augustine's purpose in *City of God*, though without a complete text we cannot tell just how selectively he used Cicero's work.

Augustine cited *De re publica*, not in a discussion of political theory, but in the course of his argument that Rome's own authors

⁵⁰ On the meaning of *peregrinatio*, see Clark 2004.

⁵¹ Atkins 2002.

show how Rome's gods failed to protect their city from physical or moral disaster. Cicero took as his spokesman the great statesman Scipio, who belonged to an earlier generation. Scipio defines *res publica*, literally 'the public thing', as 'the people's thing', *res populi*, and further defines *populus*, a 'people', not as a random assembly, but as a gathering 'allied in agreement on justice and on common interest'.⁵² Augustine cited this formulation, in *City of God* Book 2, because it allowed him to argue that Rome in the time of the classic Roman authors was not simply, as the historian Sallust said, *pessima res publica*, a *res publica* in very bad condition. Rather, Rome never was a *res publica*, because Roman authors, including Cicero himself, showed how Rome was always beset by injustice and conflict; where there is no justice, there is no *populus*, and therefore no *res publica*. Consequently, Augustine claimed,

There is no true justice except in the *res publica* whose founder and ruler is Christ, if we agree to call it a *res publica*, because we cannot deny that it is a *res populi*. But if this name is perhaps too distant from our way of speaking, because it is used in other places and in other ways, there is certainly true justice in that city of which holy scripture says 'Glorious things of thee are spoken, city of God' (*ciu.* 2.21).

Some medieval readers took Augustine to mean that 'the *res publica* whose founder and ruler is Christ' is the visible Church; it follows that temporal rule cannot be just unless a Christian ruler acknowledges that his power comes from God and that he is subject to the authority of the Church.⁵³ Augustine did indeed say that temporal power, like everything else, depends on the will of God, and that temporal rulers are blessed if they worship God and seek to live by Christian principles; they are not called blessed because of political and military success, or because of long rule ending with peaceful transition (*ciu.* 5.24). But he did not assume that the Church as an institution is the city of God on earth. The Church as the community of the faithful is the mortal part

⁵² Hodgson 2017, p. 6-11, suggests reasons why Cicero offers only a cursory definition.

⁵³ Dyson 2001, p. 179-180.

of the city of God, but the visible Church consists of people. An imperial civil servant, or even an emperor, may be a citizen of the heavenly city who loves God and seeks to do God's will; a baptized Christian, or even a church leader, may be a citizen of the earthly city, eager for praise and dominated by the wish to dominate.⁵⁴

The *res publica Christi* is not an optimal earthly political system. In *City of God*, as in his other writings, Augustine said very little about the concerns of Plato in the *Republic*, of Cicero in *De re publica*, and of More in *Utopia*. Robert Dyson, expert in medieval and early modern political philosophy, translated *City of God* for the series Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. But his Introduction makes it clear that it is appropriate for the series because of later use. *City of God* is not itself a treatise of political thought; it does not discuss different forms of government or the best possible state; its purpose is theological.⁵⁵ Some elements of Augustine's political thought can be found in *City of God*, but Dyson compares them to fragments in an archaeological dig: they have to be located within a mass of other material, and assembled with help from other contexts.⁵⁶

Augustine never wrote a treatise on political thought or on the organisation of society. His 'political writings' are letters, and occasionally sermons, concerned with the daily challenges of life in the cities of Roman North Africa in the late fourth and early fifth centuries CE.⁵⁷ Many deal with the legitimate use of force. How can a Christian governor exercise mercy without being soft on crime, and what action should he take against heretics who are in danger of eternal damnation? How can a Christian commander defend his territory without injustice? Augustine held that there must be agreement, at all levels of society, on who gives orders and who takes them; otherwise, the human urge to dominate leads to permanent conflict. But he did not discuss the best form of this agreement. All power, he thought, comes by the will or the permission of God, and is given, by God's inscrutable judgement,

⁵⁴ Augustine forcefully made this point in a sermon, *En.Ps.* 51.6.

⁵⁵ Dyson, in Augustine 1998, p. xv.

⁵⁶ Dyson 2001 carries out this programme.

⁵⁷ Atkins & Dodaro 2001; on theories of 'Augustinian' politics, TeSelle 1998.

to good people and to bad.⁵⁸ Obviously it is better if just men rule for a long time over a wide area, but provided that subjects are not constrained to unjust and impious acts, 'what does it matter under whose rule a man lives, who is so soon to die?'.⁵⁹

This lack of interest in political philosophy is not peculiar to Augustine. In late antiquity there was in practice no alternative to monarchy, so there was no live debate on forms of government and their claims to legitimacy. *Res publica*, in the sense of 'public business' or 'government', consisted of local officials whose remit was to maintain law and order and to oversee tax-collection. There was no point in discussing the merits of the 'mixed constitution' when appointments and policy-making had long since vanished from the public sphere, so that ordinary people could do no more than shout their approval or disapproval, or try to find someone with influence who would help them. In so far as there was any political philosophy, it was concerned with the place of the political or 'other-regarding' virtues of justice and temperance, courage and good sense, in the ascending scale of virtues from ethical to contemplative.⁶⁰ It was not concerned with political virtue exercised in the practical politics of the later Roman empire.

Human society, Augustine said, would flourish if everyone followed Christian teaching on justice and virtue: 'then the *res publica* would adorn with its happiness the lands of this present life, and would ascend to the summit of eternal life to reign in blessedness'.⁶¹ But he did not discuss the social system which would best enable that teaching to be followed, and his devastating account (*ciu.* 2.20) of the society envisaged by those who worship many gods is not a critique of current social practice. Augustine thought that the best way of life was a celibate single-sex community without personal property, because it offered freedom from possessiveness and time to worship God without the distractions of householding. Marriage and childbearing, and the household and civic obligations they entailed, were for the 'weaker brethren', but (unlike some contemporaries) Augustine did not denounce

⁵⁸ *Ciu.* 5.21.

⁵⁹ *Ciu.* 5.17.

⁶⁰ O'Meara 2003.

⁶¹ *Ciu.* 2.19.

this lesser way of life.⁶² In Book 19 he made it explicit that the *ciuitas peregrina*, the city of God away from its true home in heaven, ‘summons her citizens from all peoples, and gathers her *peregrina societas* in all languages, not concerned about the differences in customs and laws and practices which seek or sustain earthly peace’.⁶³ In fulfilling his promise to return to Cicero’s definition of a *res publica*, he offered an alternative (but rarely quoted) definition of a *populus*, as ‘an assembly of a rational multitude united in common agreement on the objects it loves’.⁶⁴ Such a *populus* would be better or worse depending on what it loved, but it would be undeniably a people which has a *res publica*, in Rome or Athens or anywhere else.

3. More’s Utopia and the Absence of Augustine

City of God is not a book about improving the organisation of society in an earthly *res publica*; it is a book about worshipping the true God. It remains possible that More read *City of God* in relation to early modern political debate, searching (as in outmoded archaeology) for ‘finds’ and discarding the mass of other material in which they are embedded. But Augustine is clearly not a source for the classical influences on *Utopia*. It is generally acknowledged that these influences are Greek, not Latin, and that Plato and Lucian are the most important. Augustine, who did not read Greek easily, shows no awareness of Lucian, or of Plato’s *Republic* except for a few soundbites. More and Erasmus made Latin translations of Lucian’s dialogues, and even before that, More may have used Lucian as a text for learning Greek.⁶⁵ According to Erasmus, More had written (perhaps not seriously?) in defence of Plato’s notorious argument that the ruling class of his *Republic* should not have private property, even to the extent of having wives in common.⁶⁶ In 1516 the paratexts of *Utopia* invoked *Republic*, and it is immediately signalled by

⁶² *Ciu.* 1.9; see further Harrison 2000, p. 158–193; Hunter 2007.

⁶³ *Ciu.* 19.17.

⁶⁴ *Ciu.* 19.24.

⁶⁵ On Plato, see White 1974; on Lucian as a textbook, Ligota & Panizzi 2007, p. 12; on Plato and Lucian, Logan, Adams & Miller, in More 1995, p. xvii–xxi.

⁶⁶ CWE 7, p. 23 (letter 999 to Ulrich von Hutten).

the narrative frame. More goes down from Bruges to Antwerp, attends Mass, and engages in a long conversation with friends which he then reports, just as Socrates goes down from Athens to Piraeus, attends a religious festival, and engages in a long conversation with friends which is then reported.⁶⁷ For humanist readers of *Utopia*, the surname of the main speaker also evokes Plato. ‘*Hythlodæus*’ is the Latin form of an adjective *huthlôdēs* made from the Greek word *hythlos*, ‘nonsense’.⁶⁸ Almost all known instances of *hythlos* come from Plato, and the most striking is in *Republic* (336d), where Thrasymachus says aggressively to Socrates ‘Don’t tell me that what is necessary is not what is profitable nor what is gainful nor what is advantageous, but say clearly and precisely what you say. I won’t tolerate it if you say such *huthlous*’. Towards the end of Book 1 Hythlodæus makes the connection explicit: ‘If I were to say what Plato invents in his *Republic*, or what the Utopians do in theirs...’⁶⁹ Further examples are not needed here.

Augustine has no part in Hythlodæus’s classical learning, either on his own account or for the authors he cites. Peter Giles tells More that Hythlodæus has studied Greek more than Latin, because ‘he is wholly devoted to philosophy, and he knew that nothing important survives in Latin except for some works of Seneca and Cicero’. Hythlodæus says that he told the Utopians ‘about the literature and learning of the Greeks, for we thought that in Latin there was nothing they would greatly value, except for history and poetry’.⁷⁰ The books he takes to them are Greek philosophy and science, Greek language, Greek literature and history.⁷¹ He does not take them a Bible, not even a Greek New Testament. More no doubt shared Erasmus’ view of the New Testament as essentially a Latin book.⁷² In any event, *Utopia* has no place for biblical exegesis, which occupies so much of *City of God*.

⁶⁷ On the varying paratexts in the Latin editions, see Roggen 2008, p. 14–31.

⁶⁸ Some interpretations of Latin *hythlodæus* include the rare Greek words *hodaïos* (‘on the road’) or *daïos* (‘destructive’ or ‘clever’), but this is not necessary.

⁶⁹ Logan, Adams & Miller, in More 1995, p. 98–99.

⁷⁰ Logan, Adams & Miller, in More 1995, p. 180–181.

⁷¹ On the books, see Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin in this volume.

⁷² On the New Testament as a Latin book, see Henk Jan de Jonge in this volume.

Humanist networks connected More with Erasmus, who planned a new edition of Augustine, and with Vives, who wrote a humanist commentary on *City of God*. Humanists were interested in *City of God* chiefly as a resource for classical material and especially for Platonism. If More's biographers had not mentioned, as evidence of his impressive classical learning, that as a young man he gave public readings of *City of God*, would anyone think of *City of God* in connection with *Utopia*?⁷³ More invokes Plato's imagined city, and Lucian's mockery of philosophy, in a dialogue which leaves his readers asking how much of it he meant. Augustine's city is not imagined; he invokes the certainty of divinely inspired scripture, and contrasts it with the deficiencies and disagreements of human reason, in an exposition which never leaves his own position in doubt. In More's book 'on the best condition of a commonwealth and on a new island, Utopia', Hythloday, 'the nonsense man', makes several journeys to an isolated 'nowhere land' and returns to report on its unfamiliar customs. In Augustine's book 'on the City of God, against the pagans', the citizens of the city of God are *peregrini* in this mortal life: not travellers, but resident foreigners. They cannot now be identified by difference of language or custom, but at the Last Judgement they will attain the home in heaven of which glorious things are spoken in their scriptures. More contrives for Utopia a blank slate and a small island territory protected from other influences. Augustine's *peregrini* share the customs of the earthly city, which for him and for his envisaged readers is the Later Roman Empire: it has common languages and common laws, but it is huge, under threat, trying to manage uncontrolled immigration. More suggested that changes to government, and to the management of households and cities, would remove incentives to crime and make people behave better. Augustine did not consider alternatives to monarchy, or better organisation of households and cities, because he did not suppose that this would change human nature. If Augustine had read *Utopia*, he would

⁷³ For example, Keen 2013, p. 1421: 'it is impossible to believe that M. did not have Aug. in mind when composing his social commentary and vision for an alternative order'. Surtz and Hexter (More 1965, p. clxvi-vii), offer with due caution a list of 'suggestive' connections.

have argued against More that possessiveness would continue even if houses changed ownership at regular intervals, and the wish to be admired would continue even if gold and jewels lost their value, so people would continue to steal and to accumulate even if they had no fear of want.

City of God, as its commentators know all too well, is a very big and very diverse book. There is a particular temptation to do with it what Augustine did with his classical sources: take what is useful to you, disregarding the author's purpose and sequence of argument. This paper has suggested that More in 1501 took the classical learning, but this is not to deny that themes in *City of God* could have stayed with him until 1516: for example, common good as opposed to private good.⁷⁴ An early modernist who is familiar with medieval readings may hear in *Utopia* echoes of *City of God* which are not audible to a classicist who works on Augustine in the context of late antiquity. But comparing More and Augustine is useful chiefly because the comparison shows the fundamental differences between the books, and between the concepts, of *Utopia* and *City of God*. Augustine thought that God created humans as social beings who would love God and cooperate in natural hierarchy. But human pride in one's own abilities and achievements distracts from love of God, and human desire to have one's own way leads to possessiveness and domination. So the primary need is for individual human beings to respond to God's love with love of God even to disregard of themselves. That is how they are citizens of the city of God, which is not a utopia.

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⁷⁴ See Markus 1990.

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Abstract

Fifteen years before the publication of *Utopia*, Thomas More engaged with another great work which has prompted much reflection on human society. According to his earliest biographer, as a young man More 'read for a good space a public lecture of St Augustine *de ciuitate Dei*'. Is there a connection between *City of God* and *Utopia*? More's biographers mentioned his 'lecture' as evidence of his classical learning, and he is said to have discussed historical and philosophical, not theological, matters. In his argument against worshipping many gods, Augus-

tine cited classical authorities, some of whose works were later lost, and More and his humanist friends would be interested especially in Platonist philosophers. One lost work, Cicero *De re publica*, makes an apparent connection with early modern debate *de optimo rei publicae statu*, 'on the best condition of the commonwealth', and thereby with More's book *de optimo reipublicae statu deque noua insula Utopia*. But Augustine was not concerned with political thought or with better ways to organise society, and the major influences on *Utopia* are acknowledged to be Plato and Lucian, not Augustine or the texts he cited. Comparing *City of God* and *Utopia* shows the difference in tone and in concept. More offers irony, Augustine offers certainty based on divinely inspired scripture. More offers a human construct; for Augustine, the city of God is the community of all rational beings, angels as well as humans, who love God even to disregard of themselves. The city of God is not a utopia.

JACOB LANGELOH

WAGING WAR FOR JUSTICE: UTOPIAN WARS AND THE ROMAN EXPANSION

Introduction

More's *Utopia* begins with a bold claim. The author announces his intention to write about the very best republic (*de optimo reipublicae statu*) in his description of a new island, and to entertain his readers along the way, thus making the book both *salutaris* and *festiuus*. Despite the many angles from which this book can be considered, a clear challenge emerges for the reader: one must consider whether or not the initial boisterous claim is to be taken at face value. Is Utopia the best state? If yes, why? If not, why not?¹

Many of the qualities observed by the traveler Raphael Hythlodæus have the potential to make Utopia a reversible figure (*Kippfigur*), turning from the ideal state into a *monstrum*. On the one hand, the social regulations of the Utopians may appear just and progressive but, viewed from a different angle, they can also appear restrictive and overly homogenizing. One might dislike the Utopians' treatment of slaves. One might take offense at how religion is forced upon all. And finally (I do not claim to have exhausted all possibilities), one might have doubts about why and how the Utopians wage war.²

¹ When citing *Utopia*, I refer to the Yale edition, More 1965, with the respective page numbers. I want to thank Simon Mussell for helping me improve the language and the argument of this article.

² Useful studies include: Oncken 1922; Ritter 1948; Avineri 1962; Adams 1962; McCutcheon 2015; Shephard 1995; Müllenbrock 2002. Overviews of previous interpretations can be found in Avineri 1962 and Müllenbrock 2002. Curiously, Müllenbrock only mentions Avineri in passing.

The factors bringing Utopia to conflict and the Utopians' conduct during war have led some commentators to regard the chapter on warfare (*de re militari*) as one of these tipping points. Dominic Baker-Smith comments that the Utopians' 'attitude towards non-Utopian nations' 'can only be described as the most confusing aspect of their conduct'.³ Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock compares the chapter on warfare to an 'erratic block looming over the otherwise peaceful Utopian landscape'.⁴ And, famously, Hermann Oncken and – with more nuance but generally striking the same chord – Gerhard Ritter have argued that Utopia fails to address the 'question of power', and the state thereby turns into a tyrannical superpower instead of acting as the peaceful ideal it promised to be.⁵

In what follows I will focus on *why* the Utopians wage war. By doing so, I will only fleetingly touch upon both their means of war and the condemnation of contemporary European wars in the first part of *Utopia*. The main tenets of my argument can be summarized as follows:

1. The Utopian conduct in foreign relations strongly resembles that of the Roman republic (and to some extent that of the Empire). More's description of Utopia's policies thus uses this as a model and can be read as a reflection on Rome.
2. The Utopian wars follow the logic of just war as exposed by Cicero, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and others.
3. Starting with Cicero, the principles of just warfare also served as a justification of the Roman expansion and *eo ipso* Imperial rule.
4. In the later Middle Ages, influenced by the Aristotelian teleological model of politics, Imperialistic authors commonly construe the Roman expansion as just and contributing to a necessary, greater goal.
5. Thomas More breaks with this tradition, disentangling just war from both expansion and striving for the greater good.

³ Baker-Smith 2000, p. 185.

⁴ Müllenbrock 2002, p. 2.

⁵ See Oncken 1922; Ritter 1948 and Oncken's introduction in More 1922, p. 5*-45*, especially 31*-37*.

The Utopian wars are portrayed as being motivated by justice but they appear to have no large-scale objective. This, among other reasons, might contribute to the modern perception that something is fundamentally wrong with the rationale for Utopian wars.

1. *Why Does Utopia Wage War?*

The reasons why Utopia goes to war are described extensively in a section titled *De re militari*.⁶ But some reasons are presented even earlier, when the Utopian social order is considered. Despite the optimized use the Utopians make of their resources, only a limited number of people can live off the bounty of their insular homeland. Accordingly, whenever a particular threshold is reached, they set up colonies on the mainland. In order to do so, they sometimes claim arable land that technically belongs to others but is not being used. If any of these people want to join them, they are welcome to do so and to live according to the Utopian laws.⁷ However, should the landowner resist this annexation, the Utopians consider this as a reason for war, and even regard the war in question as one of the ‘most just’ kind.⁸ This reasoning is based on an argument from nature. By the law of nature, soil is to be used for the sustenance of people. If it is not used for that

⁶ More 1965, p. 198-216; 199-217.

⁷ *Quod si forte per totam insulam plus aequo moles intumuerit, tum ex qualibet urbe descriptis ciuibus in continente proximo ubicumque indigenis agri multum superest, & cultu uacat: coloniam suis ipsorum legibus propagant, ascitis una terrae indigenis si conuiuere secum uelint* (‘And if the population throughout the island should happen to swell above the fixed quotas, they enroll citizens out of every city and, on the mainland nearest them, wherever the natives have much unoccupied and uncultivated land, they found a colony under their own laws. They join with themselves the natives if they are willing to dwell with them’), More 1965, p. 136-137.

⁸ *Aduersus repugnantes, bello configunt. nam eam iustissimam belli causam ducunt, quum populus quispiam eius soli quo ipse non utitur, sed uelut inane ac uacuum possidet, aliis tamen qui ex naturae praescripto inde nutriri debeant, usum ac possessionem interdicat* (‘If they resist, they wage war against them. They consider it a most just cause for war when a people which does not use its soil but keeps it idle and waste nevertheless forbids the use and possession of it to others who by the rule of nature ought to be maintained by it’), More 1965, p. 136-137.

purpose, then anyone who wants to restore it to that natural function can claim a just cause of war.⁹

In the aforementioned section *de re militari*, a number of additional reasons for war are given. This section has sometimes been interpreted as a slippery slope, where a little momentum leads to great consequences, or, alternatively, as an example of satirical juxtaposition. At the beginning of the section, it is claimed that the Utopians consider war ‘with utter loathing’ and as the most bestial thing possible.¹⁰ Although they train their populace in warfare, ‘they do not lightly go to war’.¹¹ Despite these noble assertions, the list of possible reasons for war that follows is extensive. The first two reasons seem quite understandable. The Utopians wish to defend their own territory and to aid their allies in doing the same. And, motivated by ‘human sympathy’, they also consider it necessary to free ‘people oppressed by tyranny’.¹² It is clear that the Utopians have put these principles into practice in the past from an earlier passage that claims that ‘many of [their neighbors] were long ago delivered from tyrants by the Utopians’.¹³

⁹ This facet of More’s text is connected to two important discourses of his time. First, the notion of just property was itself being discussed, as is documented in Pierson 2013. Pierson points out that the right to own land was strongly connected to the notion of working on it, cf. Pierson 2013, p. 125-127. Second, the question arose as to what were the conditions of just war against the inhabitants of the new world. This was discussed most forcefully by Francisco de Vitoria in his *relectiones* on the Indies, held in the summer of 1539. In the first lecture he confirms that the Indians are in fact the just holders of their lands. In his second lecture, he argues against a set of reasons for war against them, and in his third lecture, *De Indis relectio posterior siue De iure belli*, he covers some legitimate reasons to start a war that still fell short of the actual conduct of the conquistadores and also of the aggressive stance Utopia adopts. On his views concerning property, see Pierson 2013, p. 158-160. One should consider, though, that the new world is not the only context in which More’s work can be read and that the far east was also a likely backdrop, cf. Lakowski 2009.

¹⁰ More 1965, p. 199.

¹¹ More 1965, p. 201.

¹² The entire passage reads: *non temere capessunt tamen, nisi quo aut suos fines tueantur, aut amicorum terris, infusos hostes propulsent, aut populum quempiam tyrannide pressum, miserati, (quod humanitatis gratia faciunt) suis uiribus Tyranni iugo, & seruitute liberent* (‘Yet they do not lightly go to war. They do so only to protect their own territory or to drive an invading enemy out of their friends’ lands or, in pity for a people oppressed by tyranny, to deliver them by force of arms from the yoke and slavery of the tyrant, a course prompted by human sympathy’), More 1965, p. 200-201.

¹³ More 1965, p. 196-197: *Multos enim ipsi iam olim tyrannide liberauerunt.*

However, the list of reasons for war continues. Wars may also avenge wrongdoings against the Utopians' allies. This includes retaliation for raiding and plundering, but the Utopians react even more strongly when their allies are suffering from injustices in trade, be it through unjust laws or their unjust interpretation. Thus, they punish the wrongs against their allies 'severely' and 'even in money matters'.¹⁴ Their reaction to commercial fraud against themselves is a lot more moderate: they simply decline to trade with the nation in question until the injury has been remedied.¹⁵ The final cause for war that is mentioned is injury or death suffered by Utopian citizens abroad. The Utopians first attempt to ascertain the facts, then they demand the extradition of the guilty party. Should this fail, they engage in war. It should be noted that, when waging war on behalf of allies, it also matters 'if they themselves are consulted before any step is taken and if they themselves initiate the war after they have approved the cause and demanded restitution in vain'.¹⁶

In summary, it appears that the Utopians recognize a multitude of reasons for war. Although they do not initiate hostilities over trading offenses against themselves, they are willing to punish injuries suffered by Utopian citizens. This emphasis on protecting Utopian lives is echoed in the way they conduct the wars. The Utopians prefer to use mercenaries or allied forces before risking the lives of their own citizens. When acting on behalf of their allies and neighbors, the main motivator appears to be justice – they fight tyranny, they avenge wrongdoings, and they react especially violently if fair trade is inhibited. However, they like to stay in control of the proceedings. Any involvement is contin-

¹⁴ More 1965, p. 201.

¹⁵ *Tam acriter Utopienses amicorum, etiam in pecuniis, iniuriam persequuntur, suas ipsorum, non item, qui sicubi circumspecti bonis excidant, modo corporibus absit uis hactenus irascuntur, uti quoad satisfactio fiat, eius commercio gentis abstineant* ('So severely do the Utopians punish wrong done to their friends, even in money matters – but not wrongs done to themselves. When they lose their goods anywhere through fraud, but without personal violence, their anger goes no further than abstention from trade with that nation until satisfaction is made'), More 1965, p. 200-201.

¹⁶ More 1965, p. 200-201: *uerum id ita demum faciunt, si re adhuc integra consulantur ipsi, & probata causa, repetitis ac non redditis rebus belli autores inferendi sint.*

gent upon their own assessment of the situation and their own declaration of war. All this would appear very well, were there not a recent example of what dire consequences might result from these policies.

In a recent war, the narrator figure Raphael Hythlodæus tells us, the Utopians fought on behalf of the Nephelogetes. It was triggered by a wrong that their traders supposedly suffered at the hands of the Alaopolitans. Many surrounding nations were drawn into the conflict and thus several '[m]ost flourishing nations' were 'shaken to their foundations or grievously afflicted'.¹⁷ The spiral of violence was only halted when the Utopians finally managed to overcome the Alaopolitans. The whole narration is wrought with doubt. The *causa belli* was a wrongdoing that the Nephelogetic traders reported, and Raphael does not dare to assess whether this cause was 'right or wrong'. The effect, however, was most profitable for the Nephelogetes: 'Since the Utopians were not fighting in their own interest, they yielded [the Alaopolitan slaves] into the power of the Nephelogetes, a people who, when the Alaopolitans were prosperous, were not in the least comparable to them'.¹⁸

It is clear that Utopian wars might have dire consequences. While the Utopians generally take the utmost care to ensure that their wars are based on justice and are conducted according to their standards, this example shows how questionable evidence can lead to a great deal of bloodshed, all for the sake of Utopia's allies and all in the name of justice.

2. Utopia and the Roman Expansion

It might appear puzzling why the Utopians, whose main goal seems to be protecting their citizens and safeguarding the existence of their commonwealth, are eager to involve themselves in foreign affairs. As we have seen, one main cause relates to the neighboring nations with which they enter into relationships. Many of their

¹⁷ More 1965, p. 201.

¹⁸ More 1965, p. 200-201: [...] *orientia ex malis mala, Alaopolitarum servitus demum, ac deditio finierit, qua in Nephelogetarum (neque enim sibi certabant Utopienses) potestatem concessere, gentis, florentibus Alaopolitarum rebus, haud quaquam cum illis conferendae.*

neighbors enter this relation willingly and ask for the Utopians' governance, since Utopians can be expected to administer the state fairly and without seeking personal gain.¹⁹ The Utopians employ a very precise terminology for the nations they deal with: 'The nations who seek their administrators from Utopia are called allies (*socii*) by them; the name of friend (*amici*) is reserved for all the others whom they have benefited'.²⁰ The benefits for foreign nations are not specified here, but one might imagine that this refers to liberation from tyranny and favorable trade agreements, since the Utopians sell their agricultural surplus for a moderate price and even donate a seventh of the proceedings to the poor of the respective country.²¹

The terminology that the Utopians employ for their allies has a historic precedent. It is precisely the terminology that the Roman state used for those republics associated with it, beginning with its conquering of Italy and its expansion into the Empire.²² The entire formula reads: *reges amici et socii populi Romani*; or in Greek: βασιλεῖς φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίων.²³ *Socii* in this sense was mostly reserved for the Italian nations that owed military allegiance to the Romans,²⁴ which becomes even clearer through the Greek term σύμμαχοι, which denotes 'someone one fights along with'. The term *amici* and the corresponding relationship of *amicitia* was a wider term that served as their basic tool to bind themselves to any foreign nation.

While it appears clear that *amicitia* was the most commonly used and important term for Rome's relationship to foreign peoples and their rulers,²⁵ it has, until recently, proven challenging for researchers to uncover its exact implications.²⁶ Some have claimed

¹⁹ More 1965, p. 196-197.

²⁰ More 1965, p. 196-197: *Hos Utopiani populos, quibus qui imperent ab ipsis petuntur, appellant socios, caeteros quos beneficiis auxerunt amicos uocant.*

²¹ More 1965, p. 148-149.

²² When spelling 'Empire', I adhere to the following rule: when referring to 'an' empire or the general fact of universal rule, I use lower-case. If the historical Roman or medieval Empire is meant, I use upper-case.

²³ Schumacher 2008, p. 143.

²⁴ Galsterer 2006.

²⁵ Braund 1984, p. 5-6.

²⁶ For a general overview see the introductions in Coşkun, Heinen & Tröster 2005; Coşkun 2008; Baltrusch & Wilker 2015a. The volumes mentioned also

that *amicitia* was basically a fig leaf that barely obscured ever-present legal obligations.²⁷ Others have stressed that the implications of committing to friendship should not be dismissed so easily.²⁸ For the self-image of the Romans, it was obviously important to feel obliged by friendship rather than by rules, and current research mostly rejects the notion that each declaration of *amicitia* involved a legally binding treaty.

In functional terms, the tool of *amicitia* offered many options to the Romans. It allowed them to construct a network of connections with different nations that could be interpreted in various ways. The binding factor between the two friends was *fides* – a relation that first and foremost assured peace between the friends, but also imposed a moral duty to act in one another's favor.²⁹ Beyond this basic commitment, however, the Romans could leave the precise nature of these relationships undefined, so that they could mold them as necessary and act as they saw fit.³⁰ Due to its inherent flexibility, *amicitia* played an important role in the Roman conquests. When asserting their dominance in the Mediterranean, the Romans did not have to subvert each and every nation.³¹ If their counterparts were responsive enough, they could exert indirect rule over many regions. They could choose which conflicts to enter. And finally, they could leverage military support, both from *socii* and from *amici*.

The strategy of the Utopians shows very obvious parallels. They enter freely and willingly into relations with neighboring countries. They form rather informal relationships, referring to anyone whom they have somehow benefited as *amici*, which

contain numerous case studies which illuminate the complexity of the issue. A concise summary on the status and duties of the 'client king' with primary sources is given in Schumacher 2008, p. 143-144.

²⁷ Badian 1984 and later Zack 2001.

²⁸ To my knowledge, the latest and most outspoken is Burton 2011.

²⁹ One such instance is recorded by Livy 37.54. *introduciti Rhodii sunt, quorum princeps legationis expositis initiis amicitiae cum populo Romano meritisque Rhodiorum Philippi prius*. The Rhodians then go on to claim that the Romans act only through noble causes. This leads to their plea: *gentis uetustissimae nobilissimaeque uel fama rerum gestarum uel omni commendatione humanitatis doctrinarumque tuendam ab seruitio regio libertatem suscepistis; hoc patrociniū receptae in fidem et clientelam uestram uniuersae gentis perpetuum uos praestare decet*.

³⁰ Baltrusch & Wilker 2015b, p. 8-9.

³¹ Braund 1984, p. 5-7.

would include almost everyone with whom they open trade relations. If they are more closely bound to someone they call them *socii*, just as Rome termed its military allies, and Utopia's *socii* also offer their armies for service. This allows the Utopians to conserve the life of their citizens. Should a military engagement prove unavoidable, they first seek the help of mercenaries. In addition to this, they employ the forces of the ally for whom they are fighting and bolster this number with troops provided by their other *amici*. Only then and 'last of all' they add a contingent of their own citizens out of which they appoint some man of tried valour to command the whole army'.³²

As far as I am aware, the close connection between the Roman system of alliances and that of Utopia has not yet been examined. Shlomo Avineri mentions that '[t]he very historical association expressed by the usage of these terms of *socii* and *amici* seems suggestive more of the Roman Empire than of anything else',³³ but he does not follow up on this observation. Others have tended to compare the Utopians' foreign policy with Plato's *Politeia*, pointing out the parallels and differences.³⁴

By focusing on Greek sources – if a short detour may be permitted – one is following the deliberate misdirection that More employs in naming Utopia's parents. Throughout the whole work, Greek influences are magnified while Roman ones are marginalized. On the one hand, this might be connected to the character of Raphael Hythlodæus, who favors Greek over Latin, since he 'found that there is nothing valuable in Latin except certain treatises of Seneca and Cicero'.³⁵ Later, when Hythlodæus describes the Utopians' willingness to learn, he notes that they also prefer Greek books, 'for in Latin there was nothing, apart from history and poetry, which seemed likely to gain their great approval'.³⁶ When Raphael is first introduced, his disregard for Roman philosophy is already presented as a major character trait:

³² More 1965, p. 209, my emphasis.

³³ Avineri 1962, p. 261-262.

³⁴ See, for example, Logan 1983, on foreign relations: p. 204-205, on war: p. 215-218.

³⁵ More 1965, p. 50-51.

³⁶ More 1965, p. 178-179.

Now this Raphael – for such is his personal name, with Hythlodæus as his family name – is no bad Latin scholar, and most learned in Greek. He had studied that language more than Latin because he had devoted himself unreservedly to philosophy, and in that subject he found that there is nothing valuable in Latin except certain treatises of Seneca and Cicero.³⁷

This portrayal appears to mirror the preferences of Humanists of More's time, especially the circle surrounding Erasmus of Rotterdam. For them, excelling in the Greek language was a major status symbol and in this respect it makes sense that Hythlodæus' proficiency is emphasized. Many Humanists of the 'Erasmian circle' were eager, as Eric Nelson has noted, to regain Greek learning and to oppose the predominant Roman education and political theory.³⁸ Nelson therefore concludes that More 'mounts an attack on these [neo-Roman] categories and asserts a different, fundamentally Greek ethical framework of political life'.³⁹ This argument has a strong appeal when applied to the ethical categories of Utopia. Hythlodæus suggests that rejecting individual possession can lead to a more just society that allows for a happier life in quietude.⁴⁰ As Nelson points out, this clashes with the classical Roman view that can be found, for example, in Cicero's *De officiis*, where active service for the community is regarded as the highest purpose in life.⁴¹

While the interpretation appears sound in this regard, it could still benefit from further differentiation. First, Hythlodæus tends to overstate the case sometimes, and we must consider the idea that he may not be More's mouthpiece. Second, More's depiction of Utopia is not limited to ethics and internal politics but also covers foreign politics. When forced by these external influences, the intra-societal values might be given up or rejected. Third, even Hythlodæus himself is not completely oblivious to some of the institutions of the historical Roman state. He praises them for

³⁷ More 1965, p. 48-51.

³⁸ See Nelson 2001 that has been included (with an additional summary) in Nelson 2004, p. 19-48. I will cite from the latter.

³⁹ Nelson 2004, p. 23.

⁴⁰ Nelson 2004, p. 39-48.

⁴¹ Nelson 2004, p. 36-37.

employing forced labor instead of sentencing criminals to death⁴² and one of the Roman Republican heroes, [Gaius] Fabricius [Luscinus], is named as an illustration of the attitude that one should prefer to rule rich men than to be rich oneself.⁴³ So, while Roman philosophy in general is discredited by Hythlodæus himself and through his characterization, Rome's institutions and its people are not.

In this context, it seems highly significant that the Utopians are said to favor Roman history, since they appear to be re-enacting it, after a fashion. Of course, I do not want to claim that Thomas More was aware of the nuanced findings of today's scholarship about the nature of *socii* and *amici*. But he would have been able to learn quite easily how Roman foreign relations were constituted in general from Cicero, Livy, Sallust, and other writers who were accessible to him. If there is any model that Utopian foreign relations emulate, it is, I want to suggest, the Roman model. With this in mind, I want to turn towards the reasons for war. The Romans generally claimed that their wars were based on justice and their definition of a just war remained very influential throughout the Middle Ages. So why did they believe that they only lead just wars? How was this thought transmitted through the Middle Ages? And do the Utopians conform to it?

3. Rome's Expansion as a Just Matter: Just War and the Augustinian Challenge

It is a historical fact that Rome managed to grow from a small Latin state to an empire that spanned the entire Mediterranean. Its alliances and friendships served a vital function in this. From a cynical point of view, they provided the Romans with ample opportunities to engage in the conflicts of others. In a more positive light, foreign nations were able to count on the friendship and support of the Romans. The self-image of the Romans would

⁴² More 1965, p. 74-75.

⁴³ More 1965, p. 94-95. As the commentary by Surtz and Hexter points out, this remark actually belongs to Manius Curius Dentatus; however, it was not uncommon to attribute it (erroneously) to Fabricius. Cf. More 1965, p. 368-369. According to Adams and Logan, the statement is very much in line with Fabricius' character, More 2016, p. 35.

likely have favored the latter view. From their own perspective, all or at least most wars they led were just wars.

The definition of a ‘just war’, however, changed over time. Until the late Republic it appears to have meant acting in accordance with the *ius fetale*. The *fetiales* were a collegium of 20 priests who were responsible for witnessing treaties with foreign states but also for the declaration of war. Their exact proceedings are uncertain, since the main sources – such as Livy, Varro and Cicero⁴⁴ – were written long after the rites ceased to be practiced.⁴⁵ According to Livy, their duties in relation to war consisted of demanding restitution from the opposing party, threatening war if said party did not comply, guiding the senate towards a decision, and, finally, declaring war itself.⁴⁶ Many factors indicate that this image is constructed retrospectively by Livy, with his contemporary Roman readers in mind. With regard to More and his *Utopia*, we need only note two points. First, this description, fictional though it may have been, was available to Thomas More. Second, the description does not involve any judgment concerning the just *causes* of war. According to this account, a just war depended largely on following the requisite bureaucratic steps.⁴⁷

That changed with Cicero.⁴⁸ He embraced the formal elements – demanding restitution, seeking deliberation, formally declaring war – but for him, the *cause* of war also had to be just.⁴⁹ He defines possible just causes in a passage of *De re publica*:

*Illa iniusta bella sunt quae sunt sine causa suscepta. Nam extra ulciscendi aut propulsandorum hostium causa bellum geri iustum nullum potest. [...] Nullum bellum iustum habetur nisi denuntiati, nisi indictum, nisi de repetitis rebus.*⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Keller 2012, p. 58-77.

⁴⁵ The major sources are, among others, Livy 1.24 and 32. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.72. Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.86. Cicero, *De legibus* 2.9.21.

⁴⁶ Keller 2012, p. 65, summarizing Livy 1.32.

⁴⁷ On how this was handled in practice, see Liebs 2009.

⁴⁸ Bleicken 2004, p. 169.

⁴⁹ Sueton also ascribes this trait to Augustus. He never waged war *sine iustis et necessariis causis* (*Augustus*, 21.2). There is some debate about whether this was adopted earlier in Rome, but the evidence is inconclusive.

⁵⁰ ‘Those wars are unjust which are undertaken without provocation. For only a war waged for revenge or defence can actually be just. [...] No war is consid-

It should pointed out immediately that More's text runs very close to this. He mentions both the causes of repelling invaders and avenging wrongdoings (*auxilium gratificantur amicis non semper quidem, quo se defendant, sed interdum quoque illatas retalient, atque ulciscantur iniurias*), and the Utopians only declare war if restitution is not granted (*repetitis ac non redditis rebus*). And the parallels continue. Cicero also characterizes external interventions as *beneficia* for the foreign states, exactly the term used by More for the *amici* of the Utopians. Because these relations were so beneficial, Cicero concludes, Roman rule was not an *imperium* but rather a *patrocinium*:

[...] *Verum tamen, quam diu imperium populi Romani beneficiis tenebatur, non iniuriis, bella aut pro sociis aut de imperio gerebantur, exitus erant bellorum aut mites aut necessarii, regum, populorum, nationum portus erat et refugium senatus, nostri autem magistratus imperatoresque ex hac una re maximam laudem capere studebant, si prouincias, si socios aequitate et fide defendissent; itaque illud patrocinium orbis terrae uerius quam imperium poterat nominari.*⁵¹

As long as the Roman Empire upheld its high moral standards, it always entered a conflict with just reasons and mostly for the benefit of others (with the exception of wars about hegemony). The ancient Romans thus deserved the highest praise, since they defended their allies justly and faithfully, establishing a fatherly stewardship, a *patrocinium*, instead of imperial domination.

The Roman theory of just war must be seen in the context of the Roman submission of the Mediterranean. For Cicero and Livy, the two main sources, it appears clear that war does not

ered just unless it has been proclaimed and declared, or unless reparation has first been demanded'. This passage is not available to us directly and can only be reconstructed from Isidore's *Etymologiae* 18.1, where Isidor refers to *De re publica* 3.23.35; cf. Keller 2012, p. 216 and Heck 1966, p. 240-241. Translation from Cicero 1977.

⁵¹ *De officiis* 2.26-27. Cicero 1913, p. 195: 'Let me add, however, that as long as the empire of the Roman People maintained itself by acts of service, not of oppression, wars were waged in the interest of our allies or to safeguard our supremacy; the end of our wars was marked by acts of clemency or by only a necessary degree of severity; the senate was a haven of refuge for kings, tribes, and nations; and the highest ambition of our magistrates and generals was to defend our provinces and allies with justice and honour. And so our government could be called more accurately a protectorate of the world than a dominion'.

end with the submission of the opponent. Instead, as peace is the ultimate goal of war,⁵² the Romans needed to watch over the defeated in order to assure peace and prosperity, which is what Cicero meant by *patrocinium*. It is easy to justify Imperial politics on this basis, whether or not this is the intention. From the just intervention derives the duty to prevent further war and disquiet: the protective power must make sure nothing similar happens again. It was therefore a consequence of just war that the Roman people were charged to watch over the entire world as benevolent fathers.⁵³

It is clear that the rightfulness of these politics was open to challenge. The Christian apologist Lactantius poignantly concluded in his *Institutiones diuinae*:

*quantum autem ab iustitia recedat utilitas, populus ipse Romanus docet, qui per fetiales bella incidendo et legitime iniurias faciendo semperque aliena cupiendo atque rapiendo possessionem sibi totius orbis comparauit. uerum hi se iustos putant, si contra leges suas nihil faciant.*⁵⁴

⁵² *De officiis* 1.35.

⁵³ Livy expresses this in the following words that a spokesman of the Rhodians utters in front of the Roman senate (*Ab urbe condita* 37.54.14-17): *alia enim aliis et honesta et probabilis est causa armorum: illi agrum, hi uicos, hi oppida, hi portus oramque aliquam maris ut possideant; uos nec cupistis haec antequam habere-tis, nec nunc, cum orbis terrarum in ditione uestra sit, cupere potestis. pro dignitate et gloria apud omne humanum genus, quod uestrum nomen imperiumque iuxta ac deos immortales iam pridem intuetur, pugnistis. quae parare et quaerere arduum fuit, nescio an tueri difficilius sit. gentis uetustissimae nobilissimaeque uel fama rerum gestarum uel omni commendatione humanitatis doctrinarumque tuendam ab seruitio regio libertatem suscepistis; hoc patrocinium receptae in fidem et clientelam uestram universae gentis perpetuum vos praestare decet* [my emphasis]. Livius 1912-1924, vol. 5: 'There are various good and sound pretexts for taking up arms. Some fight to obtain territory, others villages, others fortified towns, others ports and a strip of sea-coast. You did not covet these things before you possessed them, nor can you possibly covet them now when the whole world is beneath your sway. You fought for the honour of your commonwealth and the renown which you enjoy throughout the whole race of man, who have long looked upon your sovereignty and your name as only second to the immortal gods. To gain and acquire these things has been an arduous task, I am inclined to think it is a harder task to defend them. You have undertaken to protect from the tyranny of monarchs the liberties of an ancient people famous for their military reputation, and for all that is commendable in refinement and learning. Now that the nation has placed itself as a whole under your protection as clients, it is incumbent on you to show yourselves its patrons for all time'.

⁵⁴ Lactantius 2005-2011, fasc. 3, 6, 9, 4-5, p. 561. 'How far usefulness deviates from justice is taught by the Roman people themselves, who by initiating wars

Lactantius sees opportunism rather than justice (*utilitas* instead of *iustitia*) in the acts of the Romans. They used their fetial law as a pretense in order to conquer as much of the world as they could. The only test that their definition of justice had to pass was concordance with their own laws, not with an exterior standard of justice.

Nevertheless, Cicero's criteria for just war were taken up by Augustine and thus became the main source for the theory of just war throughout the Middle Ages.⁵⁵ Augustine touches on this issue in his commentary on the Heptateuch. When discussing God's order for Joshua to lay out an ambush for his enemies, Augustine writes:

*Quod deus iubet loquens ad Iesum, ut constituat sibi retrorsus insidias, id est insidiantes bellatores ad insidiandum hostibus, hinc admonemur non iniuste fieri ab his qui iustum bellum gerunt, ut nihil homo iustus praecipue cogitare debeat in his rebus, nisi ut iustum bellum suscipiat, cui bellare fas est; non enim omnibus fas est. cum autem iustum bellum susceperit, utrum aperta pugna, utrum insidiis uincat, nihil ad iustitiam interest. iusta autem bella ea definiri solent quae ulciscuntur iniurias, si qua gens uel ciuitas, quae bello petenda est, uel uindicare neglexerit quod a suis inprobe factum est uel reddere quod per iniurias ablatum est.*⁵⁶

through their fetial priests, by legally inflicting injuries, by always wanting and carrying off what is not theirs, obtained possession of the whole globe. Really, they believe they are just, if they do not violate their own laws' [my translation].

⁵⁵ I am following Keller 2012, p. 216-220 here. For a fuller view, see Russell 1975.

⁵⁶ Augustine 1895, 6.10, p. 428. 'By the fact that God verbally orders Joshua to set up ambushes behind him, that is, to hide fighters to ambush the enemy, we are admonished that doing these things is not unjust for those who lead a just war, so that in these matters a just man primarily has to contemplate whether he would be starting a just war and whether it is legitimate for him to fight, since not everyone is supposed to do so. But once he has started a war, it does not concern justice whether he wins through open battle or through ambushes. One commonly defines just wars as those that avenge some injury if the people or the city to be challenged by the war has neglected to avenge a wrongdoing that was committed by its people or has failed to give back what has unjustly been taken away' [my translation]. Augustine is commenting on Ios. 8. 2: *faciesque urbi Ahi et regi eius sicut fecisti Hiericho et regi illius praedam uero et omnia animantia diripietis uobis pone insidias urbi post eam* ('And thou shalt do to Ai and her king as thou didst unto Jericho and her king: only the spoil thereof, and the cattle thereof, shall ye take for a prey unto yourselves: lay thee an ambush for the city behind it') (KJV).

Augustine discusses two aspects. First, he justifies God's command to Joshua to lay a trap. Any means are allowed in fighting a just war. Second, he cites Cicero's assessment as a commonly held opinion (*definiri solent*). With the first step, he decouples just means from just intentions. Anything is possible, as long as it is within the interests of a just war: *utrum aperta puga, utrum insidiis uincat, nihil ad iustitiam interest*. Second, Augustine canonizes Cicero's definition and thus makes it usable for Christian authors after him. When referring to the definition of just war, one did not have to rely on the authority of Cicero alone – he was, after all, a heathen – but one might also point to St Augustine's.

This assessment of a just war was henceforth incorporated into the *Decretum Gratiani* and also taken up by Thomas Aquinas in his most complete discussion of just war, which can be found in the *Summa Theologiae*.⁵⁷ There, Thomas collects several statements of Augustine's concerning this matter. In the end, he arrives at three conditions for just war, supporting them with different pronouncements by Augustine. First, he who declares war has to have the necessary authority (*auctoritas principis, cuius mandato bellum est gerendum*) to do so. The second condition is a just cause (*iusta causa*), where the explanation of what counts as a just cause is given through citing the passage from the commentary on the Heptateuch quoted above. The third condition lies in the objective of the war, which must be to make things better and to pursue peace through the means of war.⁵⁸

When considering these statements, one has to wonder if Augustine and later Thomas Aquinas would agree that the Roman expansion actually happened justly, as Cicero and Livy indicated. Obviously, its wars and conquests would have to have happened according to justice, since, as one of Augustine's most famous tenets goes: *Remota itaque iustitia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?*⁵⁹ – 'Justice removed, what are kingdoms but great bands of robbers?'⁶⁰ In another passage he claims that *Vera autem iustitia non est nisi in ea re publica, cuius conditor rectorque Chris-*

⁵⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* II II^{ae} 40, a1.

⁵⁸ *Tertio, requiritur ut sit intentio bellantium recta, qua scilicet intenditur uel ut bonum promoueatur, uel ut malum uitetur.*

⁵⁹ Augustine 1955, 4.4, vol. 1, p. 101.

⁶⁰ Augustine 1998, p. 147.

*tus est*⁶¹ – ‘True justice, however, does not exist other than in that commonwealth whose Founder and Ruler is Christ’.⁶² In that sense, there was no possibility that the Roman conquests might be just.

4. *Late Medieval Interpretations of Rome’s Expansion: Serving a Higher Goal*

In the later Middle Ages, the question of whether or not the Roman Empire was just was still being debated. One group of authors who discussed this issue can be denominated as Imperialists. For them, the justification of the Roman Empire had real consequences. Since the medieval Empire was seen as the continuation of the Roman one, justified through the *translatio imperii*, any challenges to the rightful origin of this empire could also be used to object to imperial rule.

The Imperialists’ solution was, broadly speaking, to respond to two challenges which might be understood in relation to Thomas Aquinas’ definition of just war. Aquinas had named three conditions. The first is easy to fulfill. The party declaring the war must possess the legal authority to do so, which is a matter of proceeding properly within one’s own state. The second and third conditions are harder to meet. In order to match the second condition, it has to be proven that all actions leading to the Empire – principally the conquering of other nations – were just. In order to meet the third condition, the usefulness of the whole enterprise must be demonstrated. When responding to the third condition, the Aristotelian *Politics* proved useful. Generally speaking, Aristotle is very much concerned with final goals. All things have a purpose and the greater the purpose, the more important they are. That is why, for example, *Politics* is the highest practical science, since it is concerned with the well-being of the whole society, which cannot be achieved through individual excellence.⁶³ If a conquest had to be justified, it could only happen by ascribing very important goals to it.

⁶¹ Augustine 1955, 2.21, vol. 1, p. 55.

⁶² Augustine 1998, p. 80.

⁶³ See the beginning of Aristotle’s *Politics* I.1-2, 1252a-1253a.

Who were the authors who supported this view? Two could be classified as pioneers, while another two are later proponents of this viewpoint. Dante Alighieri and Engelbert of Admont were both writing around 1316. Enea Silvio Piccolomini and Juan de Torquemada took up the pen under the very different conditions of the fifteenth century, but they still maintained some of the most vital concepts of Imperialism. One important link is Antonio Roselli and his *Monarchia*.⁶⁴ He used Dante's work in his own and also taught Enea Silvio Piccolomini at Siena.⁶⁵ Each of these authors had particular occasion to recur to these arguments. For Engelbert and Dante it meant supporting King Henry VII, who was aspiring to become Emperor. Roselli used it for several different purposes, fighting a two-way battle against conciliarism and papal monism.⁶⁶ Enea Silvio Piccolomini used the *topos* in an exhortatory letter to Emperor Frederick III.⁶⁷ Juan de Torquemada was responding to Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, who tried to influence the Castilian war of succession by using an *argumentum de imperio*, and so Juan felt the need to rebut him.⁶⁸ With these differences in mind, I want to identify what all these views had in common. I will first give a broad overview based on Engelbert of Admont, before discussing some peculiarities entertained by the other figures.

Among other considerations about good worldly rule, Engelbert of Admont in his *De ortu et fine romani imperii* also considers whether or not a kingdom might be called just. In order to do so, he draws up a 2×2 matrix. He differentiates between the just or unjust acquisition of rule and its just or unjust subsequent administration.⁶⁹ For him, rule can only be termed just when it

⁶⁴ Concerning Roselli himself, see Eckermann 1933, p. 22-49. Concerning the manuscripts and how Dante's *Monarchia* was taken up, see Cheneval 1995, p. 286-327; Burns 1992.

⁶⁵ Cheneval 1995, see p. 305-326 on how Roselli uses Dante and p. 289 on the teaching at Siena.

⁶⁶ 'Eine Sonderstellung in diesem Kreise und in dieser Zeit nimmt Roselli trotz vieler gemeinsamer Züge ein: er kämpft um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts für vollständige Unabhängigkeit der weltlichen von der geistlichen Gewalt und tritt zugleich mit großer Energie für ein absolutes zentralistisches Papsttum ein'. Eckermann 1933, p. 24-25.

⁶⁷ Kallen 1939.

⁶⁸ Jedin 1942, p. 256 and the beginning of the text itself, p. 267-268.

⁶⁹ Engelbert of Admont 2016, c. x, p. 153-157.

has been acquired rightfully and is administered in a just fashion. But is it not the case that the Romans seemed to acquire their rule in an unjust fashion? All historians appear to agree, and thus the Roman Empire should be considered unjust!⁷⁰

As a solution to these doubts, Engelbert offers his own interpretation of the Roman expansion. For him, and on the basis of three cases, the Empire was acquired justly in all respects. The first case is just war, which, according to Engelbert, also allows for the subjugation of the defeated people:

*Primo per iusticiam bellicam, quia illa regna, que iusto bello deuicta sibi subiecit, iuste sub ipsius imperio et dominio permanserunt. [...] Et ita illorum deuictorum iniquitas et Romanorum uincecium iusticia iustum super eos imperium eis fecit.*⁷¹

First, they did it justly, by means of armed justice, because those kingdoms conquered in just wars, which it subjected to itself justly, remained under its empire and domination. [...] And the iniquity of those conquered and the justice of the Roman victors made their empire over them just.⁷²

In the second case, rulers leave their kingdom to the Romans 'by testamentary disposition'.⁷³ The reasons are revealed soon after. When the Romans started to gain strength, neighboring countries asked them for help against the aggression of other neighbors, which the Romans dutifully provided. The dying princes remember the *beneficia* they received and were also more confident that the Romans could defend their people against their neighbors.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Engelbert of Admont 2016, c. xi, p. 158-159.

⁷¹ Engelbert of Admont 2016, c. xi, p. 161-162.

⁷² Engelbert of Admont, Piccolomini & de Torquemada 2000, p. 54-55.

⁷³ Engelbert of Admont, Piccolomini & de Torquemada 2000, p. 55.

⁷⁴ *Quia, cum Romani antiquitus inceperunt esse potentes, multi reges et duces societati eorum se contra uicinorum suorum insultus et molestias coniunxerunt, quibus ipsi Romani societatis pacta et federa fideliter et fortiter seruauerunt. Unde ipsi reges uel duces morientes et beneficiorum sibi collatorum memores ipsos Romanos suorum regnorum et terrarum heredes ex testamento instituerunt quasi magis potentes illa regna et terras defendere contra uicinos.* Engelbert of Admont 2016, p. 162. '[...] because, when, a long time ago, the Romans began to be powerful, many kings and leaders associated themselves with them against the insults and troublesomeness of their neighbours; the Romans faithfully and steadfastly observed pacts and bonds of association with them. Wherefore those kings or leaders,

The third reason is acceptance of rule *ex post*. The people conquered by the Romans gradually came to accept that the Roman rule was ‘tolerable, modest and equitable’,⁷⁵ and therefore their mindset changed. With these three cases, Engelbert believes that he has proven that the Romans had acquired their dominion justly and were also ruling it justly.

What purpose did the Roman expansion serve, according to Engelbert? He differentiates between two kinds of *fines*, one being a thing’s perfection, the other its point of destruction.⁷⁶ The Roman Empire reached its perfection at the time of Augustus when it was able to maintain peace in the entire world.⁷⁷ This was the moment when Jesus Christ could step down from heaven and commence his work on earth.⁷⁸ This was the point ‘to which it was led by the sweat of so many wars and labours’.⁷⁹ While it is meant to be consumed eventually, the Empire has previously guaranteed peace in the world. As Engelbert says: *Finis autem, propter quem regna sunt a principio constituta, est ordinatio et conservatio pacis et iusticie inter regnicolas*.⁸⁰

At this point, the logical supplement to Engelbert’s point of view would be Dante’s *Monarchia*, which was written roughly at the same time.⁸¹ Since this work is generally well-studied, I only

when dying, mindful of the benefits conferred on them, instituted the Romans as heirs of their kingdoms and lands by means of testament, as those who, being more powerful, could defend their kingdoms and lands against their neighbours’. Engelbert of Admont, Piccolomini & de Torquemada 2000, p. 55. With regard to the frequency and importance of kingdoms bequeathed to the Romans, see Braund 1984, p. 129-164.

⁷⁵ Engelbert of Admont, Piccolomini & de Torquemada 2000, p. 56.

⁷⁶ Engelbert of Admont 2016, p. 215.

⁷⁷ Engelbert of Admont 2016, p. 215-216.

⁷⁸ The earliest account in which this connection is made is Orosius’ *Historiarum adversum paganos* 6.22.

⁷⁹ Engelbert of Admont, Piccolomini & de Torquemada 2000, p. 83, see Engelbert of Admont 2016, p. 215.

⁸⁰ Engelbert of Admont 2016, p. 211. ‘The end, however, for the sake of which kingdoms were established from the beginning is the establishment and preservation of peace and justice among the kingdom’s inhabitants’. Engelbert of Admont, Piccolomini & de Torquemada 2000, p. 81.

⁸¹ Since it refers to the *Paradiso* having just been completed, a date around 1317 has been found to be most likely. See Baethgen 1966 for an overview that is still relevant. In what follows I give the chapter numbers according to Dante Alighieri 1989.

want to highlight a few points. For Dante, peace and monarchy – understood by him to mean that there is one supreme ruler in the entire world – bear an even greater necessity. Since the ultimate goal of mankind in this life is to perfect intellectual pursuits (I.iii), and since the greatest aid in pursuing this goal is living in peace (I.iv.2), it is necessary to live in peace (I.iv.5). A perpetual peace can only be guaranteed by a force that governs all others (I.v. and the rest of book I). Ergo a monarchy is necessary. With this train of thought, Dante offers a radical version of Engelbert's account. Maintaining peace is not a goal in itself but serves as a means towards the self-realization of mankind in this world. From this point of view, having an empire that is also a Monarchy in Dante's sense is not only advisable, but is the only way possible. After establishing this premise, Dante goes to great lengths to establish that the historic Roman Empire, especially at the time of Augustus, filled this role exactly.⁸²

In the fifteenth century, several imperial authors, Enea Silvio Piccolomini and Juan of Torquemada among them, took up the earlier arguments. Piccolomini aggregates the causes brought forward by Dante and Engelbert. According to him, the Empire is there to safeguard peace⁸³ and, 'according to some', to stave off the arrival of the Antichrist.⁸⁴ His proof as to why the Roman Empire is just takes up many of the arguments already recounted, but largely relies on natural right (*ex jure naturae*). Like Dante before him, he affirms that it is only through Monarchy that the world could come to peace, and thus nature went on to institute it.⁸⁵ Although Rome was initially ruled by the people and

⁸² Dante attempts to prove this mostly in book II of the *Monarchia*. Some of these arguments might appear a little far-fetched, see Langeloh 2017, p. 298-319.

⁸³ [...] *ex jure naturae fundatum constat imperium atque ad pacem tenendam justitiamque distribuendam monarchia sit necessaria* [...], Kallen 1939, p. 72. This passage is close to c. 18 in Engelbert of Admont 2016.

⁸⁴ *Habet quoque Romanum imperium, ut quidam auctumnant, aliud privilegium: nec enim eo stante uenturum existimant Antichristum*. Kallen 1939, p. 64. 'The Roman Empire also has another privilege, as some assert: they do not think that Antichrist will come while it remains in existence'. Engelbert of Admont, Piccolomini & de Torquemada 2000, p. 100.

⁸⁵ *Namque ut priuatorum hominum exorbitantes impetus justa regum moderatione compesci natura disposuit, sic et ipsorum regum per unum principem immensas furari cupiditates instituit. Nec aliter pax poterat uniuersalis haberi*. Kallen 1939,

the senate, nature ultimately realized that only a single person could do the job, which was later confirmed by Christ himself. After recounting the various reasons for the universal monarchy, Enea summarizes that the predominance of the Roman prince is due to common utility, nature's plan, and God's wish, and has been confirmed both by Christ and mankind's approval:

*Hec igitur summa Romani principis auctoritas, quam communis utilitas desideravit, natura inuenit, deus dedit, filius confirmavit, consensus hominum approbavit, de stirpe duarum rerum, sicut Justinianus ait, proueniens, uimque suam exinde muniens, felix Romanorum genus omnibus anteponi nationibus, omnibusque populis dominari fecit.*⁸⁶

As we may note, there is no special justification of Rome's wars and conquests. Since Enea relies on natural necessity and God-given privileges, justifying individual acts was apparently beneath his concern.

Juan of Torquemada is even more pragmatic, but in a different way. In response to his opponent's claim 'that the Roman people and its princes and Emperors obtained and usurped lordship and jurisdiction over kingdoms and provinces not with a just title but tyrannically and in a usurping manner by means of violence',⁸⁷ he opens up the same matrix as Engelbert in which just acquisition and just rule are permuted with unjust acquisition and unjust rule.⁸⁸ However, he regards the Empire as being justified by rul-

p. 58. 'For, just as nature disposed that the varying impulses of individual men should be held in check by the just moderation of kings, so it established that the unbounded cupidity of the kings themselves should be removed by a single prince. For, otherwise, universal peace could not be had'. Engelbert of Admont, Piccolomini & de Torquemada 2000, p. 97.

⁸⁶ Kallen 1939, p. 66. 'Therefore, this supreme authority of the Roman prince, which the common good desired, nature discovered, God granted, the Son confirmed, the consent of men approved, "arising", as Justinian said, "from the root of two natures, and fortifying its strength thereafter, brought it about that the fortunate race of Romans were preferred to all nations and dominated all peoples"'. Engelbert of Admont, Piccolomini & de Torquemada 2000, p. 100.

⁸⁷ Engelbert of Admont, Piccolomini & de Torquemada 2000, p. 115. *Romanus populus et eius principes et imperatores non iusto titulo, sed tyrannice et usurpative et per uiolentiam dominium et iurisdictionem ad regna et prouincias usurparunt et obtinuerunt*, Jedin 1942, p. 269.

⁸⁸ Jedin 1942, p. 270.

ing justly, no matter the origins: *Licet imperium per uiolentiam originem sumpserit, sicut et regnum, processu tamen temporis bonis moribus regebatur, propter quos meruit tam late et potenter augeri.*⁸⁹ For him, to rule justly is sufficient to establish the justice of the dominion. The virtue of the Roman people and their desire for the common good also made them worthy of their predominance.⁹⁰ For Juan, the main reason for the Empire's existence lies in the order of nature. As the different kingdoms of mankind are similar to the parts of the body, there needs to be a governing principle to prevent *dissensiones* from remaining unresolved.⁹¹

In that sense, the Imperialists have departed from Augustine – which of course does not prevent them from leaning on his pronouncements, interpreted in their way. Their justification of the historical Roman Empire has, as I have shown, two main ingredients. First, the rule of the Empire must be just. This is established by demonstrating that the Roman conquests happened in a just fashion and that the conquered territories were governed justly afterwards (for Torquemada, the second condition suffices). They also attribute greater meaning to it. Since the Empire is the last step in a great chain of purposes, its goals are the highest and most important for all mankind. The reasons are among the most important imaginable: universal peace serves in some cases as a prerequisite of the arrival of the savior or as a precondition to the (this-worldly) perfection of mankind. Alternatively, the Empire can be thought of as keeping the Antichrist at bay.

How remote from More's own times were these ideas? Certainly, ideas about raising a universal emperor cannot have been close to contemporary English thinking. However, there is more than a little resonance with the idea that one should create universal peace in order to further a general goal. An instance of

⁸⁹ Jedin 1942, p. 269. '[A]lthough the Empire originated by means of violence, like any kingdom, with the passage of time, it ruled with good customs, on account of which it merited to expand so widely and powerfully', Engelbert of Admont, Piccolomini & de Torquemada 2000, p. 115. The argument is later reprised and expanded, Jedin 1942, p. 274-275.

⁹⁰ Jedin 1942, p. 270-271.

⁹¹ Jedin 1942, p. 272-273.

this is the 1518 Treaty of London.⁹² Before Thomas More could aspire to be Lord Chancellor, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey held this office and administered it with great ambitions and no little skill.⁹³ One of his deft moves was stealing an idea from the Pope. In early 1518, Leo X proclaimed a universal peace in Europa in order to further his plans to launch a crusade against the Turks. Wolsey ‘hijacked’ the idea of a general peace and made it happen on English soil in London in October 1518.⁹⁴ Although the promises of the treaty – for example, that transgressors would be punished by joint action of all signatories – were discarded as early as three years after signing,⁹⁵ one can still consider the intentions behind it as genuine.⁹⁶

For the current purpose, the Treaty of London shows that the close association between peace and ulterior motive still held. If one looks at the wording,⁹⁷ peace is not treated as a means in itself but is intended as the foundation for a crusade against the Turks. Here, too, peace requires an ultimate goal toward which it is directed. It is of course possible to interpret the opening sentences of the treaty as mere paying lip-service to the initiative of the Pope’s intentions.⁹⁸ Yet, it becomes clear that the act of concluding peace apparently had to be tied to a more general goal. In this regard, the 1518 Treaty of London continues the tradition of Aristotelically-inspired imperial thinking.

5. Augustinian Romans without a Purpose (and Interpretations of Them)

I have now completed a foray into medieval texts and standpoints which allows us, in my opinion, to better understand Utopia’s

⁹² My thanks go to Professor Uwe Baumann for pointing me in this direction. Useful introductory studies include but are not limited to Mattingly 1938; Baumann 1997; Scarisbrick 1997, p. 67-74.

⁹³ See Gunn & Lindley 1991 for an overview of the various aspects under which Wolsey’s personality, behavior, and achievements can be judged.

⁹⁴ Gunn 1991, p. 150.

⁹⁵ Baumann 1997, p. 74.

⁹⁶ Mattingly 1938, p. 2 and passim.

⁹⁷ Rymer 1727, vol. 13, p. 624-631.

⁹⁸ Baumann 1997, p. 75.

warfare. There is no definitive evidence that Thomas More was aware of the justifications of the Empire as I have cited them and that his intention was to write *Utopia* against this backdrop. But clearly both texts use the Roman Empire as a model to which certain traits are attributed. Even if More was not familiar with these specific texts, I would assume that arguments ascribing a greater purpose to the Roman Empire were known to him. Also, the close connection between the creation of peace (by whatever means) and ulterior goals was very much present during this time, as exemplified through the 1518 Treaty of London.

With this background in mind, we might reconsider what the Utopians do, and ask if they do it in a different manner from the Romans. As I have tried to show, they construct their external relations in much the same fashion as the Romans, but they lean even more on the concept of *amicitia*, since they value natural friendship over defined treaties. The interactions that emerge are also very similar to those of the Romans. Based on the *fides* between them and their *amici*, the Utopians enter armed conflicts on behalf of others. Whenever they choose to do so, they obey the Ciceronian-Augustinian precepts of just war. They recognize the reasons that Cicero listed and add the Augustinian notion that means are irrelevant to the conduct of a just war.

What is curiously lacking, and is particularly evident against the backdrop of medieval justifications of war and empire, is a purpose behind all this. For Cicero, leading a war entailed being obliged to watch over the nations involved afterwards, protecting them as children of the Roman *patrocinium*. The medieval Imperialists upped the stakes even further. For them, the Roman Empire and its universal hegemony was needed to perfect mankind and forestall the arrival of the Antichrist. It was the most important tool in worldly politics, intended to achieve the greatest of all goals. The peace attained by the universal empire – associated with the reign of Augustus and the arrival of Jesus Christ – served to promote the greatest goals of mankind.

The Utopians have no such ideal. Their foreign policy is dominated by justice, which includes avenging wrongs committed against their allies, punishing bodily offenses against Utopian citizens, and driving out tyrants who rule over neighboring countries. In this sense, the governing principles of their foreign

politics are purely procedural: do what is just. On the question 'to what purpose?', however, More is silent. Even worse, the effect of the Utopians' actions does not appear to have any weight in their considerations. This is clearly demonstrated in the conflict between the Nephelotes and the Alaopolitans. The cause is a simple trade matter, and Hythlodæus even expresses his doubts about whether it is a legitimate reason. The consequences are dire for a multitude of different nations and ultimately a smaller nation is victorious, having disposed of a more successful rival.

In this sense, the Utopians appear to deviate from views such as those of More's friend Erasmus. Erasmus generally condemns war for its cruelty⁹⁹ but allows it for specific purposes, such as fighting off infidels and punishing Christian nations that deviate from just laws,¹⁰⁰ and this is expounded most extensively in his *Utilissima consultatio de bello Turcico inferendo* (1530). In this regard, Erasmus arrives at a conclusion (in the words of José A. Fernández) that is very close to the Utopian one:

Christians may wage war. Christians may wage war against Christians. War, if it is to be war and not *latrocinium*, must be waged with *recta intentio* and no thought for self-aggrandizement. War must always be the last remedy, to be resorted to only when mediation and the utmost forbearance have utterly failed. War must be conducted in such a way as to be bloodless, short-lived, and not injurious to the innocent. It must only be waged for the defense of the public well-being, the safety of the republic, and the aid of our friends in distress.¹⁰¹

Recently, Nathan Ron has preferred to call Erasmus an irenicist, someone who merely *prefers* peaceful means, especially among Christians, rather than a pacifist, who would have peace above all else.¹⁰² But despite the similarities, for Erasmus the greater good of Christianity was clearly the only possible justification of war, as opposed to simply whether or not a war was just.

⁹⁹ Fernández 1973, p. 213-215.

¹⁰⁰ Fernández 1973, p. 218-223.

¹⁰¹ Fernández 1973, p. 224.

¹⁰² Ron 2014. This article also offers an enlightening overview of Erasmus' view and further references.

That the Utopians are lacking a similar ultimate purpose has contributed, I would claim, to the wide range of interpretations of their foreign policy. Hermann Oncken and Gerhard Ritter believe that the Utopians fail on this point: they engage in a display of power-games, therefore betraying the lofty ideals practiced in their society. Thus, as another commentator has attempted to summarize, '[t]he rulers of Utopia exercise tyrannous control over their subjects, and they wage expansionist wars which have brought them extraordinary wealth'.¹⁰³ However, Oncken's and Ritter's interpretation largely relies on the fact that they paint their own picture of where Utopia's foreign policy must lead.¹⁰⁴ They fill in the gaps that More leaves and conclude that Utopia's foreign policy leads to unwanted consequences.

If the ultimate destination is understood differently, the opposite argument could also be made. One could say that the Utopians' intentions towards their neighbors are generally good-natured. They forge bonds of friendship, form favorable trade agreements, and free their neighbors from tyrannous rule. Robert Shephard has therefore argued that the way Utopians deal with their neighbors is a model that More would like to have seen applied in Europe. Shephard thinks that More ultimately wanted to persuade his fellow Humanists to act as the trustworthy governors that the Utopians provide for neighboring nations.¹⁰⁵ After all, as Shephard emphasizes, the Utopians leave their neighbors alone most of the time, no matter what their private ideology or conception of justice is.

Shlomo Avineri sees Utopia's warfare not as a failure of the Utopian state but as its necessary consequence.¹⁰⁶ However, he also draws his own conclusions as to what the Utopians are ultimately aiming for. He seems to over-emphasize the remark concerning the Zapoletans, where Hythlodæus reports that the Utopians would greatly welcome this 'abominable and impious people' being extinguished altogether.¹⁰⁷ From this, Avineri con-

¹⁰³ Wegemer 1996, p. 149.

¹⁰⁴ Brie 1941 objects, and I think rightfully so, to these consequences (see especially p. 125-137).

¹⁰⁵ Shephard 1995, p. 853.

¹⁰⁶ Avineri 1962, p. 286-289.

¹⁰⁷ More 1965, p. 209.

cludes that the Utopians, as by their own definition a chosen people, feel vindicated in wiping out all other forms of life.¹⁰⁸ Avineri thus fills the void left by More's narration with what appeared to him as the logical conclusion. Plausible as some interpretations might be, I think this one misses the mark. As Robert Shephard has emphasized, there seem to be genuinely good intentions at work.¹⁰⁹ These intentions are evident at a very basic level – the Utopians deliver people from tyranny, exchange material goods, offer administrative services, maintain just trade – with little sense of an overarching plan.

Elizabeth McCutcheon has interpreted the section as profoundly ironic.¹¹⁰ For her, this section can be seen as 'grounded upon an inherently paradoxical concept, a perfect oxymoron, developed as a rhetorical paradox that is exploited for ironic effect'.¹¹¹ McCutcheon argues that the section on war places a multitude of ethical propositions next to each other. A closer look at these would suggest that some of these propositions are contradictory and cannot be maintained at once, thus showing that the depiction of warfare in this chapter cannot be taken at face value. The whole argument thus reveals itself as 'irony by juxtaposition'.¹¹² The reader is forced to realize that there is no such thing as a just war, no matter how the case is presented, becoming aware that '[b]ehind the black comedy and the satire [there] is a tragic sense of the horror of war and its injustice'.¹¹³

McCutcheon's interpretation, however, presupposes quite a lot of interpretation on the part of the reader. One has to realize that the Utopians' measures, although well-intentioned, lead to undesirable effects. But even this, I think, is a stretch. We do not know how often the Utopians wage wars that lead to the effects described, and we do not know to what extent the narra-

¹⁰⁸ Avineri 1962, p. 289.

¹⁰⁹ Shephard 1995.

¹¹⁰ McCutcheon's initial remarks on 'The Contemporary Situation' are very useful to understand More's background. See McCutcheon 2015, p. 66-72. The article was previously published in 1989.

¹¹¹ McCutcheon 2015, p. 81.

¹¹² McCutcheon 2015, p. 82.

¹¹³ McCutcheon 2015, p. 89.

tion is colored by the war-critic Hythlodæus.¹¹⁴ And, if one were to regard war as inevitable, what *would* be the most humane way to conduct it? Could the way described in More's text in fact be the best we can come up with? In that case, I am not convinced that the juxtaposition of the initial 'they do not lightly go to war' necessarily clashes with the multitude of causes listed afterwards. Trying to prevent war can go hand in hand with having clear criteria about when it is necessary to wage war. Finally, we are given no information as to how often and for what actual reasons the Utopians go to war. McCutcheon's interpretation makes sense if the Utopians pretend to avoid war at all costs and yet lead war all the time. Despite Raphael Hythlodæus' insinuation that this might be the case, we do not know for sure.

Summary

The interpretations of Utopia's warfare – which could be multiplied further – suffer from one basic problem, which I want to restate. We do not know what the Utopians intend with their foreign politics or how these politics develop over a longer period of time. As I have tried to show, they construct a network of relations with their neighbors that closely resemble those of the Roman Republic. They engage in external conflicts according to the principles of just war, with the best match being Augustine's definition in his *Quaestiones in heptateuchon*. All their interactions and especially their wars with other peoples seem to be governed by a single principle: to maintain or enact justice. What is hard to find, however, is any sign of teleology. They have neither, as Engelbert has put it, a 'goal of consummation', the high point they strive towards, nor a 'goal of consumption', the point at which it all ends. To Aristotle, Cicero, the medieval Imperialists, and also to More's contemporaries, this must have appeared like a very alien way of looking at political proceedings. For Cicero and the Imperialists, the Roman expansion and their just wars served a greater goal, usually connected to the welfare of mankind as a whole.

¹¹⁴ As McCutcheon points out in her discussion of Book 1, McCutcheon 2015, p. 73-79.

This goal, again, is lacking from Utopia. The Utopians build Roman networks and fight according to Augustinian precepts but they do not have a greater goal. This confirms a critical tendency in Utopia's design, namely to deny the need to sacrifice short-term welfare in order to attain long-term goals. The Utopian state is presented as mostly stable, virtuous, and happy, as if it has been like this for an unnamed number of years and could go on in this way forever. However, the section on war introduces a dimension of temporality and has led interpreters to question repeatedly and persistently where this constellation will lead. Since More does nothing to respond to this question, interpreters have filled this lacuna in various ways, thus creating very different readings of the passages on warfare and foreign affairs. I would not dare to claim that there is no correct answer to the question. But I would conclude that More does little to alleviate the burden for us. When reading the section on war, we are basically left on our own with the question: Where does it all lead to?

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Abstract

In spite of its label as the best of all republics, Thomas More's fictional state, Utopia, cannot avoid going to war. Some exegetes have considered this as a total contradiction of the notion of an ideal state and have therefore concluded that Utopia cannot attain the lofty goals it sets out to achieve. In order to advance this debate, I will demonstrate how Utopia's foreign relations closely follow those of the Roman Republic. I will then consider how these conquests were usually interpreted in late-medieval political theory. In general, such individual conquests were seen as steps toward a greater goal. The lack of any similar goal has led, I argue, to the common frustration with Utopia's foreign politics and the wildly differing interpretations of it.

ALISSA MACMILLAN

UTOPIAN CURIOSITY: THOMAS MORE ON THE DESIRE TO KNOW

Introduction

The citizens of Thomas More's Utopia have an insatiable desire for knowledge. If anyone happens upon their shores, they find out as much as they can from them, as they 'love to hear what is happening throughout the world'.¹ Still reaping the rewards of when 'some Romans and Egyptians were cast ashore' 1200 years earlier, they learned the 'arts of the Roman Empire', taking in everything they could and 'using the seeds of ideas to discover these arts for themselves'.² Their curiosity knows no bounds.

Leading into the early modern period, curiosity rarely sees this kind of whole-hearted embrace. The fortunes and faults of the passion of curiosity, from ancient times to the present, its celebration, its fall from grace, and its eventual rehabilitation, is a favorite recent topic among scholars. Often tracking the real emergence and original critique of curiosity with Augustine, who in his *Confessions* calls this '*morbo cupiditatis*' or disease of curiosity, a gratification of the eye, a *concupiscentia oculorum*, and a 'lust for experimenting and knowing' (*experiendi noscendique libidine*),³ along with a desiring knowledge for its own sake and not for

¹ More 1995, p. 185. All page numbers refer to the English. Latin is on the earlier, facing page and cited only if relevant to the discussion. A modernized version of the Froben edition of March 1518, this edition is used by the translators because it appears to be the last one to include editorial notes from Erasmus and More. See Appendix, 'The early editions and the choice of copy-text', p. 270-276.

² More 1995, p. 107.

³ Augustine 1912, Book 10.35, p. 175-178.

knowledge of God, scholars point to its new embrace with the scientific revolution, where it becomes more acceptable, seen as necessary for the new methods of experimentation and observation.⁴ Recognized as an important source or motivation for inquiry, curiosity comes to be considered a trait of the inquiring mind and a needed component of scientific investigation.

Curiosity is often characterized as either praiseworthy or sinful, deep or more superficial, and, as Hans Blumenburg describes it, naive or theoretical, restricted or freed, and more or less reflective.⁵ The seeking of knowledge of causes, getting knowledge for the end of honoring God or for the end of science and progress, is often characterized by theologians as being good, and for gossip, for no practical value, for vanity's sake, as too self-reflective and self-absorbed, as a source of hubris or 'puffing up', as the sort to be criticized. And both forms, more often than not, are intertwined and overlap with one another.⁶

Even further, as Lorraine Daston points out, the curiosity described by figures like Augustine versus that of Thomas Hobbes are not, as she writes, 'of the same emotional species' because of the dependence of that emotion on 'the company it keeps'. That company, that new and changing context, will 'create new possibilities for the objects and attitudes that give an emotion outlet and outline'.⁷ To track the transformation of curiosity is to follow an ever-changing passion, adjusted in each new context, with each new object for that passion.

The background context of More's Utopia, so the company curiosity keeps there, is unlike the reality of More's England. The world described is a foreign and fictional one, celebrated by its visitor Raphael Hythloday, who reports in to More and Peter Giles on its strange and unique features. And More might find,

⁴ For general discussions on curiosity and its transformation from the ancient to early modern period, see Ginzburg 1976; Newhauser 1982; Blumenberg 1985; Walsh 1988; Daston & Park 1998; Harrison 2001; Benedict 2002; and Kenny 2004. For a more popular treatment, see Ball 2014. Also see Burke 2012, chapters 2 and 5. See Leigh 2013 for changing uses of the term.

⁵ Blumenberg 1985. See especially Part III.

⁶ The subtleties and complexities of this transformation are explored by Blumenberg, who might be seen as the frontiersman in scholarship on the narrative of curiosity.

⁷ Daston 1995, p. 392.

at the end of Hythloday's story, 'not a few of the laws and customs he had described as existing among the Utopians were really absurd'⁸ and that he 'can hardly agree with everything he said',⁹ but, as even More must admit, Utopia is a world of peace, prosperity, happiness, equality, and plenty.

It is also a world that embraces and encourages the desire to know. In his *Utopia*, More presents a vision of total intellectual transparency, linking curiosity to activity and sociality, and the product of curiosity, knowledge, is considered a common resource like all resources. Curiosity is then linked to the characteristics that define the Utopian way of life. A passion long seen as morally blameworthy is considered, in the context of More's imaginary background conditions, a good.

In exploring this desire for knowledge in the context of an imagined background world, More sidesteps some of the critique present in the theological tradition. Seemingly aware of curiosity's storied characterizations – as will be discussed, he mentions an idle curiosity and a kind of active curiosity that separates human beings from animals¹⁰ – More sees curiosity in a relatively straightforward way, similar to how Hobbes will later define it: a 'Desire to know why, and how', a 'care of knowing causes',¹¹ and an imagining of 'all the possible effects' of any imagined cause,¹² so thinking about future possibilities from the consequences of causes.

Like Hobbes, More avoids worry about curiosity's reach into transcendent concerns, to knowledge outside the bounds of what God might want the individual to know or what reason can manage. As with Hobbes, More seems to have collapsed the 'naive' and 'reflected' forms of curiosity as Blumenberg describes them, the 'discovery of the new' now tied directly to the 'never ending question, what will come next'.¹³ The curiosity of More and Hobbes seeks knowledge for knowledge of the human being's situation in the world and as a means to better that situation.

⁸ More 1995, p. 247.

⁹ More 1995, p. 249.

¹⁰ More 1995, p. 35, 183.

¹¹ Hobbes 2014, p. 86.

¹² Hobbes 2014, p. 40–42.

¹³ Blumenberg 1985, p. 236. He here quotes J. Mittelstrass: see footnote p. 621.

While an explicit plea for an embrace of curiosity like Hobbes's won't arrive until over a century later with the new observational science and empiricism, in his Utopian setting, More creates an environment ideal for curiosity's engagement, one that elucidates some of the features that a scientific community, or any community open to inquiry, will need to have to support the basic desire to know. As long as concerns are active, practical, purposeful, and social, any kind of curiosity or inquiry into nature is permissible. In More's imagined world, curiosity is a desire linked to communal needs, to an openness to change and transparency, one that merges the tasks of religion and science, and one exercised not for pride or vanity but in order to know best how to live well and 'make life more agreeable'.¹⁴

This paper examines More's characterization of curiosity in *Utopia* and argues that in this fictionalized setting More offers a picture of what might be required for a real scientific curiosity. This curiosity will need to happen in a setting that is communal rather than individual, embracing an openness to change and transparency, and with thoughts of the common good always in mind. In transforming the background conditions against which this curiosity might be supported, the desire for knowledge becomes a very different problem from what it had long been, no longer burdened with aspects of the traditional theological critique and instead taking on features of what curiosity in an open, progressive scientific community might look like.

Curiosity in 'Utopia'

The players in More's *Utopia* desire to know in various ways, but none of them are curious for the wrong reasons. The desire for knowledge, from shipping practices in Utopia to information about its land, rivers, religion, education system, and family structure, and even knowledge of utopias themselves, is always for some practical social benefit.

Hythloday himself is an adventurer, seeking out new worlds and anxious to find out about other societies. Giles tells More,

¹⁴ More 1995, p. 183.

‘there is no mortal alive today who can tell you so much about unknown peoples and unexplored lands’.¹⁵ It is Hythloday who lived in Utopia for five years, learning as much as he could about their ways and then driven to return to Europe to tell everyone about it so that they might benefit from his knowledge.

Hythloday’s own attitude toward this kind of curiosity or inquisitiveness is very much that of the Utopians themselves: ‘In intellectual pursuits they are tireless’,¹⁶ he tells More and Giles of these islanders. When the Romans and Egyptians landed on their shores, they ‘learned everything they could from them’.¹⁷ Unlike the English, who will likely ignore these lessons, for the Utopians, it is quite the opposite: ‘From one such accident they made themselves masters of all our useful inventions’.¹⁸ In true humanist spirit, the Utopians benefit from investigations into history rather than ignoring them.

Daily leisure time, for many Utopians, is ‘devoted to intellectual activity’,¹⁹ they ‘love to hear what is happening throughout the world’,²⁰ even carrying their own cargo to ports so they can ‘learn more about foreign countries on all sides and keep their own navigational skills from getting rusty’.²¹

They may not have the in-born talent of the British, but, Hythloday thinks, this ‘readiness to learn’ is what sets them apart and is ‘the really important reason for their being better governed and living more happily than we do, although we are not inferior to them in brains or resources’.²² They have a ‘diligence’²³ to study the literature and language of the Greeks when it was introduced to them and, because they work so hard, the speed and accuracy of their grasp of the material ‘seemed like a miracle’,²⁴ Hythloday says. These are the men who are stand-out already, and are now

¹⁵ More 1995, p. 43.

¹⁶ More 1995, p. 181.

¹⁷ More 1995, p. 107.

¹⁸ More 1995, p. 107.

¹⁹ More 1995, p. 127.

²⁰ More 1995, p. 185.

²¹ More 1995, p. 185.

²² More 1995, p. 107.

²³ More 1995, p. 181.

²⁴ More 1995, p. 181.

required to learn, so they are doing this work at the command of the state, but they are also doing it of their own free will. They don't seem, on Raphael's assessment, to be fighting against their own natures; they really want to know.

He tells More and Giles, 'I really think that even if we surpass them in natural intelligence, they leave us far behind in their diligence and zeal to learn'.²⁵ The mind is given a kind of free reign for the Utopians, where curiosity is encouraged and cultivated. They 'devote themselves to the freedom and culture of the mind. For in that, they think, lies the happiness of life'.²⁶

And the society supports and encourages this, seeing knowledge, so the acquisition of knowledge, as beneficial to society, and so individuals desiring knowledge, wanting to know, as also of benefit to society. The individuals who pursue this kind of inquiry are both themselves happy, experiencing a kind of freedom of the mind, but also contributing to the good of society in what they learn and in the fact of their being happy and free.

Again, this pursuit is partly the command of the state. It is a passion, a human propensity, but one that still needs to be fostered and encouraged, as it might not necessarily bloom on its own. But this curiosity is something that takes you beyond natural or innate intelligence, so something that can be cultivated and made more prevalent in the individual. In doing so, it ends up benefiting society even more. Knowledge is there for the taking and using and is itself another kind of common good. To pursue knowledge as an individual is to seek the common good.

Outside of Utopia, More and Giles themselves display the right kind of curiosity. In telling More about Hythloday's experiences, Giles remarks, 'I know that you're always greedy for such information'.²⁷ They both ask many 'eager questions',²⁸ excited and willing to devote their day to hearing Hythloday's story. At the end of Book 1, they 'implore' Hythloday to tell them everything: More says, 'describe that island to us. Don't try to be brief, but explain in order everything relating to their land, their

²⁵ More 1995, p. 105.

²⁶ More 1995, p. 135.

²⁷ More 1995, p. 43.

²⁸ More 1995, p. 49.

rivers, towns, people, manners, institutions, laws – everything, in short, that you think we would like to know. And you can assume we want to know everything we don't know yet'.²⁹

They of course don't ask about monsters, as 'nothing is less new or strange than they are',³⁰ but take interest in primarily practical matters. Their very desire to know about this Utopia, a strange, unknown world, as well as of Hythloday's other encounters, is itself a form of curiosity, longing to know in order to better understand their own society and to better elucidate various features of their own society. 'While he told us of many ill-considered usages in these new-found nations, he also described quite a few other customs from which our own cities, nations, races and kingdoms might take lessons in order to correct their errors',³¹ More says. More's England might be further from perfection than Utopia, but More himself has the curious attitude so applauded by the Utopians, a willingness to ask and learn for the benefit of one's society.

The Practical and the Religious

Unlike Augustine's laments about curiosity or Aquinas's measured claim that curiosity about sensible things is laudable, but seeking knowledge for vanity, for impractical reasons, or to know of the ephemeral and superstitious should be curbed,³² More's characterizations of this desire for knowledge are almost all positive. Instead of being the object of religion's valuation, curiosity, the general desire for knowledge, is tied to the end of happiness and reconciled with religious practice. Curiosity is a practical desire, active and to God's glory.

For the Utopians, as with other forms of activity, there is always a practical component to this pursuit of knowledge. Curiosity is implicated in the broader rejection of idleness. The only warning ever made about curiosity in the text, referring to someone who does not live in Utopia, is in a letter to Giles when More tells of

²⁹ More 1995, p. 107.

³⁰ More 1995, p. 49.

³¹ More 1995, p. 49.

³² Aquinas 1947. See II-II, q. 167.

a theologian who wants to know about Utopia. He assures Giles, 'His motive is not by any means idle curiosity, a hankering after new sights',³³ instead it is to 'foster and further the growth of our religion, which has made such a happy start there'.³⁴

To be idle is among one of the worst things a person can be in Utopia. The inhabitants are constantly engaged in bodily and intellectual activity, the least physically active still being engaged in contemplation, or activity of the mind. They can always attend the 5 a.m. lectures – even the women are welcome. The main task of the phylarchs or syphogrants, the rulers of 30 households, is to 'make sure no one sits around in idleness',³⁵ with six hours a day devoted to work and the rest to other forms of activity. A rejection of idleness is cultivated by the community; they are always at the ready, always 'quick to seek out various skills which make life more agreeable'.³⁶

When Hythloday offers his critique of the enclosure of land and the domino effect of despair and poverty that follows, one of the solutions he offers is to 'Let fewer people be brought up in idleness'.³⁷ Activity, working away in good monastic fashion, is one of the sources of both personal and communal happiness and equality.

Just as More and Giles were satisfied that the theologian was asking about Utopia only to 'foster the growth of our religion', and just as they both, at some further time, hope to learn more of 'those things it would be useful not to be ignorant of',³⁸ in the same way the Utopians learn everything they can only for the betterment of their society. And, it seems, all sorts of knowledge contribute to the betterment of society. Luckily, they find 'fortunetelling and other vain, superstitious divinations' to be 'ridiculous' and they would never take part in them,³⁹ although they

³³ More 1995, p. 35: *...uir pius et professione theologus, qui miro flagrat desiderio adeundae Utopiae, non inani et curiosa libidine collustrandi noua, sed uti religionem nostram, feliciter ibi coeptam, foueat atque adaugeat.*

³⁴ More 1995, p. 35.

³⁵ More 1995, p. 127.

³⁶ More 1995, p. 183.

³⁷ More 1995, p. 67.

³⁸ More 1995, p. 49.

³⁹ More 1995, p. 227.

often pray for a good miracle, another kind of activity directed for the good.⁴⁰ Instead, they want knowledge so that they can create productive systems for themselves, systems that will actually serve to secure their future.

The religions of Utopia are simple, consistent with their simple existence. And curiosity, or an inquiry into nature and its workings, is easily, helpfully incorporated into religious practice. Hythloday explains, 'They think the contemplation of nature and the reverence arising from it are a kind of worship acceptable to God'.⁴¹ For those Utopians who are interested – and rest assured, those who aren't interested in religion or science will never be idle either⁴² – they will be encouraged to inquire about the workings of nature.

What all the varied religions have in common is that they take part in this 'worship of the divine nature', in it together 'like travelers going to a single destination by different roads',⁴³ Christianity itself, which 'has made such a happy start there',⁴⁴ also, presumably, takes part in this worship of nature, as this is a point upon which all religions agree.⁴⁵ Their worship, their inquiry, always has a goal or destination in mind, so is always driven by some kind of purpose.

The worry about usefulness extends to religious practice. Even knowledge of medicine, which they see as 'one of the finest and most useful parts of philosophy', they equate with religious practice, holding that when 'they explore the secrets of nature, they are gratifying not only themselves but the author and maker of nature'.⁴⁶ The human being is alone able to appreciate this great design of God's, the Utopians think, God preferring 'a careful observer and sensitive admirer of his work before one who, like a brute beast, looks on such a grand and wonderful spectacle with a stupid and inert mind'⁴⁷ (*Quem ... arbitrantur ... eoque*

⁴⁰ More 1995, p. 227.

⁴¹ More 1995, p. 229.

⁴² More 1995, p. 229.

⁴³ More 1995, p. 235.

⁴⁴ More 1995, p. 35.

⁴⁵ More 1995, p. 235.

⁴⁶ More 1995, p. 183.

⁴⁷ More 1995, p. 183.

chariorem habere curiosum ac sollicitum inspectorem, operisque sui admiratorem, quam eum qui uelut animal expers mentis tantum ac tam mirabile spectaculum stupidus immotusque neglexerit). They think that God would prefer to have an inquirer who is curious and solicitous, not neglecting the work of this artisan. Their curiosity remains active and practical, the opposite of the beasts, for which new discoveries encounter an inactive mind. And this active, responsive curiosity is for their own good and for the good of God. To be curious and active in this way, not to be unmoved by God's creation, is to act in a way preferred by God.

The form religious practices take, one that resembles a scientific engagement and is considered a healthy pleasure, and a tolerance for various religions, provide ideal conditions for the encouragement and cultivation of the curious mind. Categorized as a pleasure of the mind, 'knowledge and the delight that arises from contemplating the truth'⁴⁸ are among activities to be pursued for health and happiness, and they 'prize them most highly'.⁴⁹

Active inquiry is enveloped in religious worship, merging religious and scientific practices. There are a variety of religious expressions, all tolerated by the citizens of Utopia, although most happen to believe in a single, 'unknown, eternal, infinite, inexplicable' God whose power is felt throughout the universe.⁵⁰ To this single God, expressing again their openness to change, 'to him alone they attribute the origin, increase, progress, changes, and ends of all things'.⁵¹ But any religion is allowed in Utopia, as is proselytizing in a moderate and rational way.⁵² The encouragement of inquiry then extends to understanding other religions.

An open-mindedness and openness to change also extends to religion. As part of religious practices, citizens thank God for having 'placed him in the happiest of commonwealths',⁵³ but also maintain an open-mindedness, the kind of humility required of the curious mind, so that, 'If he is wrong in this, and if there is some sort of society or religion more acceptable to God, he prays

⁴⁸ More 1995, p. 173.

⁴⁹ More 1995, p. 175.

⁵⁰ More 1995, p. 219.

⁵¹ More 1995, p. 219.

⁵² More 1995, p. 223.

⁵³ More 1995, p. 239.

that God will, is his goodness, reveal it to him, for he is ready to follow wherever he leads'.⁵⁴ If their society is indeed the best, they pray for its continuation.

While scholars might argue the individuals in Utopia can never be happy because they have not heard of revelation,⁵⁵ More never suggests that its citizens are unhappy, nor that Utopia will never change. Instead, the Utopians are 'living joyfully and peacefully', with no worries about property or poverty, 'secure of his own livelihood and happiness'.⁵⁶ Their lack of knowledge, even of revelation, is never seen by More as the source of unhappiness, rather, a lack of knowledge is an impetus to curiosity, and the exercising of this desire to know is itself a source of happiness.

Worship is never idle and always has a practical end. It is always moved, never still, always curious and admiring. This very activity of the mind is a source of happiness. Although curiosity might not come naturally to everyone, the system of education encourages and cultivates the inquisitive mind, creating a nation of inquirers. As with learning for the Utopians – once stimulated by it they will continue to seek⁵⁷ – divine nature is a spark to inquiry, the stuff of knowledge and what inspires the asking, not something that stops you in awe or stupidity. Nature and the workings of nature, God's creation, then provide an impetus to continue with one's activity. Admiration leads to a responsiveness, an inquisitiveness, a movement, and not a cessation of movement or stillness. Their curiosity is never idle.

The Outward Facing and the Social

This kind of ever-active, always responsive inquiry, one that brings in new information, is also outwardly directed for More's Utopians, not turned inward or toward the individual. The acquisition of knowledge and the desire for that knowledge is for the common good of society, not for the needs or pleasures of any one person.

⁵⁴ More 1995, p. 239-241.

⁵⁵ More 1995, p. 223, see footnote 119. Thank you to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

⁵⁶ More 1995, p. 241.

⁵⁷ More 1995, p. 183.

While a common chorus of critique among theologians is that curiosity is the source of pride, an individual getting too far above himself or 'puffed up' with knowledge of secret or marvelous things, in More's Utopia, pride is also a concern, even the greatest concern. But the traditional critique of vain curiosity is lost there, as all knowledge is practical, open, and transparent. As a common good, knowledge is not something an individual might possess. Because ownership is not individualistic, acquisition of knowledge is never to one's own glory. Instead, it is always for the good of the community. In Utopia, 'everything belongs to everybody',⁵⁸ even knowledge.

Further, the problem of pride in Utopia stems primarily from material things, from ownership and showing off and from comparison of material goods, not from intellectual things or from the acquisition of knowledge. 'Pride measures her prosperity not by what she has but by what others lack', Hythloday says; it is a display of riches to those who are in poverty.⁵⁹ This, Hythloday explains, is what the Utopians have managed to eliminate and this is one of the reasons their world will continue to thrive.

In Book I, his views having been shaped by the Utopians, Hythloday critiques the use of enclosures for animals and complains that society itself creates and then punishes its thieves because of want. It is these kinds of borders and boundaries, Hythloday argues, that lead to greed, to a ravenous nature that didn't exist before. It creates sheep, once meek, who now devour humans and humans, naturally content and fulfilled in work and activity, who now become ravenous thieves. There can be no boundaries because boundaries are what cause the greed, possessiveness, want, and comparison between individuals. Because there are no individual possessions in Utopia, there is no comparison or competition for goods between individuals, no 'that's mine, this is yours'.

Mirroring this plea, there is also no want, there are no boundaries, and no enclosures in Utopia when it comes to knowledge and the acquisition of knowledge. Just as gold and food are shared,

⁵⁸ More 1995, p. 241.

⁵⁹ More 1995, p. 247.

so too is information. New knowledge is gained from an individual's desire to know, but this is a communally cultivated characteristic of the Utopians and the fruits of this desire are also a common good. As with other material goods, knowledge itself is not personal property and not something you could take pride in or become puffed up with. Once possessed, it is owned by the entire community, curiosity being the means to acquiring knowledge for the society. Knowledge is a communal good and a practical good that isn't and can't be stored and hidden away like grain might be, or like secrets might be. The only secret that seems to exist in Utopia is the vote of the syphogrants about whether a student should be recommended for a life of study.⁶⁰

Anything anyone in Utopia can get his or her hands on is, in some sense, always already for the entire community. This extends to knowledge, which also persists with no enclosures or boundaries. There are also no boundaries from God whose works are an open book. In this practically-driven inquiry, the end itself is of little use to any given individual, because all goods, new knowledge included, are only of value for the society as a whole.

Seeking and acquiring knowledge is not the source of overblown pride. More disentangles the problem of pride from the traditional critique of curiosity. Pride is about ownership of objects, not about knowledge. And even if it were about knowledge, there is only common knowledge to be shared, just as there is no private property.

This openness of knowledge also reflects an openness to change. Hythloday critiques those who appeal to the fixed authority of ancestors: 'implying, of course, that it would be a very dangerous matter if anyone were found to be wiser on any point than his ancestors'.⁶¹ An appeal to tradition means a refusal to change, a refusal to be open to new practices based on new information that might come thanks to curiosity. Hythloday implies that a fixed-ness to one's thinking, a mistaken 'reverence for times past',⁶² an unwillingness to take in new information and adjust views in light of that information, is a hindrance to progress, meaning that

⁶⁰ More 1995, p. 131.

⁶¹ More 1995, p. 53.

⁶² More 1995, p. 55.

Utopia is a society open to progress, one looking forward instead of looking backward.

Just as judges in Utopia are given time to go home and think before discussing cases,⁶³ there is room in society to think, to waver, to take in new information, and to change one's mind. The encouragement of curiosity brings with it an encouragement of use of the outcomes of that curiosity and an openness to some of the new insights that curiosity might make known.

Utopia is a place of political stability – some argue, one of political perfection – but it is a society that offers the right conditions for supporting this willingness to change in the face of new discoveries. Nowhere does More suggest that Utopia will never change, given its citizens' interest in new arrivals, new knowledge, and a desire for 'skills which make life more agreeable'.⁶⁴ Progress remains a constant goal of the Utopians.

In his fictional world, More presents a distinctively Utopian curiosity, one that might come as no surprise in light of the general features of Utopia itself, in particular its outlook on material goods. As social, communal, outward-focused, practical, and a means to open-mindedness or change, curiosity and its claims are not a source of personal pride because it is not an individual affair for the Utopians. Indeed, nothing is an individual affair.

While a critique of curiosity might stem from a worry about what comes from it, even a worry that curiosity might lead to unrest or an overturning of the status quo, there is no need to fear the fruits of curiosity in Utopia. New information is constantly incorporated into society. A taking in of this new information and a willingness to take in ever more information being part of the basic activity of the society, not something that would serve as a threat. Holding tight to tradition, as Hythloday says, would be a form of resistance to insights gained in an exercise of curiosity.

⁶³ More 1995, p. 123-125.

⁶⁴ More 1995, p. 183.

Conditions for Curiosity and the New Science

Although More's is a description of a kind of curiosity found nowhere, the curiosity of the Utopians comes to resemble aspects of the sort that will be desired by later philosophers. His is also not just an indication of what curiosity will need to become, but an exploration into what the background conditions of the society will need to be in order to have this kind of curiosity at all. The desire to know, which many see as a natural human propensity, is alone not enough. As Utopia makes clear, there need to be certain conditions in place for this kind of desire to know, the exercise of this curiosity, to happen.

The early modern moment is one in which knowledge and its role is transformed. A new public knowledge is born, helped by innovations like the printing press,⁶⁵ a realization among some of the need for knowledge to be gained systematically and cooperatively,⁶⁶ and, as illustrated in, for example, the opening of Tommaso Campanella's utopian vision, *La Cité de la Soleil* (1602), where all forms of knowledge are found on the various walls of the city, helping facilitate the education of boys, these sciences need to be taught and the practice of inquiry needs to be cultivated for this kind of learning to happen at all.

As stated so literally in Campanella's world, *Utopia* elucidates the importance of certain background conditions needed for the wholehearted embrace of curiosity, illustrating the ways in which the concern is not just a plea for curiosity's embrace, but a plea for the kind of social conditions needed to embrace curiosity so that the cultivation and best use of this natural human propensity follows. These features – a communalism as opposed to an individualism, an openness to change, a merging of the tasks of religion and science, a transparency to knowledge, and a cultivation of inquiry – are argued for in various and piecemeal ways by figures throughout the early modern period, often embedded in views that might not support all aspects of curiosity in the same way.

⁶⁵ Burke 2012, p. 83.

⁶⁶ Burke 2012, p. 46.

A century after More, Francis Bacon, who had a notorious ambivalence about curiosity – it was required for the end of science and the good of society but to be criticized when for vanity's sake, impractical, or for entertainment, recreation, victory, or a livelihood – will need curiosity for the task of scientific inquiry. The most laudable, and rarest reason to be curious is 'for employing the Divine gift of reason to the use and benefit of mankind',⁶⁷ Bacon writes.

Although Bacon was no proponent of universal knowledge for all, practical often meaning of practical use for the monarch,⁶⁸ Bacon's was, 'the first systematic, comprehensive attempt to transform the epistemological activity of the philosopher from something essentially individual to something essentially communal'.⁶⁹ No single inquirer could do the work necessary for the scientific project, his vision one that 'depended on the cooperative activity of many researchers'.⁷⁰ Bacon recognizes that the quest for knowledge needs to be part of a communal effort, not one for the individual alone, the purpose of the quest for the common good.

In his unfinished, utopian text *New Atlantis* (1627), travelers are told they can ask any questions they'd like⁷¹ and they send a ship out solely to collect information about everyone else.⁷² The Father of Salomon House explains to the narrator of their land, 'The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motion of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible'.⁷³ An openness to change is also part of this vision, a willingness to incorporate the outcomes of inquiry and the results of experimentation and observation into a social vision.

Similarly exemplified in Margaret Cavendish's utopian fantasy, *The Blazing World* (1666), there the protagonist becomes the empress of a world where she can, without hesitation, inquire

⁶⁷ Bacon 1605, Book 1.3, p. 65.

⁶⁸ Gaukroger 2004, p. 9-11. Also see Bacon 2009, p. 65.

⁶⁹ Gaukroger 2004, p. 5.

⁷⁰ Hill 1961, p. 94.

⁷¹ Bacon 2009, p. 18.

⁷² Bacon 2009, p. 34.

⁷³ Bacon 2009, p. 51.

about anything and everything to do with the place. She desires to know everything she can, not just for the sake of it, but so she can govern well.

She also realizes, after her thorough inquiry and with advice from the spirit of her friend the Duchess (Cavendish herself), she wants to change her form of governance back to her original idea, but she fears she'll appear indecisive and fickle. But, this desire to change is seen as a good thing, a changeability something to be commended. To be changeable, to be open to taking in new information and revising one's own views and opinions is actually the sign of a great leader, the Duchess assures her. To be unwilling to change or fixed in one's views is what leads to faction. She tells the empress that 'to alter her own decrees' would not be disgraceful but 'for her majesty's eternal honour, to return from a worse to a better, and would express and declare her to be more than ordinary wise and good; so wise, as to perceive her own errors; so good, as not to persist in them, which few did'.⁷⁴

More's Utopian conditions also call for a meeting of the tasks of religion and science. Curiosity about nature, following through on one's own inquiry, will be to the good of medicine and to the glory of God in Utopia, a view resembling Robert Boyle's own plea that investigation into nature is itself a form of piety. Boyle sees curiosity as central to the true naturalist's, or the Christian virtuoso's, task, curiosity as a kind of religious expression. To be curious about nature is to honor God and all of God's intricate creation. He talks of study of the stars and comets, which might seem to be useless or unhealthy or resulting in knowledge that's never certain, but in fact, all of it is worthy of endeavor and inquiry.⁷⁵ It needn't be towards an end – the very activity of inquiring, even just for the sake of knowing, is part of the task of the Christian naturalist philosopher and is just to honor God. It's an even worse thing, Boyle thinks, to stop in your inquiry, to take someone's word for it. To just assent is worse than to inquire curiously. Curiosity is celebrated for Boyle and used in defense of his experimental program. Inquiry is itself a religious act.

⁷⁴ Cavendish 1994, p. 202.

⁷⁵ Boyle 1690, Preface.

The desire for transparency and the recognition of a need to cultivate the desire to inquire is part of the argument in John Milton's *Areopagitica* (1644), his short essay objecting to the order to regulate printing. Curiosity, or the desire for all kinds of knowledge, and its expression in printed form, is essential to a flourishing society. He explains of the regulation, 'it will be primely to the discouragement of all learning and the stop of truth, not only by disexercising and blunting our abilities in what we know already, but by hindering and cropping the discovery that might be yet further made both in religious and civil wisdom'.⁷⁶

Individuals should be considered adults, Milton explains, and should be trusted with their own reason and allowed to 'exercise his own leading capacity'.⁷⁷ Without this trust, general knowledge will suffer; printed texts 'cannot be suppressed without the fall of learning and of all ability in disputation',⁷⁸ Milton continues. Like Campanella's city walls, citizens must be exposed to knowledge to become the kinds of citizens that can learn, be curious, think, and create.

This open learning and exposure of all ideas will lead, Milton says, to 'a quick, ingenious and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle, and sinewy to discourse',⁷⁹ to arguing and new opinions, which are 'knowledge in the making'.⁸⁰ A society that cultivates and encourages this kind of learning is one that will create curious, open-minded citizens.

Conclusion

Curiosity will still face its share of tension long after More. Thinkers from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries will need to justify their seemingly useless inquiries and their desire to know things that might not be so obviously worth knowing. But woven into More's Utopian vision, curiosity moves away from the grip

⁷⁶ Milton 2005, p. 342.

⁷⁷ Milton 2005, p. 349.

⁷⁸ Milton 2005, p. 351.

⁷⁹ Milton 2005, p. 365.

⁸⁰ Milton 2005, p. 366-367.

of the likes of Augustine and closer to a kind of justification that will come from figures like the never-idle Boyle, inquiry into nature as itself a religious inquiry and always to the greater good.

More elucidates the possibilities for this kind of curiosity with his transformed background world, one of common property, social knowledge, transparency, a unity of ends for the common good, a recognition of the need to cultivate curiosity, and an openness to change, and, in doing so, elucidates what might be the necessary background for a scientific curiosity to flourish. He also elucidates the social nature of science itself.

From its critique when viewed as an individual matter, a sinful passion that separates the prideful individual from the community, to its celebration or embrace when considered a social matter, a passion for the good of the community, More's Utopia puts this distinction into relief. Illustrating the strength of Daston's claim, in a new background, with an imaginative, fictional framework in which to operate, a Utopian world of common property, transparency, cultivation, sociality, and activity, curiosity comes to be seen in its very best light.

In this setting, curiosity moves ever further away from the grasp of the theological critics, of its links to vanity, lust, pride, hubris, and a self-centered individuality, and ever closer to a vision of what curiosity will come to look like in the early modern period, where the desire for knowledge is linked to scientific pursuits, as a contribution to the scientific community, or the pool of common knowledge. Curiosity will come to resemble more and more the curiosity needed for the very communal, social, ameliorative task of doing empirical science.

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Abstract

This paper examines More's characterization of curiosity in *Utopia* and argues that, in his fictionalized setting, More offers a picture of what might be required for a real scientific curiosity. This human desire for knowledge, long the subject of theological critique, is embraced in More's imagined world, but its celebration is dependent on particular features of the society, including a communalism, an openness to change, a merging of the tasks of religion and science, a cultivation of inquiry, and transparency of knowledge. These features are part of what come to be seen as necessary by some early modern thinkers as required for curiosity to thrive, pointing not only to what curiosity will need to become, but providing an exploration into what the background conditions of the society will need to be in order to have this kind of curiosity at all.

TRAVELS WITH A MONKEY: RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE'S BOOKS

In Thomas More's *Utopia* we meet with a striking account of the transmission of European culture and technology to the New World, via the printed book. The list of Greek books transported by Raphael Hythlodaye on his voyage, and eagerly accepted by the people of Utopia, suggestively illuminates a cultural moment in Europe, while developing Thomas More's fictional and philosophical project. We are presented with a roll-call of authors, many of whom are still familiar names, and both the narrative frame in which this occurs and the way the books are described and classified are worthy of comment. The narrator at this point of his story moves from a description of the Utopian outlook on life, their temperament and bodily characteristics, to pause on their mental activity and to give a quite detailed account of their enthusiasm for Greek studies.

When their visitors provide public lessons in Greek, the diligence of the Utopian students enables rapid progress in the language, so that in three years *bonos auctores, nisi obstat libri menda, inoffense perlegerent*.¹ The texts available to them are those which Raphael himself had packed for his voyage, but there is already a hint in that parenthesis that these may not be perfect versions of their originals. My object in what follows is to relate the treatment of the books in the account Raphael gives to the role

¹ More 1965, p. 180. 'They were able to peruse good authors without any difficulty unless the text had faulty readings'. I give translated passages following the Yale edition, with some modifications when they appear to stray momentarily from the meaning of the Latin in ways which affect my argument.

of printing, especially of Greek authors in the editions of Aldus Manutius, at the moment of *Utopia*. A comic flourish, the intrusion of a monkey into the story, tearing and scattering some pages of one volume, complicates the presentation of the cultural exchange, as we shall see.

Raphael's Books

At the level of the list itself there are prominent elements which validate the plan of *Utopia*. As originally written the work reflects the structure of Plato's *Republic*, beginning with an encounter in the aftermath of a religious service, followed by an invitation, and developing into a conversation, in the context of hospitality and in a pleasant setting, the dialogue sharpening as it approaches the subject of the ideal state.² So Plato not unexpectedly heads the series of authors, and it is again no surprise that the Utopians are said to be entertained by the wit of Lucian, whose *True History* and *Icaromenippus* inspire the genre of the fantasy voyage; More was already known as a translator of Lucian and was associated with him as an ironist.³

The modern reader will recognise the names of most of the philosophical and literary authors that Raphael lists, though the grammars and dictionaries may send her to the footnotes. These are emphatically Classics, and that they are exclusively Greek matches the speaker's pronounced preference which has already been mentioned at his first appearance. Raphael Hythlodaye is committed to the superiority of Greek culture over Latin, especially for philosophical studies. In the first account we get of him there is a nod to Virgil but this is immediately succeeded by his Greek original, just as the epic adventure narrative is trumped by philosophical reflection.

² See J. H. Hexter, 'Introduction', Part I, in More 1965, p. xv-xxii. Hexter shows that the dialogue in Book I of *Utopia*, on the subject of philosophers offering advice to princes, is a later (1516) intrusion between the original opening, describing the encounter in Antwerp, and Raphael's account of the Utopian state, both written in the Low Countries in 1515.

³ See Pace 1967, p. 104-108.

naugauit quidem non ut Palinurus: sed ut Ulysses; imo uelut Plato. Nempe Raphaël iste, sic enim uocatur gentilicio nomine Hythlodæus, & latinae linguae non indoctus, & graecae doctissimus (cuius ideo studiosior quam Romanae fuit, quoniam totum se addixerat philosophiae: qua in re nihil quod alicuius momenti sit, praeter Senecae quaedam, ac Ciceronis extare latine cognouit).⁴

The books he has carried with him on his voyage to the New World are the concrete evidence of his personal conviction. More strongly put perhaps, they are the equivalent of a *uiaticum*, a provision for the whole of his remaining lifetime, since he has no plans to return to Europe soon, or perhaps at all (and some of his companions die on the voyage). His account of the books' transport to Utopia includes the stages of packing and sailing as well as their delivery to their new readers:

Habent ex me, (Nam librorum sarcinam mediocrem loco mercium quarto nauigaturus in nauem conieci quod mecum plane decreueram nunquam potius redire quam cito) Platonis opera pleraque, Aristotelis plura, Theophrastum item de plantis, sed pluribus, quod doleo, in locis mutilum. In librum enim dum nauigabamus negligentius habitum, cercopithecus inciderat: qui lasciuiens ac ludibundus, paginas aliquot hinc atque inde euulsas lacerauit. Ex hiis qui scripsere grammaticam, Lasca-rem habent tantum, Theodorum enim non aduexi mecum, nec dictionarium aliquem praeter Hesychium, ac Dioscoridem: Plutarchi libellos habent charissimos, & Luciani quoque facetiis ac lepore capiuntur. Ex poetis habent Aristophanem, Homerum, atque Euripidem: turn Sophoclem minusculis Aldi formulis, Ex historicis Thucydidem atque Herodotum: necnon Herodianum.⁵

⁴ More 1965, p. 48-50. 'His sailing has not been like that of the seaman Palinurus, but Ulysses, or, rather that of Plato. Now this Raphael – for such is his personal name, with Hythlodaye as his family name – is no bad Latin scholar and most learned in Greek. He had studied that language more than Latin because he had devoted himself unreservedly to philosophy, and in that subject he had found that there is nothing valuable in Latin except certain treatises of Seneca and Cicero'.

⁵ More 1965, p. 180-182. 'They received from me (for when about to go on the fourth voyage, I put on board in place of wares to sell a fairly large package of books; having made up my mind never to return rather than to come back soon) most of Plato's works, several of Aristotle's, as well as Theophrastus on plants,

The brevity of the list of authors is of course explicable in terms of narrative consistency. The traveller's library must be selective. However, the fact that the small format of some of the books is mentioned may encourage us to think of it as an easily portable bundle, and as we shall see this merits closer examination. First, we must ask: Is this then the basic, minimal Great Books reading-list which conveys to Utopia all that is really valuable in European culture? If the '*sarcina*' is a reminiscence of the '*sarcina librorum praecipue Graecorum*' which Erasmus lugged across the continent on his journey to the Aldine Press in Venice in 1508, is it intended to suggest that the Utopians are privileged to enjoy a customised Aldine Renaissance?⁶ And if it represents the essential reading for a possible lifetime sojourn, why (and this is of course a question of special note in 1516) is there no Greek Bible, not especially a Greek New Testament? I shall suggest a possible (and partial) answer to that last question in due course. For now, I may observe that the evangelization of (some of) the Utopians happens through personal contact and oral transmission of the Gospel story by a group of laymen; it is thus neither priestly nor textual, an aspect which acquires much unanticipated relevance from the events of the next decade.⁷

But we are still in 1516, the Reformation has not begun, and the principal concerns in Hythlodaye's account are educational and cultural. His focus is on the comprehension and the transmission of texts and the technology that supports them, involving an elite group of learners in Utopia, as ingenious as they are docile. The fact that the list of books is given in proximity to a discussion of printing – and that no manuscript text is mentioned – rein-

which I regret to say was mutilated in parts. During the voyage an ape found the book, left lying carelessly about, and in wanton sport tore out and destroyed several pages in various sections. Of grammarians they have only Lascaris, for I did not take Theodore with me. They have no dictionaries except those of Hesychius and Dioscorides. They are very fond of Plutarch, and were captivated by the wit and pleasantries of Lucian. Of the poets, they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, together with Sophocles in Aldus's small format. Of the historians, they possess Thucydides and Herodotus, as well as Herodian'.

⁶ 'A bundle of books mainly in Greek'; see notes to More 1965, p. 467, where it is suggested that 'this is More's list of "Great Books"'. Ralph Hexter suggested that it would be 'not unenlightening to compare the whole booklist with Aldus's production'. See Hexter 1998, p. 156 n.

⁷ More 1965, p. 216-218.

forces the status of *Utopia* as a testament to print, and replicates the international reach of the work. We recall how it was sent off to Erasmus, to be printed by Thierry Martens at Leuven, in Latin, the lingua franca of the literate European, while I propose to show that it aligned itself with the campaign to make Greek the lingua franca of the learned, which was spearheaded by the Aldine Press in Venice, continuing after its founder's death in 1515. Raphael's box or bundle of Venetian books in Greek makes it to the New World in the luggage of a Portuguese philosopher attached to an expedition led by a Florentine adventurer: Greek crosses not just frontiers but the ocean and the Equator, as *Utopia* in Latin is despatched into the international learned circle of Erasmus.

Aldus and Greek

Aldus Manutius (c. 1451-1515), born in Rome, had an early career as a humanist tutor to the sons of Caterina Pio da Carpi, near Modena. He moved to Venice, then the centre of the Italian printing industry, about 1490 and established himself as a publisher, gradually putting together a programme of issuing the Greek classics, philosophical, scientific, historical and literary, and assembling a group of scholars to collaborate on the editing. His dedicatory epistles to patrons and his addresses to learned readers repeatedly proclaim the necessity and utility of Greek studies, and also on occasion, as we shall see, draw attention to the difficulties of the task he has undertaken: problems with the sourcing of manuscripts, lacunae and unreliable texts, and the instability of the Italian peninsula in his lifetime.

Not all of the authors mentioned in *Utopia* were first printed by Aldus, and several were not yet in print in 1503, the fictional date of Raphael's departure on his fourth voyage with Amerigo Vespucci. But by the time *Utopia* was written there were Aldine texts of all, though these were not exclusively in Greek – some had Latin facing text and all had dedications in Latin.⁸

⁸ Following the order in which Raphael lists them, they are: Plato 1513; Aristotle 1495-1498; Constantine Lascaris 1495; Hesychius Alexandrinus 1514; Dioscorides 1499; Aristophanes 1498; Homer 1504[?]; 1504; Euripides 1503; Sophocles 1502; Plutarch 1509; Lucian 1503; Thucydides 1502; Herodotus

The project of Aldus Manutius was not merely to get the Greek classics into print, it was to convince the reading public that Greek could be comparatively easily learned, and that the texts he was making available are the gateway into a great civilisation: a literary and philosophical culture, but likewise a scientific and practical one.

The letters of dedication and addresses to the readers prefixed to his editions make it clear that he also wanted to raise a general awareness of the unsatisfactory nature of the Latin translations in circulation. In the dedicatory letter to his 1498 edition of Aristophanes he enunciates

Facile enim ac breui Graecam linguam [...] facillime, Graecis literis adiutricibus, omnium laudatarum artium procreatricem philosophiam callebunt, nec medicinam minus.

But on the other hand

[The Latin versions are] *quam deprauate et corrupte, quam mutilate et perperam, ut taceam etiam quam barbare et inepte Latinis scripta sint, quis uel mediocriter eruditus ignorat?*⁹

We will be returning to Aldus's complaints about the poor translations, and to other difficulties in the way of the reader. Notable in this dedication, to the humanist Daniele Clario of Parma, is his attention to the importance of Greek for scientific knowledge and especially medicine. The Utopian reception of the Greek books is in tune with this element of Aldus's view of his educational mission, and slightly at variance with Raphael's privileging of philosophical authorities. The Utopians have a philosophical culture of their own, one that rather surprises the European visitor, so when they apply themselves to the study of the Greek language it may appear that they want to understand Galen and

1502. Herodian is in Xenophon 1503. The Dioscorides is not a dictionary but a work on pharmacology.

⁹ Manutius 2016, p. 68, 70. This is an edition of Aldus's prefatory letters and addresses, with facing English translations; however the English versions given here are my own. 'Quickly and easily learning the Greek language [...] they will most easily acquire skill in philosophy, the mother of all the praiseworthy arts, not least of medicine'. [The Latin versions are] 'damaged, corrupt, [...] incomplete, and untruly, not to say even barbarously and foolishly translated into Latin, as any even moderately educated person can see' (*Dedication*, to Daniele Clario, of Aristophanes 1498).

Hippocrates as much as – perhaps more than – Plato and Aristotle. These texts are not carried across the Atlantic by Raphael but by his companion Tricius Apanatus, but their appeal to the natives is emphasised in a digression on the importance of medicine in their culture.¹⁰

The possible divergence between the traveller and the native is subtly indicated. Raphael places the philosophers, and significantly Plato before Aristotle, at the head of his list. The Aristotelian texts he mentions are presumably as found in the 1495-8 collected edition of Aristotle's whole works in Greek in five volumes, though the reference to Theophrastus suggests, as we shall see, that it is Aristotle's works on biology that interest the Utopians, rather than the first volume which contained the *Organon*. Neo-Aristotelian logic, the abstractions of the 'second intentions' seem incomprehensible to them.

Thomas More on Greek Studies

This dismissal by Raphael's fictional students chimes with More's own championing of linguistic and literary study over logic in his polemical letters of the mid-decade, when he is defending Greek studies, and the Erasmian enterprise of editing the Greek New Testament, against the criticisms of the scholar of Leuven, Martin Dorp, and the traditionalists of the University of Oxford.¹¹ He carefully exempts the genuine Aristotelian logic from his criticism, but his approach remains distanced from the more abstract, and oriented to the practical and the poetic elements of Greek philosophy.

More wrote his celebrated letter to Marin Dorp, in defence of Erasmus's project of publishing a Greek New Testament, in 1515, when still in the Low Countries on the mission described in *Utopia*. Erasmus had already urged Dorp to study Greek, and More expands the argument to point out that the Church Fathers, Jerome and Augustine, had declared the Greek texts of Scripture to be more correct than the Latin. As was Aldus, More is interested in Greek as a medium to access the wisdom of (in this case

¹⁰ More 1965, p. 182.

¹¹ More 1947, the Oxford letter is at p. 112-120.

Christian) antiquity. And like Aldus he emphasises the process of transmission of texts and the unsatisfactory condition of the Latin versions:

*Persuadeo ergo mihi, Graecos etiam curasse ut diligentia in transcribendis ipsorum libris adhiberetur, quod nemo dubitauerit qui libros eorum diligente inspexerit.*¹²

Writing in 1518 to defend Greek studies against the attack of a cleric apparently speaking for the anti-Greek ‘Trojans’ of the University of Oxford, he repeats almost verbatim his assertion of the primacy of Greek philosophers:

*Nam in philosophia, exceptis duntaxat his, quae Cicero reliquit et Seneca, nihil habent Latinorum scholae, nisi uel Graecum, uel quod e Graeca lingua traductum est.*¹³

Utopian Readers

Philosophy (and incidentally biology) are followed in Raphael’s account by grammar and lexicography, the essential tools for language learning, and then by literary and moral texts, finally by the works of the Greek historians. The Utopians however seize with special interest on the medical works carried by Tricius Apantatus, and their high estimation of these works connects with the fact that they already have a well-developed health system and a particular regard for the study of medicine.¹⁴ Their view of health is philosophical as well as practical, as it figures prominently in their discussions of the nature of pleasure.¹⁵

The Utopians’ progress to a full appreciation of Raphael’s books is gradual. They undertake the study of Greek and (as Aldus had foretold) soon become proficient; they are ‘taken’ with Lucian,

¹² More 1947, p. 61; the Dorp letter is at p. 28-74. ‘I am convinced that the Greeks took care to use diligence in transcribing their own books, which nobody will doubt who diligently examines their books’.

¹³ More 1947, p. 117. ‘For in philosophy, merely excepting what is extant of Cicero and Seneca, the schools of the Latins have nothing but what is either Greek [itself] or translated from the Greek language’.

¹⁴ More 1965, p. 138-141, 184-187.

¹⁵ More 1965, p. 172-175.

whose Dialogues were frequently used as teaching texts and whose comic vein appeals to their literary sensibility, and they admire (presumably) Plutarch's ethical insights; the *Moralia* too was an educational standby. But the use they make of the books is differentiated; they add the medical texts which Raphael did not supply to their own important resources; they enjoy the literary works, and they also respond to the material dimension of the books themselves by reconstructing the crafts which produced them: the techniques of paper making and the manufacture of type and of printing presses.

The Utopians' reaction is communal and public like everything else we are told about them, and in this they contrast with the outsider, the individualist observer, Raphael. His pupils set to work on language learning with enthusiasm and talent, but we are also told that they have been selected and directed to this purpose by public authority. Their visitors have only a vague idea of how books are made; it is the practical genius of the natives that enables them to replicate the technology.¹⁶ They make their own of the texts and artefacts transmitted by Raphael. And they do so in the light of their own tastes and aptitudes.

Making a Printed Book: The Aldine Programme

The emphasis on the processes of paper manufacture and printing which follow on from the list of books, and which will be discussed presently, seems to me to be a signal to the reader to keep thinking about the activities, including editing, that go to make a printed book. The recent death of the great printer, in 1515, may have stimulated the attention to book production which informs the whole passage on European books. Aldus is the only member of his profession to be named, once in the context of the mechanics of printing and once as the creator of the portable Greek classics. Even if the texts Raphael mentions had not all been printed by 1503, I suggest that the reader in 1516 is being reminded of the range of his production over a lifetime's

¹⁶ More 1965, p. 182-185.

activity in the field, and that this was a coherent and ambitious project.¹⁷ The list is an invitation to consider his achievement and his programme.

In his first volume of Aristotle's works Aldus had announced both the range and the purpose of his plan for Greek: *Imprimetur etiam grammatici, poetae, oratores, historici, et quicunque profuturi uidebuntur studiosis consulturique periturae doctrinae et bonis litteris*.¹⁸ Aldus's listing of his authors by categories may prepare us for the way he sometimes bundles and binds them in practice, as we shall see.

The books Raphael mentions turn out to contain the works of other writers as well as the principal ones named, and the matching of authors by genre and subject can lead to interesting groupings. (The Utopians, who have no use for lawyers, also seem not to need rhetoric, or at any rate Raphael does not provide them with any rhetorical texts.)

What physical size was Raphael's travelling library? We may be drawn by the mention of the '*minusculis Aldi formulis*' to imagine that all of European culture worth delivering to the New World would fit into an average document storage box. But a look at some of the books on the list reminds us that Aldus often brought out very large volumes. Some of these bigger books include more material than their short titles advertise. Aldus had, as demonstrated by the Sophocles of 1502 and the Euripides of 1503, created a new way of packaging classical texts as pocket books, by leaving out most of the commentaries. But an adjacent item on Raphael's list is quite different: the 1498 Aristophanes is a hefty folio, inflated by the presence of vast scholia in Greek accompanying the text. (It would have been even larger if Aldus had been able to source a text of *Lysistrata*.) Then there is the neat but substantial, certainly not pocketable, 1504 volume of Homer, containing the *Odyssey*, the Homeric *Hymns* and the pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia* plus two ancient biographies of the poet. (The *Iliad* had been published earlier, possibly also in 1504.)

¹⁷ See Trapp 2002, p. 259-261, discussed below.

¹⁸ Manutius 2016, p. 16. 'Grammarians, poets, orators, historians will be printed, as will all other authors who seem likely to be useful to students and to help endangered scholarship and sound literary studies'.

As the above shows, texts of the same kind or otherwise related could be bundled together. The Herodotus of 1502 is an enormous folio, in the copy in the Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia, bound with the Thucydides of the same year, and also with a collection published in 1503 which contains Xenophon's *Paraleipomena*, some historical works of Plutarch and Diodorus, and the history of the Roman Empire from 180 to 238 by Herodian. The beautiful two-volume Plato of 1513 collects all of the philosopher's known works and dedicates them to the newly elected Pope Leo X in terms which make it clear that Aldus regards it as his crowning achievement.¹⁹ The Hesychius of 1514, the most wide-ranging and important dictionary of classical antiquity, offers a key to all of these.²⁰ The five folio volumes of Aristotle which he had published in 1495-1498 and the grammar of Constantine Lascaris which enables the beginner to make progress in Greek will be discussed presently.

Libraries and Scholars

Let us pause for a moment to consider another implication of the dimensions of Raphael's books. We are invited, in the account of the Utopian's discovery of printing, to think about their material actuality including the processes by which they are made and also, I suggest, the locations in which they are studied. The smaller books, their format adapted from that of the portable prayer-book, suggest the reader is a man of action, or perhaps a cultivated lady with responsibilities, who may read poems or plays for pleasure in odd spare hours. The portrait of Aldus's patron, Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi, holding a small Virgil open with his thumb, was painted in 1512 and epitomises this relationship between reader and text.²¹ The whole library listed here however – ten big folios at fewest, six or so smaller books of which only two or three are pocket editions – would correspond in bulk, at least, to the books

¹⁹ Manutius 2016, p. 234-244 at 242-244.

²⁰ On Hesychius, see Dickey 2007, p. 88-90.

²¹ The painting, possibly by Bernardino Loschi, is in the National Gallery, London. See <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/possibly-by-bernardino-loschi-portrait-of-alberto-pio> accessed on 24th March 2017.

on view in Antonello da Messina's or Albrecht Durer's depictions of St Jerome in his study, those icons of scholarly stability. The large ones, the majority, are a resource for scholars and teachers of the Greek tradition, roles the Utopian students are becoming qualified to fill.

Aldus's dedicatory letters are addressed to a scholarly community among whom the owners of libraries who have allowed him access to their riches figure prominently. The dedications also allow him to comment on the state of scholarship and on the process of finding and editing manuscript texts from Italian libraries, which in turn will grace the shelves of other scholars. He emphasises his own labours in sourcing manuscripts and organising the editorial work needed. While he often speaks of his gratitude to cooperative collectors and praises devoted and talented collaborators like Bondino and Musurus, he as frequently complains of the difficulty of his task. In this he was following in the wake of similar lamentations by Theodore Gaza, one of the Byzantine Greek humanists on whose work (as we shall see) he drew. The manuscripts are defective, the scribes are careless, and the ravages of time make everything worse. So much was lost in the great library of Alexandria, so much destroyed in the recent wars of the Italian peninsula [...]

*Ut taceam tot librorum millia in illa Ptolemaei Philadelphi bibliotheca, omnium quae unquam fuerunt longe maxima, quo tempore C. Caesar, ut totum sibi terrarum orbem subigeret, et humana et diuina iura peruertebat, infelicissime conflagrasse; ut taceam citra annos sexaginta et libros in tota Graecia καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ἑλλάδα deperditam; nonne in Italia tempestate nostra maximas bonorum librorum bibliothecas uel direptas paucis annis uidimus? uel nescio quo infortunio conclusas et tineis et blattis destinatas uidemus?*²²

²² Manutius 2016, p. 112-114 (*Dedication of Euripides' tragedies to Demetrius Chalcondyles*). 'Not to mention the thousands of books in the library of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the greatest of all that ever existed, the disaster of its burning in the days of Julius Caesar who wanted to take over the whole world and who distorted all the laws of God and man; not to mention the books destroyed all over Greece less than sixty years ago and the destruction of Greece itself; have we not seen, in our own time in Italy, great libraries of good books either scattered in a few years, or closed down because of the troubles and left to the moths and the bookworms?'

Hybrid Books

I have already alluded to the mixture of texts and authors we encounter in Aldus's volumes. Of course he was not a printer of only Greek texts. His financial problems, often acute, would have been catastrophic if he were. The first small classical text he published was the Virgil of 1501, and it was a commercial success. Latin translations of the Greek classics – including Erasmus's 1508 version of two tragedies of Euripides – helped to spread the word about their quality. As well as printing Aristotle in Greek between 1495 and 1498, he issued Theodore Gaza's Latin translation of the five volumes, in 1504 and again in 1513. Having complained of the inadequacy of the available Latin versions it was appropriate to publish others that he approved of. Theodore had already been praised as a crib for reading the Greek: *licet Graecus homo, tamen et Latine et Graece eruditorum omnium aetatis suae facile princeps*.²³

Raphael's list of authors, while they prompt us to think of the Aldine editions, does not exhaust their content; the titles as we have seen are only those of the principal writers in each volume. The grammar of Lascaris too contained extra material; the Lucian of 1503 has texts by Philostratus and others. Aldus's mental categorization of authors led him to pack Xenophon with Gemisthus Pletho, to add author biographies to several volumes, and as we shall see in the case of Aristotle and Theophrastus to group their work together with other writers.

His edition of Aristotle in Greek, published over the period from November 1495 to June 1498, contains much more than the works of Aristotle. The first volume, the *Organon* is prefaced by the *Isagoge* of Porphyry. Writings by Galen, by Philo of Alexandria, and various texts whose authorship is now generally introduced with the prefix pseudo-, appear in the four following volumes. We can see from the title-page of the first of the three 1497 instalments of the project, Volume II, the packaging of the philosopher's work with biographies by Diogenes Laertius and Johannes Philoponus and a pseudo-Galen *History of Philosophy*,

²³ Manutius 2016, p. 46 (*Dedication*, to Alberto Pio da Carpi, of Aristotle's zoological works, 1497): 'Although he was Greek, he was easily the best writer in Latin and Greek of all the scholars of his age'.

and the interlarding of the scientific treatises on physics and cosmology with works on related subjects by Philo Judaeus, with Theophrastus 'on fire', 'on winds', 'on stones', and an anonymous work 'on weather signs'.

Similarly, in the fourth volume, Aristotle's *Mechanics* and *Metaphysics* are accompanied by the possibly pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems*, and also by Theophrastus's works on plants, *Historia Plantarum* and *De Causis Plantarum*, which in some copies are bound separately. The hybrid volumes continue the medieval tradition of miscellanies, where Aristotle's genuine works were bound with others falsely attributed, and with texts on connected subjects by Avicenna or Nicholas of Damascus.²⁴ Theophrastus' botanical work, of particular interest potentially to the Utopians because of its treatment of medicinal plants, is a good fit with his master Aristotle, since he had played a large part in the preservation of the latter's works.

Theodore Gaza, to whom Raphael refers as a grammarian, was indeed the author of a celebrated Greek grammar but also a translator. He had brought manuscripts of both Aristotle and Theophrastus to Italy and translated both authors at different times for two patrons, the Popes Nicholas V and Sixtus IV.²⁵ The volume whose sad fate is related by Raphael in *Utopia* is, I suggest, the fourth volume of Aldus's Greek edition, but I suspect that More may also have been aware of the Latin translation issued seven years later; in both versions there are major problems with the text, which Aldus makes no attempt to hide. Theodore had complained of the very faulty exemplars he had been forced to use in his translations, and Aldus characteristically adds his own lamentations and excuses in the 1497 Greek volume. In the dedication to the zoological works he declares his constant disappointments,

*multo aliter quam existimaram euenire intelligo, quandoquidem sic impediior in dies magis ... nisi tanta mea incommoda bonarum literarum studiosis scirem prodesse plurimum, uitam mihi acerbam putarem.*²⁶

²⁴ For example, London, British Library, Harley 3487.

²⁵ See Beullens & Gotthelf 2007, p. 472, 483.

²⁶ Manutius 2016, p. 46. 'I find everything turns out far from what I had expected, so that my difficulties increase from day to day [...] if I did not know

Theophrastus

The text of Theophrastus is particularly problematic; Aldus complains in the first of the scientific volumes to be published in 1497:

*ex tot quae composuit Theophrastus [...] hos tantummodo, eosque non integros et correctos, sed mutilatos ac mendosos, cum inscitia librariorum hominumque incuria, tum praecipue dura grauique offensa temporum, inueniri, atque adeo raros, ut eorum quae hic legis unum duntaxat exemplar habere potuerim in tota Italia.*²⁷

He has done his best, sourcing early manuscripts and comparing different texts to achieve a corrected version, but he knows his success has been only partial; it is not his fault. He pleaded:

*[...] non mea culpa factum est – nam hoc uere queo dicere: quicquid meo labore formis excuditur, ipsis exemplaribus longe correctius ac magis perfectum exire ex aedibus nostris – uerum tum hominum, qui ante nos fuerunt, tum edacium temporum, quae tandem cuncta immutant, consumunt, abolent.*²⁸

In fact, he left visible gaps in the Greek text of Theophrastus which appeared later that year.²⁹

The five-volume Latin Aristotle which appeared in 1504 must have been a commercial success, since it was reissued in 1513. However, in the first edition, as Aldus admits, there were still serious problems with the text and the editing of the botanical works of Theophrastus included in the fourth volume. He points out in the preface, which was reprinted in 1513, that its deficiencies

that my great struggles are of real use to students of literature I would think my life a bitter one'.

²⁷ Manutius 2016, p. 40 (*Dedication*, to Alberto Pio da Carpi, of Aristotle's natural philosophy, February 1497). 'Of all that Theophrastus wrote [...] only these were to be found. And they are not whole and perfect but mutilated and faulty, between the ignorance of scribes and the carelessness of men, and especially given the dreadful shocks of time; and they are so rare that of the books you read here I could only find one copy in all of Italy'.

²⁸ Manutius 2016, p. 42 'It is not my fault, (and I must declare that whatever work comes from my press is a great deal more correct and finished than the exemplars when it issues from my establishment) but truly the fault of our predecessors and the damage done by time which changes, consumes, destroys everything'.

²⁹ Lacunae appear on e.g. sig. H02v, H04r.

are those of the Greek text: the tenth book of *De Historia Plantarum* exists only as a fragment, and *quod apud graecos habetur: id Theodorus traduxit*.³⁰ But not everything can be blamed on the Greek scribes, and in the 1504 edition he gives a long list of *errata* and invites the reader to make his own corrections, in what Carlo Vecce³¹ calls *uno di quelle straordinarie confessioni di Aldo*:

*Hæc in summis occupationibus, ut potuimus, uolumine currimus recognito, adnotauimus. Nec imus inficias multa nos, quæ emendare oportuit, præterisse; sed ea inter studendum emendent quibus plus quam nobis ocii fuerit. Ego enim solus non possum omnia; ... pulchriora omnia et correctiora dabuntur.*³²

The corrected edition of Aristotle in Latin was brought out in 1513; the errors had been fixed, and a fine index added in place of the pages of errata.

The experience of daily work in the humanist publishing programme then included the struggles of editors, translators and publishers with damaged sources, translations good and bad, misadventures in the printing shop. Manuscripts even if geographically adjacent were not always available; Aldus apparently did not get access to the library of Cardinal Bessarion, for example, though it had been given to the Venetian Senate.³³

The Monkey on the Ship

The passage on the reception of Hythloday's books, which I quoted at the opening of this essay, framed as if it were intended merely as a list of books, succeeds in concentrating several elements of the relationships between texts and their readers. They

³⁰ *Theodoro Gaza interprete. Aristotelis De natura animalium, lib. IX.* etc., in Aristotle 1504/13, vol. 4, sig. X8v.

³¹ Vecce 1998, p. 118.

³² Manutius 2016, p. 130. *Note at end of errata pages in Theodore Gaza's Latin version of Aristotle, Vol III, containing Theophrastus on plants*, March 1504. 'As well as we could, given how busy we were, we noted these things, reviewing the volume in haste. And we will not deny we passed over many things we should have emended, but let those who have more leisure than us emend them as they study. I alone cannot do everything. [...] A more handsome and correct [edition] will emerge.

³³ Manutius 2016, p. xv.

are a burden, a companion, they pack a culture between covers. They entertain, they teach, they embody a new technology; but they also frustrate by their imperfection, their mutilation. The role of the monkey reminds us of all this; his function is to call attention to the obstacles in the way of an uninterrupted intercourse with the ancients, which in 1515-1516 was so evident, as the classicists wrestled with fragmentary texts such as the 1515 *Annals* of Tacitus, and the theologians and humanists disagreed about the relative authority of Greek and Latin texts of the New Testament.³⁴ The animal's targeting of the defective text of Theophrastus acts out the ravages of time and folly over millenia in a moment of inattention on an Atlantic voyage. He leaves the text *in locis mutilum*; it must then be also one of those which the Greek-educated Utopians are still not quite able to read confidently because of the obstacle of *libri menda*.

Aldus had spoken of the Theophrastan texts as *mutilatos ac mendosos*. I don't wish to suggest that either Raphael or the monkey is recalling the words of his introduction to that volume containing Theophrastus on plants, but rather that More apparently needed to include in this salute to the humanist printer a sense both of his struggles and his inadequacies. If More had seen the Latin Aristotle of 1504 with its pages of errata and its blunt instruction to the reader to do his own emending, it would certainly explain the choice of Theophrastus as the monkey's victim.

Grammar in Utopia

The account of the books leads back to the Utopians' study of the language. Greek had to be learned via the various grammars, and Raphael seems to apologize for the absence of Theodore Gaza's from his collection; Lascaris was considered to take second place to him.³⁵ I shall shortly suggest an explanation for Lascaris' naming here, but his presence contributes to the sense of an imperfect collection, as does the introduction of the monkey whose wan-

³⁴ More's knowledge of Tacitus is evident in his incomplete *History of Richard III*, apparently written or at least begun at the same time as *Utopia*. See McCutcheon 2007, p. 1-12.

³⁵ See Erasmus 1518, sig. A2r.

tonness has the same effect as the chaotic impact of time, war and ignorance on the transmission of texts. However, in spite of these flaws in the transmission, the Utopians do learn Greek, and they get to the point of being amused, edified and assisted by the texts they are introduced to. The account of their interest in the medical texts emphasises the religious warrant for their studies but the discussion then moves back to the book as a manufactured thing. Although their guests know very little about the processes, the material shapes and textures they encounter in printed books, with some vague directions, enable the Utopians to master the techniques of print and papermaking, whereas they had previously only had pen, and parchment, bark or papyrus.

*Nam quum ostenderemus eis libris chartaceis impressas ab Aldo literas, & de chartae faciendae materia, ac literas imprimendi facultate loqueremur: aliquid magis quam explicaremus (neque enim quisquam erat nostrum qui alterutram calleret) ipsi statim acutissime coniecerunt rem.*³⁶

More and Erasmus had studied and translated from Lucian and Euripides before the more challenging work of the *Utopia* or the *Nouum Instrumentum*, in part because of the unavailability of expert teachers, and Erasmus at least was motivated in part by what he considered a faulty translation of *Iphigenia* by Filelfo.³⁷ Similarly the Utopians progress even if the aids available are damaged or inadequate, or simply not ideal, as is the case with Lascaris's grammar.

Grammars must start out from the basics of language, but they often move on to suggest the scholar is now capable of appreciating a literary work, sometimes a snippet of a well-known writer. Grammars, and literary texts suitable for inexperienced readers of learned languages, represented a steady income for printers over many centuries; as Ralph Hexter has pointed out, 'The first step in creating the new interactive space of Classics,

³⁶ More 1965, p. 182. 'When we showed them Aldus's printing with letters, in books made of paper, and talked about the stuff paper was made of and about the trade of printing, they quickly worked out themselves very precisely what was involved, more than we had explained to them, for none of us had actually any experience of either business'.

³⁷ Erasmus 1524, A6v, A6r.

though a terribly basic one, was the creation or compilation and then dissemination of primers, grammars and dictionaries'.³⁸ The grammar of Lascaris (originally printed in 1476, published by Aldus in 1495, reissued probably in the year Lascaris died, 1501),³⁹ ends by giving in Greek four well-known texts, the Angelic Salutation, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the opening of St John's Gospel. To which Aldus added a short introduction to Hebrew and showed off his new Hebrew type. The European Christian reader would know these texts in Latin and the first two at least in the vernacular, whereas the Utopian would be coming to them for the first time but would discover them in the context of what he has been told about Christianity and would have in the Creed the standard, basic doctrinal minimum. So some core New Testament texts, assisted by doctrinal instruction, do make it to Utopia. They are there in fragmentary form, and they are offered, like the philosophical and poetic inheritance of the Greeks, as a reward for learning grammar. However the presence of the European Christians, as with the mechanical arts, will enable them to go beyond these elements.

The connection between the productions of the Aldine press and *Utopia* has been noticed. Dominic Baker-Smith suggested that it was the publication of Plato's complete works by Aldus in 1513 that sparked the original idea of a book on the ideal state.⁴⁰ J. B. Trapp considered the list of books in the light of historical consistency, starting from the assumption that More was concerned to avoid anachronism by referring to printed books only if already in print by 1503, and concluding that some of the books referred to might have been in manuscript.⁴¹ To me this hypothesis appears to give undue weight to fictional realism, as if More were writing in the age of the historical novel. Although he is not neglectful of consistency, either, his mock-fretful queries in the

³⁸ Hexter 1998, p. 157.

³⁹ Trapp 2002, p. 260 argues that the Lascaris that made it to Utopia must have been the 1476 Milan edition since the Aldine editions included Latin. My argument is simply that an Aldine edition existed.

⁴⁰ Baker-Smith 1994, p. 95. See also p. 87.

⁴¹ Trapp 2002, p. 259-261. Trapp points out that a point that puzzled commentators, the reference to the work of the classical pharmacologist Dioscorides as a dictionary, can be explained by the fact that the 1499 Aldine edition is prefaced by nine pages of alphabetically arranged names of plants and drugs.

preface to Peter Gilles about the contradictions between certain statements may suggest that he does not take it too seriously.⁴² The joke about inconsistency is prolonged after the first edition had appeared; in the Paris edition of 1517 the doubts of a critical reader are reported: *Si res ut uera prodita est, uideo ibi quaedam subabsurda. Sin ficta tum in nonnullis exactum illud Mori iudicium requiro.*⁴³

What kind of book is *Utopia*, what features enable us to contextualise this fascinating passage about the transmission, the preservation and the corruption of texts? It is firstly an intensely literary work, nowhere more so than in the couple of pages about European books. As I have endeavoured to show, it is not only closely aligned with the humanist programme of spreading the word in favour of Greek studies, it includes a detailed consideration of the ways in which books work. From More's prefatory letter which discusses the problem of finding time to write, to the elegant paradox where he repeats the fictional Raphael's doubts as to whether wise counsels ever influence a prejudiced hearer, and then has Raphael tell how his own suggestions turn out to be quite acceptable when supported by a wise, and historical, authority-figure, Cardinal Morton – to the major philosophical fiction of the Utopian commonwealth – it is hardly news that *Utopia* is concerned with the power of literature as much as with the deployment of political power and cultural influence. Secondly, and again obviously, this is a playful work which sets out in the framing material, in the naming of people and places and in the mock gravity of the various narrators, to call attention to the mobility of our reaction to literature. The role of Raphael as earnest apologist for Greek philosophy and Utopian politics is subtly undermined by the response of even the best-disposed readers, and indeed listeners in the fictional dialogue. Finally, this is a book about how books can teach by their physical presence as well as their content, and about how learners can surpass their teachers or even progress through faulty instructors and exemplars.

⁴² More 1965, p. 41.

⁴³ More 1965, p. 248. 'If this is being put forward as truth, some things seem absurd. If it is fiction on the other hand, I am looking for More's exact decision about several details'.

My aim in this essay has been to point out that the printing revolution, the materiality of the book, the texts books actually contain, as well as those announced on their title-pages, are also pressing considerations for More. His support for the dissemination of Greek texts both sacred and secular, and his playful fiction, are closely aligned, and both relate closely too to the programme and the achievement of Aldus. As he enjoyed the peaceful intervals of his journey to the Low Countries in 1515, did he find himself looking at a shelf of Aldus's books? And might the recent death (in February of the same year) of the great printer not well have prompted the roll-call of his major publications, as well as the joking introduction of the monkey who can be conveniently blamed for the inroads of history which have damaged texts, as well as for the shortcomings of Aldus' own practice.

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Abstract

In More's *Utopia* we meet with a striking account of the transmission of European culture and technology to the New World, via the printed book. This essay relates the list of books transported to the role of printing, especially of Greek authors in the editions of Aldus Manutius, at the moment of *Utopia*. A comic flourish, the intrusion into the story of a monkey, tearing and scattering some pages of one volume, complicates the presentation of the cultural exchange.

The project of Aldus Manutius was not merely to get the Greek classics into print, it was to convince the reading public that Greek could be easily learned and that ancient texts could not be understood without it. This aligns with More's championing of linguistic and literary study in his polemical letters of the mid-decade, when he is defending Greek studies and Erasmus's edition of the New Testament. Aldus is the only member of his profession to be named in *Utopia*, and all the books listed had been issued by his press by 1516. A survey of the books enumerated by More's narrator, their dimensions, contents and paratexts, suggests a detailed awareness of Aldus's programme of publishing Greek, of the difficulties he encountered and the imperfections remaining in some of his productions. *Utopia* is shown as not only closely aligned with the humanist programme of spreading the word in favour of Greek studies, it includes a detailed consideration of the ways in which printed books take shape, and of how they affect their readers. The Utopians receive Renaissance Greek culture with enthusiasm, but also view its acquisition in the light of their own cultural and practical priorities.

GRANTLEY MCDONALD

JOHN CLEMENT AND THE HERITAGE OF MORE AND ERASMUS *

'*Amicorum communia omnia*', declared Erasmus in the first of his *Adages*: to friends, all things are shared.¹ The friendship between Erasmus and More, exemplified in the publication of the *Praise of Folly* and the *Utopia*, has been the subject of numerous studies. Around these two charismatic personalities gathered closely intersecting circles of admirers and friends, especially during Erasmus' time in England. Not only did these two men share their material goods; they also shared many friends. In this chapter I shall investigate the role of one of these, John Clement, in advancing the cultural and religious ideals of both Erasmus and More.

Aspects of Clement's activity have been investigated previously, such as his role in the publication of the Aldine edition of Galen's works, his ownership of patristic manuscripts, his contribution to the Antwerp Polyglot bible, and the activity of his daughter Margaret in the foundation of an English convent in Leuven.² However, until now there has been no detailed or con-

* For Theodor Dunkelgrün, friend and fellow admirer of John Clement.

¹ Erasmus, *Adagia* I.1.i, in ASD II/1, p. 84-86.

² For general accounts, see Emden 1974, p. 121-122; Bietenholz & Deutscher 1986-1987, vol. 1, p. 310-311; Mayer & Walters 2008, p. 137-138. On Clement and Galen, see Wenkebach 1925; Mercati 1926; Nutton 1987; Gundert 2006; Perilli 2012. On Clement and Greek humanism, see McDonald 2013. On Clement's relations with the Heywoods and the Rastells, see Reed 1926. On Clement's rural property, see Merriam 1988. On Clement and patristics, see Petitmengin 1975; Hunt 1982; Petitmengin & Carley 2003; Carley & Petitmengin 2004. On Clement and the Antwerp Polyglot, see Dunkelgrün 2012; North 2015. On Margaret Clement and the foundation of the English Convent in Leuven, see

vincing synthesis of these disparate elements of Clement's activity. Here we shall explore Clement's role as an important link between More and Erasmus after the Dutch scholar returned to the continent, and as exponent of elements of their respective programs. However, his interactions with both men also highlight incompatible elements in the ideas of each, as well as some of the less attractive aspects of their personalities, such as Erasmus' egotism and More's inflexibility.

There are several reasons why Clement may have been somewhat neglected in the past. Firstly, his library was dispersed several times, and most of his personal papers have been lost. Secondly, the documentation relating to his professional activities as a leading member of the London College of Physicians is also quite sparse. However, newly-discovered archival evidence from across Europe allows us to put many of the pieces together to create a more coherent picture of this somewhat shadowy but many-faceted figure, as a humanist, a physician, and an active member in the constitution of English Catholic identity in the wake of the Reformation. Specifically, John Clement, his wife Margaret Gygges (pronounced 'Jigs') and their family contributed to the creation of Thomas More's posthumous reputation as a martyr to conscience and principle. They did this in two principal ways. Firstly, they maintained More's resistance to Henry VIII and the spread of evangelical religion. Secondly, they cultivated More's memory by collecting and publishing More's writings, by transmitting stories about his life for inclusion within biographies in which More was depicted increasingly as a saint, and by preserving physical traces of More's person and distributing them to members of their circle as relics. As a physician, Clement also contributed substantially to the program of public health developed by More and Thomas Linacre, which was based on the suppression of popular physic and the promotion of Greek medicine.

Hamilton 1904-1906; Guilday 1914. I am currently writing a detailed study of three generations of the Clement family, from John (d. 1572) to Caesar (d. 1626), from which this chapter presents some preliminary findings.

Early Education and Employment in More's Household

Clement was born in the mid-1490s. Not much is known about his family. He was said to have studied at St Paul's school in London, where he presumably began to learn Greek under More's friend William Lily. Clement entered More's household in about 1514. Clement was simultaneously to be a student of More, and tutor to his children and his ward Margaret Gygges, whom he would later marry.

In May and June 1515, More and Cuthbert Tunstall acted as ambassadors to the Low Countries to negotiate trade privileges for English merchants. As More's servant, Clement will have accompanied him on many of his important official duties, and was probably introduced to Erasmus, Hieronymus Busleyden and Peter Gillis. More mentioned Clement several times in letters he sent to Erasmus after they returned to London. For example, in mid-February 1516, More wrote: 'My wife sends her greetings, as does Clement, who is making such progress daily in both Latin and Greek literature that I hold out considerable hope that one day he will prove an ornament to his country and to learning'.³ Clement was being groomed hard, but evidently responded well to the treatment.

In early 1518, Johann Froben commissioned Ambrosius Holbein to design the woodcuts for a new edition of Thomas More's *Utopia*. In one, Holbein shows More, Gillis and Hythlodæus being served by a younger man, 'Johannes Clemens'.⁴ In the dedication of the work to Peter Gillis, More identifies this John Clement as his *puer*, his boy or his page, 'whome I suffer to be awaye from no talke wherein maye be anye profit or goodnes, for out of this yong bladed & new shotte vp corne, whiche hath alreadye begonne to sprynge vp bothe in Latine & Greke learynge, I looke for plentiful increase at length of goodly rype grayne'.⁵

³ More to Erasmus (Feb. 1516), in Allen II (1910), p. 198.

⁴ More 1518, p. 25. This edition, printed in March 1518, was reprinted by Froben in November or December the same year (VD16 M 6300).

⁵ More 1551, f. 48v (punctuation modified); Latin text in More 1518, p. 20; 1965, p. 40. This passage is quoted by Stapleton 1588, p. 7. Each of the three biographies has its own pagination, but all the references given here are taken from the biography of More.

In the *Utopia*, Clement witnesses the conversation between More and Hythlodæus. At one point Clement queries Hythlodæus' account of the geography of the island, pointing out that the distances given by the traveller did not add up.⁶ In the dedication of the work to Gillis, More promised to 'take good hede, that there be in my booke nothing false, so yf there be anye thyng doubtefull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie: bycause I had rather be good, then wilie'. However, if Gillis agreed with Clement's memory of the conversation, More would gladly confess that he was mistaken. 'But if you cannot remember the thing, then surelye I wyll write as I have done and as myne owne remembraunce serveth me'.⁷ More thus draws Gillis and the reader into complicity with his fiction. It was of course impossible for Gillis to recall a conversation that had never happened. More's protestation that he would rely on his memory of the conversation as it occurred, and thus avoid telling a lie, thus plays with the notions of truth and falsehood, recollection and invention, blurring the boundaries between them.

More entrusted Clement with missions that would bring him into contact with other humanists. For example, in September 1516, Clement travelled to Antwerp to deposit Erasmus' pension from Warham with Peter Gillis.⁸ Clement's luggage probably also contained the final draft of More's *Utopia*, which was printed at Leuven in December. In 1518, Cardinal Wolsey appointed Clement as a secretary. Erasmus feared that Clement, 'that young man full of very great promise', would over-exert himself. 'I would not like this talent to die before time; I would prefer him to remain preserved for learning than be used up by the cardinal's business'.⁹

In 1518, Wolsey appointed Clement as praelector in rhetoric and humanities at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, established by bishop Richard Fox as a centre for humanistic studies, in emulation of the college of San Ildefonso at Alcalá; the same impulse

⁶ More 1965, p. 40.

⁷ More 1551, f. 8v (punctuation modified); the Latin text is in More 1518, p. 20.

⁸ More to Erasmus, in Allen II (1910), p. 340; cf. Wenkebach 1925, p. 42.

⁹ Erasmus to William Gonell (22.4.[1518]), in Allen III (1915), p. 289.

would soon give rise to trilingual colleges at Leuven and Paris. The introduction of humanistic studies at Oxford was not met with equal enthusiasm, and in 1518 there was a backlash against the new learning, the so-called 'Trojan War'. In a letter to the university, Thomas More condemned the opponents of the new learning.¹⁰ Clement also helped to still these troubled waters. Delegates of the university wrote to Wolsey on 9 November 1518 to let him know that classes were resuming, 'the more eagerly since news has spread that your Clement has announced his lectures. He is offering an excellent opportunity for study, not only to our young men but also to those of more advanced age'.¹¹ Soon More could brag in a letter to Erasmus that Clement's lectures – Thomas Stapleton tells us that these were classes in Greek – were attended by record crowds:

My Clement is teaching at Oxford to classes larger than anyone has ever had before. It is remarkable how he inspires such liking and affection in everyone. Even those who are quite hostile to the humanities still like him, listen to his lectures and gradually soften. As you know, Linacre does not praise anyone without good reason, but even he extols and admires Clement's letters, such that even I, who promote him to an exceptional degree, might envy the praises he heaps on the young man's head.¹²

In late 1519 or early 1520, Clement handed over his classes to Thomas Lupset so that he could devote himself to studying the works of the Greek physician Galen. Clement wasted no time in dispensing helpful medical advice to his friends. He instructed More to improve his diet, advice for which he wryly thanked Clement in an undated letter.¹³ William Grocyn, More's former Greek teacher, also encouraged Clement, and left him a modest legacy of 40 shillings in his will.¹⁴

¹⁰ More 1947, p. 111-120, no. 60.

¹¹ Mitchell 1980, p. 375.

¹² More to Erasmus (1518?), *Epist.* 907, in Allen III (1915), p. 463; cf. Stapleton 1588, p. 221.

¹³ More 1947, 135-136, no. 71.

¹⁴ Burrows 1890, p. 326; Wenkebach 1925, p. 11, 51.

Leuven and Erasmus

In 1520, More decided that Clement could benefit by spending time under the instruction of Juan Luis Vives at Leuven; there he could also associate with Erasmus. Clement probably accompanied More on his mission to the Low Countries in the summer of 1520, where he met with Erasmus and Frans Cranevelt at Bruges. Clement was in Leuven by September 1520, when Erasmus remarked how fortunate Wolsey was to have amongst his dependents such men as Clement, 'in whom More has breathed a few sparks of the love he bears for me'.¹⁵

At Leuven, Erasmus prepared the second (1519) and third (1522) editions of his New Testament, and defended the first (1516) from the criticisms of the English scholar Edward Lee. One of the details over which Lee had attacked Erasmus was the so-called 'Johannine comma' (1 Ioh. 5. 7-8), the only explicit mention in the entire New Testament of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit as a unified Trinity. The comma evidently began as an allegorical gloss that moved into the text in the Latin tradition, for it is not to be found in the earliest Greek texts or in any of the Eastern translations. Erasmus, failing to find the comma in any of the Greek manuscripts he had inspected, excluded it from his edition. Lee accused him of removing the strongest Scriptural defence of the Trinity against the Arians, motivated by a secret desire to foment heresy. Erasmus worried that this accusation threatened to jeopardise the reception of his New Testament, through which he intended to promote his pious *philosophia Christi*.¹⁶

While he was at Leuven, Erasmus received a Greek manuscript containing the comma. Seeing an opportunity to satisfy critics like Lee and Stunica and to save his reputation, Erasmus included the reading of the comma from this manuscript in the third edition of his New Testament. However, in his published annotations, he expressed his opinion that the Greek text in this 'British codex' had been 'adapted' to make it conform to the Latin Vul-

¹⁵ Erasmus to Burbank (Leuven, 1.9.[1520]), *Epist.* 1138, in Allen IV (1922), p. 334; cf. Wenkebach 1925, p. 44.

¹⁶ McDonald 2016, p. 13-22.

gate.¹⁷ This decision would cause violent scholarly disagreement for centuries.

Until recently it has been unclear how Erasmus came across this manuscript, later called Codex Montfortianus (Dublin, Trinity College ms 30). However, recent research has shown that Clement evidently acquired this small, ugly manuscript of the Greek New Testament from Francis Frowyk, English minister provincial of the Franciscan Observants, and probably brought it with him to Leuven in 1520, just as Erasmus was preparing the third edition of his New Testament.¹⁸ Clement thus played a brief but important role in one of the most controversial episodes in the editing of Erasmus' New Testament text. His role as intermediary between More and Erasmus continued in a very concrete way; in early 1522, Clement left Leuven for Italy, delivering letters from More to Erasmus in Basel *en route*.¹⁹

Clement and the Aldine Galen Edition

Both Erasmus and More were interested in Greek medicine. Erasmus' interest was part of his more general program for the revival of Greek literature and learned culture. More's concern for Greek medicine was practical. In 1518, southern England experienced an outbreak of the 'English sweat'. More was sent to Oxford to report on the situation. Another friend of More, the humanist physician Thomas Linacre, suggested to Henry VIII that the public health crisis might be managed by establishing a College of Physicians, who would promote ancient medical learning and enforce the education and practice of medicine in London. Arthur MacNalty and others have noted similarities between More's comments on public health in the *Utopia*, especially his approbation of Hippocrates and Galen, and Linacre's program for the College of Physicians, actuated in the royal letters patent through which Henry licensed the College.²⁰

¹⁷ McDonald 2016, p. 27-35.

¹⁸ McDonald 2016, p. 35-41.

¹⁹ Vives to Erasmus (Bruges, 1.4.1522), in Allen V (1924), p. 40.

²⁰ MacNalty 1946.

It is likely that Clement's turn to the study of Greek medicine while at Oxford was encouraged by Linacre, who involved him in the purchase of properties in Kent which were to generate rental revenue to support two new lectureships in medicine at Oxford and Cambridge.²¹ Clement did not disappoint expectation, and in time he would become one of the most celebrated humanist physicians in England, serving as a member of the College's governing body and in some years as its president. Amongst his patients he numbered Reginald Pole, John Fisher, Thomas Wolsey and Mary Tudor; this latter did everything in her power to advance this faithful son of the church and supporter of her Catholic monarchy.

While he was studying medicine at Padua in the 1490s, Linacre had associated with the circle of the Venetian scholar and printer Aldus Manutius. Aldus had long intended to produce a complete edition of the largest surviving corpus of any Greek writer, that of the physician Galen.²² Hitherto, Galen's works had been available in the west only in mediaeval Latin translations either directly from Greek or indirectly from Arabic. The recovery of the Greek text of Galen promised an improvement in medical diagnosis and treatment. Publication of the Greek text would also provide the basis for good Latin translations, which would render Galen's work accessible to an even wider readership. Some of the first humanistic Latin translations of Galen from Greek were done by Linacre; there is good reason to suspect that he was one of those pushing for the Greek edition to be completed. Although Aldus made some preparations for the publication of the Greek Galen, nothing concrete had been done by the time he died in 1515, and the project fell to his heirs. His successor, Andrea Torresani Asolano, appointed the medical humanist Giambattista Oppizzoni as editor-in-chief of the project. Linacre's involvement in the plan is suggested by the fact that four of the five editorial assistants were English: John Clement, Thomas Lupset and Edward Wotton had all taught Greek at Corpus Christi College Oxford, while William Rose had attended Oriel College. Like Clement, Lupset was closely associ-

²¹ Fletcher 1977.

²² Further, see Mani 1956; Perilli 2012.

ated with the circle of More, Linacre and Erasmus. The only assistant who was not English, Georg Agricola, had learned Greek at Leipzig from the Englishman Richard Croke, who maintained strong links with the English court, and probably recommended his promising student.

Unfortunately, few editors in the early sixteenth century had developed methods of collecting and assessing variants systematically. Even Erasmus' selection of textual families and variants for his edition of the New Testament was unsatisfactory from a modern perspective. The editors of the Aldine Galen chose variants in a somewhat haphazard fashion, and engaged in some conjectural emendation. Both these factors had a negative effect on the textual tradition of Galen, since the Aldine text, with all its arbitrary editorial interventions, remained the *textus receptus* until the nineteenth century. When the Galen edition was published, Erasmus was scathing about the standard of the editorial work, and let several of his friends know how bad he considered the result. It is perhaps no coincidence that we know nothing of any further contact between Erasmus and Clement.

This episode reveals a fundamental difference between the attitudes of More and Erasmus. The Aldine editors simply wished to produce an acceptable edition that would serve as a temporary expedient until a better text could be produced. More and Linacre both believed that an infusion of Greek medicine was a necessary step in addressing public health issues in England. For Erasmus, such a pragmatic approach was clearly unacceptable, even if the urgency with which he produced the first edition of his New Testament had led to similarly makeshift results. It also reveals Erasmus' unpleasant tendency to gossip, even when it touched his friends.

Soon after his return from Padua and Venice in early 1526, Clement was admitted as a fellow of Linacre's College of Physicians, and served in its inner governing circle from 1528 onwards. Linacre intended that the members of the College should possess a detailed knowledge of Greek medicine, which would distinguish them from unlettered empirics, and qualify them to take an active role in the regulation of public health in London. In 1541, the College of Physicians moved to consolidate its powers in a series of legal cases against unlicensed medical

practitioners. The nominal plaintiff in one case was the surgeon Ottwell Wylde, a young man of twenty-seven or twenty-eight, who served in Clement's household, and had probably received some of his training from him.²³ By instigating such prosecutions, Clement thus contributed to the execution of Linacre's plan for improving the standard of medical treatment in the city, even if this involved the attempt to impose a monopoly through legal precedent and royal decree. The doctrinaire certainty and aggression with which the College pursued this aim recall More's campaigns against Protestants in the city. However, the unlicensed practitioners whom the College attempted to drive out were not all so easily shaken, and some either settled their cases with the College or applied for royal decrees permitting them to practise in the city in defiance of the College's wishes.

Clement's Library in London

Although Clement's own writings are largely lost, what we know of his library, which contained manuscripts and printed books in Latin, Greek and English, including many rare works in medicine, philosophy, theology, literature and history, provides important insights into the circulation and editing of classical, patristic and mediaeval texts, such as Galen, Cyprian, Tertullian, the *Palatine Anthology*, and the bible itself.²⁴ Clement also inherited several books from More and Linacre, which made his collection into an important repository of English humanist learning. Surviving books from Clement's library show that he collated readings from manuscripts owned by others into his own books; for example, he collated a printed copy of Eusebius' *Church history* against no less than sixteen manuscripts.²⁵ Where the manuscript evidence was insufficient, he would attempt to remedy the lack through conjectural emendation, as evidenced by annotations in

²³ Kew, National Archives, E 159/320, Trinity, rot. 12-16. Further, see Roberts 1964, p. 42-43; Ryrie 2008, p. 43.

²⁴ Further, see McDonald 2013.

²⁵ I have not located this copy, but its extensive annotations are mentioned in a letter from Thomas Clement to Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana ms Vat. Reg. 2023, f. 21v.

his copy of Simplicius' commentary on Epictetus, now in Paris.²⁶ In his concern to recover the best text of ancient authors through the collection of variants, or through conjectural emendation where the manuscript evidence was insufficient, Clement stood closer to Erasmus than to More.

Clement's library attracted international attention, and was consulted (either personally or through correspondents) by scholars such as John Caius, Gerard Falkenburg, Jacques de Pamèle, Andreas Masius, Stephanus Winandus Pighius, Arias Montano, Wilhelmus Lindanus, and Antoine Perrenot (Cardinal Granvelle). In 1531, the Swiss Hellenist Simon Grynaeus visited England, bearing a letter of introduction from Erasmus. Even though Grynaeus was a Protestant, More provided him with letters that opened the doors of every library in Oxford. Grynaeus also spent time in Clement's library in London. Clement did not like lending out his books, particularly his irreplaceable manuscripts, but allowed others, including Grynaeus, to copy or collate them on site. Clement gave Grynaeus access to a manuscript of Proclus' *De motu*, which he subsequently edited for publication at Basel. A little gem, Clement had called the manuscript, and Grynaeus, continuing the metaphor, presented him with the printed text, polished and sparkling.²⁷ After his return to Switzerland, Grynaeus sent Thomas More several books in thanks for the generous reception he had received in England, including his *Nouus orbis* and his edition of the Greek text of Euclid, which More later bequeathed to Clement.²⁸

²⁶ ΣΥΜΠΛΙΚΙΟΥ ΕΞΕΓΗΣΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΤΟΥ || ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΥ ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΔΙΟΝ (Venice: De Sabio, 1528), now Paris, BnF RES-R-1078. On the front flyleaf is an ownership inscription from John Clement's son Thomas: 'Ο Θωμᾶς Κλήμης Βρίταννος, προσφιλέστατος τῆς σῆς Εὐσεβείας οἰκέτης. Cf. *Epicteti Manuale*, ed. Johannes Schweighäuser (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1798), p. xviii-xix. Schweighäuser records manuscript variants from this copy under the siglum *Vpc*.

²⁷ Simon Grynaeus, letter of dedication to John Clement, in Proclus 1531, p. 3-12.

²⁸ Simon Grynaeus, ed. *Nouus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum* (Paris: Jean Petit for Galeot du Pres, 1532), Yale, Beinecke Library Osborn fpa1, inscription on p. 367; Euclid, *Στοιχείων βιβλ. ιε'* (Basel: Herwagen, Sept. 1533), Oxford, Bodleian Library Byw. C.3.3. Inscription on the frontispiece, in John Clement's hand: *Sū thomę clemētis ex dono mori*. Cf. Trapp & Schulte Herbrüggen 1977, p. 52, n. 78.

The editors of the Basel edition of Galen (1538), which was intended to improve on the Aldine text, included variants from Paris, BnF ms grec 2165, one of the manuscripts that Clement had brought back from Italy. In the preface to the second volume of the Basel Galen, Leonhart Fuchs narrates that the editors used an ‘exemplar sent from England’, which was ‘much more thoroughly corrected than the previous edition’, that is, the Aldine text.²⁹ In the preface to the fourth volume, Camerarius likewise refers to the ‘British notes’ (*notae Britannicae*) which helped the editors to emend some contested passages.³⁰ Beate Gundert has identified these ‘British notes’ as collations of variants from manuscripts in Clement’s possession, entered in the margins of a (now incomplete) set of the Aldine Galen edition today in Leiden.³¹ By selectively exploiting these collations, the Basel editors corrected many – though not all – of the textual problems in the Aldine edition. Grynaeus and Clement evidently discussed the problems involved in editing Galen; in the introduction to his edition of Proclus’ *De motu*, Grynaeus praises Clement’s text-critical work on Galen and his role in producing the Aldine edition:

Not only did you willingly study the many writings of the ancients which you now possess with remarkable diligence and immense labour, but you afterwards acquired them at a significant price, and then consigned them to secure storage like a rich treasure, and now you are accustomed to devote your entire attention to them with the same intensity. You were not content to acquire a complete knowledge of the art of medicine, through unbelievable labours undertaken during your travels abroad, from the pure sources in both Latin and Greek, as a sure solace to your homeland and your friends, until you had shared with the rest of us mortals those same excellent authors on whom you built and extended your knowledge as if along a straight path. I speak of Galen, an outstanding man in all branches of philosophy, who had lain buried for many centuries. In order that he might finally come back to life through print and be restored to the reach

²⁹ Galen 1537-1538, f. A2r-v; cf. Gundert 2006, p. 84.

³⁰ Galen 1538, f. *2r-v; cf. Gundert 2006, p. 85.

³¹ Gundert 2006, p. 85-87. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek 1366 A 9-11.

of mortals, you did not simply act as his midwife. You travelled through Italy, collecting his works like bones and scattered limbs, and through the printing shop of Aldus, you reclaimed this noble author from destruction and immortalised him.³²

Grynaeus' engagement with Clement's work on Galen suggests that he may have acted as intermediary between Clement and the editors of the Basel Galen. The English medical humanist John Caius also used the manuscript materials that Clement had brought back from Venice to work on the text of Galen.³³

Besides his medical and scientific manuscripts, John Clement also possessed an important collection of patristic works, including a codex of Tertullian and Novatian which John Leland had requisitioned at Malmesbury. Sigismund Gelenius used this manuscript for his edition of Tertullian's works (1550). Clement later collated the same manuscript for Jacques de Pamèle, who used the readings more systematically for his own edition. Although Clement's manuscript of Tertullian and Novatian is no longer extant, Pamèle's notes allow us to reconstruct its contents and the state of its text.³⁴

The Fall of More

More's opposition to the divorce of Henry VIII and his subsequent imprisonment and trial marked a change in the Clements' fortunes. John Clement was imprisoned until he swore the Oath of Supremacy. After his release, he provided medical attention to John Fisher, who was imprisoned in the Tower like More. According to Elizabeth Shirley, who in 1616 wrote a biography of Margaret Clement, daughter of John Clement and Margaret Gygges and later prioress of St Monica's monastery in Leuven, Margaret Gygges brought More devotional materials and the 'secret pennances of disciplines & hair clothes', which he wore in

³² Grynaeus, dedication, in Proclus 1531, p. 3–4.

³³ Caius 1570, 7r; trans. in Caius 2018, 59.

³⁴ Petitmengin 1975; Petitmengin & Carley 2003; Carley & Petitmengin 2004.

the Tower.³⁵ Shirley also records that Margaret Gygges attended the Carthusians in Newgate prison, disguising herself as a milkmaid to gain entrance.³⁶ Although Shirley's narrative is framed in a hagiographical mode, this story may be corroborated by independent evidence. On 14 June 1537, nearly a month after ten of the brothers had been sent to Newgate prison, three were still alive, though two of these were in poor health.³⁷ Whatever their connection to real events, these stories clearly became part of the Clement family's own self-fashioning narrative: in a petition to Pope Gregory XIII (1575), Thomas Clement related the story that his mother Margaret Gygges had secretly stolen into Newgate prison to feed the Carthusians, in order to prove his own credentials as a faithful defender of mother church.³⁸

Henry VIII, increasingly suspicious, feared that the noble Pole family represented a possible Yorkist claim to the throne. In 1538, Geoffrey Pole was interrogated seven times to determine whether there was any foundation to the king's anxieties. Margaret Roper and Margaret Gygges were mentioned in the investigation, but seem to have escaped further repercussions.³⁹ In 1542/43, John Clement was likewise implicated in a conspiracy to bring down Thomas Cranmer, the so-called Prebendaries' Plot. Although he was named in the interrogatories used to question suspects in the plot, Clement too seems to have avoided serious danger, though it is perhaps significant that payment of his royal annuities stopped soon after the plot was broken up.⁴⁰

³⁵ Elizabeth Shirley, *The Life of our Reverent ould Mother Margrit Clement* (1616), Bruges, Monastery of Our Lady of Nazareth MS A.III St Ursula, Arch. CXI, f. 5r; cf. Hallett 2012, p. 7.

³⁶ Bruges, Monastery of Our Lady of Nazareth MS A.III St Ursula, Arch. CXI, fols 2v-4v; cf. Hallett 2012, p. 6.

³⁷ Thomas Bedyll to Thomas Cromwell, London, BL Cotton ms Cleopatra E. IV, 256r-v (*olim* 217r-v), ed. in Ellis 1824, p. 76-78.

³⁸ Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana ms Vat. lat. 6416, p. 389-390.

³⁹ Kew, National Archives, SP 1/138, fols 14v, 18r, 23v.

⁴⁰ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 128, p. 21-22; Kew, National Archives, E 315/254, f. 58v.

Defenders of the Faith

During the reign of Edward VI, the Clements' situation became ever more difficult. They were evicted from one of their rural properties in Hornchurch, Essex.⁴¹ In response, John Clement became involved in the public defence of Catholicism. On 28 May 1549, the Reformed theologian Peter Martyr Vermigli engaged in a disputation over the eucharist at Oxford against the Catholic William Tresham. At one point Vermigli adduced an argument from the Greek father Theodoret (*Eranistes*, *Dialogue* 2). Tresham objected that Theodoret was not to be relied upon because he was a Nestorian; moreover, such an obscure author should not be used to define a matter of such consequence.⁴² Later, in 1560, John Jewel claimed that Clement had attempted to influence the course of the disputation by mutilating a copy of Theodoret, in the mistaken belief that it was the only one readily available to be checked.⁴³ Although Clement denied that he had ever defaced or possessed this work, the accusation stuck.

The Clements found the religious changes introduced by Edward's regency council intolerable. In 1549, they left England for Antwerp, and soon moved on to Leuven. John Clement began to play an important role in the intellectual scene in Leuven, exchanging with Petrus Nannius and giving Henri Estienne access to his library when he visited Leuven in 1551.⁴⁴ Contrary to his custom, Clement lent Andreas van Gennep (Balenus), professor of Hebrew at the *Collegium trium linguarum*, a mediaeval Hebrew psalter, copied in England in the mid-twelfth century, probably by a Christian scribe.⁴⁵ Clement also regaled Leuven professor Johannes Coster (1515-1559) with stories of Thomas More's 'gentle manners, his piety, his wisdom and his erudition', and of the great learning of his daughter Margaret Roper.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Kew, National Archives, C 78/5/55.

⁴² Vermigli, *Disputatio de Eu-||CHARISTIAE SA-||CRAMENTO*, in Vermigli 1549, fols 9v-11r; Cf. Tresham's account of the disputation, London, British Library Harleian ms 422, fols 4r-30v, esp. 5r, 18v.

⁴³ Jewel 1560, f. H4r-v (59r-v).

⁴⁴ See McDonald 2013.

⁴⁵ Now Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek ms Or. 4725 (*olim* ms Hebr. Scal. 8); further, see Dunkelgrün 2012, p. 296-319.

⁴⁶ Vincent of Lérins 1552, f. L[1]r.

Even here, the Clements were propagating an image of More that would be perpetuated by his early biographers. While the Clements were in Leuven, they lost three of their daughters in various ways. Their second-eldest, Dorothy, entered the convent of the Poor Clares. Their youngest, Margaret, entered the Ursuline convent, where she would later become prioress. Tragically, their eldest, Winifred, who had married the lawyer and printer William Rastell, died of a fever, and was buried in St Peter's church in Leuven.

Following the death of Edward VI, Catholic exiles began to return to England, while many of the stricter Protestants left for places such as Geneva and Frankfurt. Queen Mary did what she could to assist the Clements recover the losses they had suffered during their religious exile. She commanded that their properties should be returned to them, and presented their son Thomas for two benefices, even though he was not in holy orders. The Clements were almost certainly involved with the production of the large folio volume of More's *English Works*, published at London in 1557 by the Clements' son-in-law William Rastell, husband of their late daughter Winifred. In the dedication, addressed to Queen Mary, Rastell praised More's writings for their eloquence, learning, and moral virtues. They were useful for learning

not onelye the eloquence and propertie of the English tonge, but also the trewe doctryne of Christes catholike fayth, the confutation of detestable heresyys, or the godly morall vertues that appertaine to the framinge and forminge of mennes maners and consciences [...].

The edition also promised to promote Mary's intention to purge 'this youre realme of all wicked heresies'. Rastell even ventured to claim that More, now in heaven, 'ceaseth not to praye to God for the kinges maiestie, for your hyghnesse, your subiectes, your realmes, and domynions, and for the commonwelth, and catholyke religion of the same'.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ William Rastell to Queen Mary, in More 1557, f. ¶2r-v.

*A Second Exile, and the Image of More
in the Catholic Reformation*

The restoration of the Clements' fortunes was cut short by Mary's death in November 1558. Bristling at Elizabeth's religious settlement, the Clements fled England for Antwerp again in summer 1560. As soon as they arrived, Clement was drawn into the circle of the scholarly printer and publisher Christophe Plantin. Clement provided Plantin with two important manuscripts from More's library – a Greek octateuch and a Hebrew psalter – which were used by the editors of the Antwerp Polyglot bible. Arias Montano, the head of the editorial team, was particularly eager to inspect the Hebrew psalter, since Wilhelmus Lindanus, who had seen the codex at Leuven in the 1550s, had reported in print that it contained unusual readings which supported a Christian reading of the psalms more readily than did the Masoretic text. As Theodor Dunkelgrün has shown, the way the editors of the Antwerp polyglot dealt with this psalter encapsulated the debate surrounding the orthodoxy of the entire enterprise, and of Christian Hebraism more generally.⁴⁸ Montano mentioned in his extensive description of the Hebrew Psalter that these two important biblical manuscripts had been made available by John Clement, a member of Thomas More's household, a detail that served to reinforce the reputations of both More and Clement for learning and piety.⁴⁹

In 1568, the Clements were visited by Thomas Stapleton, who was collecting material for his biography of Thomas More.⁵⁰ The stories that Stapleton relates about More and his informants the Clements must be regarded with a certain scepticism. Their recollections were decades old, and had evidently been told and retold many times in such a way as to advertise the Clements' association with More the holy martyr and their own role as perpetrators of his mission. Stapleton's text itself is both hagiography and polemic. It was important for him to collect oral histories

⁴⁸ Dunkelgrün 2012, p. 306-319.

⁴⁹ On this preface, see Dávila Pérez 2014, esp. p. 220.

⁵⁰ Stapleton's visit to the Clements is confirmed by the fact that they were all temporarily imprisoned together; see Brussels, AGR Audience 1191/49, partially transcr. in Smit 1950, p. 999-1001, n° 1159.

of More's life from those who knew him, since these gave his narrative authority and verisimilitude. According to Stapleton, Margaret Gygges showed him More's hair shirt and the bloodied garment in which he had been executed, and even cut off a piece as an object for Stapleton's devotions.⁵¹ Margaret Gygges also showed him a portrait of More, done just before his execution. Stapleton claims that the Clements provided him with many anecdotes which he included in his biography. For example, Margaret told Stapleton that when the burdens of More's office prevented him from distributing charity to the deserving poor, he entrusted this task to her. Margaret also told Stapleton that 'sometimes she would committ a fault for the nonce, to heare Sir THOMAS MORE chide her, he did it with such grauitie, such moderation, such loue and compassion'.⁵² The Clements also recalled the misfortunes they had experienced because of their association with More, such as John's imprisonment.

By this stage, details in the traditions of More's life had taken on hagiographical elements. Stapleton, relying on written and oral histories related by people who knew More, including the Clements, presented him as a man of honour, learning and integrity who fell victim to a law he had never violated, who overcame his natural aversion to the superficiality and intrigue of the court to fulfil his duty, who declined to abuse the many advantages his office presented, who retreated and kept silence rather than flatter the king or violate his oath of obedience, and who patiently bore the consequences of his honesty.⁵³ Sometimes this manipulation was more deliberate. For example, More was arrested on 12 April 1534. Stapleton transposed the event two weeks back to Palm Sunday, and even went so far as to compare More's anxiety to Christ's agony in the Garden.⁵⁴ John Clement told Stapleton almost miraculous stories of More as a child, and Margaret

⁵¹ This is perhaps part of the relic later kept by the Canonesses Regular of St Augustine Windesheim Congregation, Dove Cottage, Kingston-near-Lewes (formerly at Newton Abbot); see Trapp & Schulte Herbruggen (1977), p. 119, no. 228.

⁵² Cresacre More c. 1631, p. 81. The story is translated from Stapleton 1588, p. 219.

⁵³ Guy 2000, p. 3-4.

⁵⁴ Stapleton 1588, p. 289-290.

assured him that when More made his final farewells, he gave off the sweet odour of sanctity.⁵⁵ The accounts of Stapleton, Harpsfield and Roper also depicted More as the father of English recusancy, perhaps to rescue More's status as progenitor of English Catholic dissent from oblivion; as Michael Questier has noted, More was somewhat overshadowed in the 1580s by more recent Jesuit martyrs.⁵⁶

Margaret Gygges died in 1570. As she lay on her deathbed, it was said that she had a vision of the Carthusians to whom she had ministered in prison, who had come to minister to her in turn. This story, recorded in Elizabeth Shirley's biography of Mother Margaret Clement, is consistent with the kind of hagiographical framing that John Clement and Margaret Gygges had carried out on Thomas More's memory.⁵⁷ John Clement followed his wife to the grave in early July 1572.⁵⁸ But this was not the end of the More circle in the Low Countries. In 1609, their daughter Margaret founded an English convent in Leuven, St Monica's, where the relics of More rescued by Margaret Gygges were preserved, and the anniversary of More's execution was celebrated every year with the reading of an account of his death.⁵⁹ This monastery later founded a daughter house in Bruges, the Monastery of Our Lady of Nazareth, which still venerates the memory of More and Mother Margaret Clement.

Clement's varied activities show how he, his wife Margaret Gygges and his children faithfully carried out the programs of

⁵⁵ Stapleton 1588, p. 332-333.

⁵⁶ Aveling 1977, p. 26; Questier 2002, p. 485-487.

⁵⁷ Bruges, Monastery of Our Lady of Nazareth MS A.III St Ursula, Arch. CXI, fols 8v-10r, ed. Hallett 2012, p. 8. Hallett 2012, p. 2, incorrectly dates Shirley's biography of Mother Margaret Clement to 1626 instead of 1616.

⁵⁸ Pits 1619, p. 767-768, incorrectly recorded the date of John Clement's death as 1 July 1572. Pits' mistake has been repeated in all the subsequent literature. John's death certainly occurred between the making of his will on 3 July and his funeral and burial on 9 July. The date of the will is provided by two documents: Mechelen, Archief van het Aartsbisdom, St Ursula 52 (Cartulary of St Ursula), f. 112r-v (des iij^{den} daeghs Iuly anno xv^e lxxij) and Kingston-near-Lewes, Priory of Our Lady, ms R 27 (den derden dach July anno xv^e tweentzeuentich). His burial is dated to 9 July 1572 in Mechelen, Stadsarchief Parochieregister Sint-Jan 160, p. 137 (ix^e Julij).

⁵⁹ Bruges, Monastery of Our Lady of Nazareth, ms 55 (Ritual of Susan Laybourne), 4v.

More, Erasmus and Linacre. Clement apparently provided Erasmus with one of the most controversial biblical manuscripts used in the preparation of his New Testament edition. Clement contributed significantly to realising Linacre's dream of reviving the corpus of Galen's writings and applying his teachings to public health. The Clements continued More's opposition to Protestantism and King Henry's attempts to seize control over the English church, and contributed materially to the preservation and apotheosis of his memory. More certainly had every reason to be proud of his *puer*. Clement, wrote Harpsfield, had proven an excellent physician and Greek scholar. 'And yet his vertue surmounteth his learning, and hath answered to the expectation of Sir Thomas More'.⁶⁰

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Abstract

This paper explores the activity of the English scholar John Clement, a significant exponent of the different scholarly and political programs of Thomas More and Erasmus. Clement continued More's mission to resist the advance of Protestantism through his involvement in organised campaigns such as the Prebendaries' Plot against Cranmer, the debates against evangelical theologians such as Peter Martyr Vermigli, and the pamphlet war against Elizabeth I, directed from Leuven. Clement and his wife Margaret Gygges contributed to the formation of More's posthumous image by supplying Thomas Stapleton with stories that were included in the latter's biography of More. Clement also associated with Erasmus, especially at Leuven in 1520/21, and continued his project to bring about a renewal of Christianity partly through sacred philology, especially in the establishment of a viable text of the Fathers on the basis of manuscript collation. The various aspects of Clement's activity thus reveal the ongoing appeal of the very different programs of More and Erasmus in the next generation.

INDICES

BIBLICAL INDEX

Genesis		Mark	
1	390	1. 40	97 n. 62
Joshua		8. 38	347
8. 2	493 n. 56	14. 3	88
Job		Luke	
14. 1	205 n. 46	1	84 n. 26, 220, 254, 260
Psalms		1. 1	106
1	281 n. 62	1. 1-4	95-107
4	280	1. 3	100-102
26. 6	283	1. 4	78
51. 5	205 n. 46, 396 n. 75	1. 45	347 n. 42
51. 6	468 n. 54	2	247
67	283 n. 71	2. 38	347 n. 42
108. 8	354	5. 12	97 n. 62
Matthew		6. 26	347 n. 42
5	269 n. 21	7. 36	88
5. 6-8	165	9. 62	328
6	263 n. 8, 269, 284	12. 27	347 n. 42
6. 12	41 n. 93	12. 35	347 n. 42
6. 13	385 n. 41	12. 40	347 n. 42
7	263 n. 8	19. 33	347 n. 42
8. 2	97 n. 62	24. 52	179
13. 47	40	John	
19. 11	322	1	84 n. 26
19. 12	322	1. 1	41
26. 6	88	1. 1-13	165
26. 61	347 n. 42	3. 5	10
27. 40	347 n. 42	5. 13	347 n. 42
27. 46	347 n. 42	6. 13	347 n. 42
		6. 40	347 n. 42

9. 22	347 n. 42	14. 15-19	261-304
10. 26	347 n. 42	14. 19	266-268, 272, 284, 285 n. 78, 291, 293
12. 1	88	15. 31	347 n. 42
13. 1-17	352	15. 34	347 n. 42
Acts		15. 36	347 n. 42
1. 1	179	2 Corinthians	
1. 1-2	96	4. 16	199 n. 21
1. 1-7	165	11. 21	347 n. 42
2. 30	347 n. 42	12. 12	347 n. 42
4. 27	347 n. 42	Galatians	
7. 27	347 n. 42	1. 4	380, 381 n. 26
8. 26	347 n. 42	4. 3	388, 390 n. 56
10. 30	347 n. 42	4. 9	389
10. 32	347 n. 42	4. 11	351, 355
13. 33	347 n. 42	6. 6	351, 359
15. 23-24	347 n. 42	Ephesians	
15. 29	347 n. 42	2. 15	351, 356
16. 12	347 n. 42	4. 31	351
18. 18	347 n. 42	4. 32	351, 357
27. 4	385 n. 41	5	293
Romans		5. 6	351, 359
1. 1	350, 354	5. 12	351, 359
1. 5	350-351, 354	5. 19	286, 296
3. 20	207	5. 31	353, 359
5. 12	351, 363, 393	5. 32	351, 353-354, 363
7. 3	351	6. 15-16	357
8	207	6. 16	357-358
9. 10	347 n. 42	6. 15-18	351
10. 14	347 n. 42	Philippians	
11. 11	351	1. 9	358 n. 82
12. 10	351	1. 10	351, 359
12. 15	351	2. 6	374 n. 6, 376 n. 9, 377, 396, 397 n. 80
1 Corinthians		2. 6-7	352
6. 9-11	326	2. 7	351, 363
7	322, 329	Colossians	
7. 7	322	1. 3	357
7. 9	374 n. 6	1. 34	351
7. 36-38	305-334	1. 4	360
7. 37	318, 324	2. 20	388-389
11. 24	374 n. 6, 379, 400	3. 16	282 n. 65
14	268 n. 20, 269 n. 19, 275, 278, 284, 286, 292, 296		
14. 15	282, 287		

BIBLICAL INDEX

1 Thessalonians		9. 20	375 n. 6
2. 2	348	12. 8	178
		12. 20	347 n. 42
1 Timothy		James	
2. 5	351, 360	2. 1	378 n. 14
3. 2-4	351, 360		
3. 16	374 n. 6	1 Peter	
5. 2-3	351	1. 9	375 n. 6
		3. 8	349
2 Timothy		1 John	
2. 1-2	351, 361	1. 1	375 n. 6
2. 4	351, 361, 363	3. 9	324
3. 5	351, 361, 363	5. 7-8	566
4. 7	348	5. 20	375 n. 6
Titus		2 John	
1. 10	351	9	349
3. 10	375, 398, 399 n. 84		
3. 10-11	374 n. 6	Jude	
		22	351
Hebrews		Apocalypse/Revelation	
1. 8	374 n. 6, 390-391	22. 16-21	336
5. 12	388 n. 51, 389		
9. 17	395-396		

GENERAL INDEX

- Aberdeen, Scotland 342
 adiaphora 273 n. 34
 Adrian VI, pope 17, 443
 Adrianus, Mattheus 17
 Aesop 421
 Agricola, Georg 569
 Agricola, Rudolf 420, 422, 443
 Alaard of Amsterdam 439-440, 443
 Albertus Pius, prince of Carpi 277-
 279, 547 *see also* Alberto Pio
 Alcalá de Henares, Spain 219
 Alexander of Villedieu (de Villa Dei)
 125, 420
 Alexandria, Egypt 548
 Alger of Liège 403
 allegorical interpretation 33, 168-
 169, 283, 383-387, 566
 Alost (Aalst), Low Countries 416-
 418, 422-423, 437, 445
 Altenstaig, Johann 144 n. 52
 Amandus of Zierikzee 338
 Ambrose of Milan 40, 106, 197,
 203, 207, 248-250, 279, 341,
 349 n. 48, 388 n. 51, 395 n. 73,
 396 n. 76
 Ambrosiaster 317, 324, 352, 376
 n. 9, 377, 397-398
 Amerbach, Johan 457, 459
amicitia, in Roman politics 485-
 486, 503
 Ammonius of Alexandria 76, 86
 n. 33, 100
 Anabaptists 288, 393-394
 anagogical interpretation 168-169,
 386
 Andreas van Gennep (Balenus) 575
 Angelus de Clavasio 418
 Anselm of Aosta 341
 Anselm of Canterbury 125, 377
 anthropology, theological 136, 198,
 200, 206-208
 Anthoniszoon, Jacob 420
 Antichrist 39-40, 318 n. 46, 499,
 503
 Antipodes 457
 Antonello da Messina 548
 Antwerp, Low Countries 12, 219-
 220, 222, 224, 243 n. 146, 288
 n. 86, 372 n. 2, 418-421, 424,
 432-433, 438, 440-441, 443,
 445, 471, 538 n. 2, 564, 575
 Antwerp Polyglot Bible 561, 577
 Apuleius 462
 Aquaviva, Claudio 372 n. 3
 Aquila 170, 391
 Arabic 17, 568
 Arianism 374 n. 6, 375 n. 6, 376-
 377, 391 n. 60, 392, 396-398, 566
 Aristophanes 124, 539, 540 n. 5,
 541 n. 8, 542, 546
 Aristotelianism 11, 90, 129, 131,
 262, 352, 480, 502 *see also* Scho-
 lasticism
 Aristotle 27, 135, 137, 271, 417,
 462, 495, 507, 539, 541 n. 8, 543,
 546-547, 549-553
 Arnaldus Guillelmus de Brocario
 169, 171, 219
 Arras, France 419
 Asolano, Andrea Torresani 568
 astrology 86
 Athens, Greece 470-471
 Auderghem, Low Countries 87
 n. 38, 88
 Augustine 12 n. 7, 14, 33, 40, 42,
 174 n. 56, 194, 197 n. 19, 200-
 202, 205, 217, 277 n. 52, 278-
 279, 314 n. 32, 341, 351, 357,

- 359, 381, 393, 396, 397 n. 77,
480, 493-494, 501, 516, 521,
533, 543
Confessiones 206, 515
De ciuitate Dei 31, 32 n. 54, 75,
453-473
De consensu euangelistarum 80,
109 n. 91
De doctrina christiana 169
De gratia et libero arbitrio 328-
329
Augustinianism 14, 109, 198, 200,
202, 205, 212, 454 n. 6, 468
n. 57, 503
Augustinians 94, 344-345
Hermits 338
Windesheim, Congregation of
88, 578 n. 51
Augustus, emperor 490 n. 49, 498-
499, 503
authority, problem of 21-46
Avicenna 550
- Bacon, Francis 530
Bade, Josse 123, 335, 415, 436
Baechem, Nicolaas 337
Baius, Michael 98
baptism 10, 205, 312
barbarism 266, 305
Barbaro, Ermolao 418, 438
Barbier, Pierre 439-440
Barlandus, Adrianus 17, 421, 422
n. 43, 434, 440-441
Bartholomaeus Cremonensis 417
Basel (Bale) 9-10, 102, 109 n. 90,
110 n. 95, 111 n. 96, 171, 177,
178 n. 70, 220, 335, 401-402,
415, 422, 431, 433, 435-437,
459, 567, 571-573
Basil the Great 10, 44 n. 104, 197-
198
Bassand, Jean 84
Batmanson, John 39-41
Beaufort, Margaret 268 n. 19
Becon, Thomas 275-276, 293
Bede the Venerable 341, 349 n. 50
Beer, Louis 376, 402
- Bellarmino, Robert 378, 388 n. 50,
398, 402-403
Bello, Luciano 441
Benedict of Norcia, Rule of 222
Benedictines 94, 222, 247, 268,
345, 397 n. 77, 430 n. 77
Bergagne, Antoine-Marie 350
Bernard of Clairvaux 10
Bessarion, cardinal 194, 552
Bevilacqua, Simon 168
Beza, Theodorus 181, 238, 244-245,
388
Bezudens, Theodoricus 89, 93
Bible, order of books in 159-192
Bingen-am-Rhein 345
Birckmann, Johann 341, 351
Blois, France 222
Blount, William 430
Bobbio, Italy 463
Bocholt, Low Countries 379
body, theologies of 199-200, 283,
463
Boethius 125, 129 n. 13, 457
Bologna, Italy 441
Bonaventure 83 n. 22
Bondino, Alessandro 548
Bonn, Germany 311
Boulogne, France 311
Boyle, Robert 531, 533
Brabant 77, 89 n. 44, 94, 123, 335,
415, 420, 433, 452
Bracciolini, Poggio 157
breviaries 418-419
Briardus, Johannes 17
Britannicus, Jacobus 170
Broeckhoven, Nicolaas van 439-
440, 442
Brucioli, Antonio 230 n. 55, 231-
232, 254
Bruges, Low Countries 76 n. 2, 345,
352 n. 61, 417-418, 471, 566,
567 n. 19, 579
Brussels 174, 221, 340, 416, 427
Bruyne, Peter de 417
Bucer, Martin 350
views on clerical marriage 305-
333

- Bucklersbury, Hertfordshire, Eng-
 land 22
 Budaeus, Guillemus (Budé, Guil-
 laume) 26, 78, 102-108, 341,
 431, 446
 Bull, John 277
 Burbage, James 272 n. 33
 Burbank, William 566 n. 15
 Busleiden, Hieronymus 25, 339-
 340, 427-430, 563

 Caius, John 571, 573
 Cajetan, Thomas (de Vio) 341
 Calvin, John 221-222, 224, 232-
 235, 238-240, 241 n. 126, 242-
 245, 254, 281 n. 61, 282 n. 65,
 317-318, 333, 350, 388
 Calvinism 221 n. 9, 222, 224, 341
 Cambridge, University of 24, 44
 n. 104, 221, 231, 268 n. 19, 313,
 568
 Camerarius, Joachim 572
 Campanella, Tommaso 529, 532
 Campeggio, Lorenzo, cardinal 440
 Campensis, Johannes (Jan van
 Campen) 17, 440
 Canisius, Peter 378, 398
 canon law 308, 316-318, 437,
 438 n. 113
 Canta, Jacopo 440
 Canterbury, England 275
 Capella, Martianus 125
 Carmelites 337, 338 n. 16, 345,
 417
 Carneades 466
 Carthusians 39, 574, 579
 Casiodoro de Reina 219-220, 223-
 225, 227, 230, 235-247, 260
 Castellanus, Albertus 165 n. 21
 Castellio, Sebastian 221, 238-239,
 240 n. 125, 241-245
 Castilian War of Succession 496
 catachresis 388-390, 394
 Catherine of Aragon, queen of Eng-
 land 316
 Cato 442
 Cavendish, Margaret 530-531
 Cecilia, St 82
 celibacy, clerical 305-329, 333, 469
 Charles V, king of Spain/Holy Roman
 emperor 108, 222-223, 305, 311,
 345 n. 36, 427, 433, 440
 Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy
 416 n. 5
 Chiari, Isidoro 341
 Chiron 376 n. 49
 Chiron, bishop of 182 n. 80
 choristers, *see* singers
 Christology 352, 396
 chronology 75, 80, 85-86, 87 n. 37,
 88-90, 92, 95, 97, 100, 106-107,
 166, 456
 Church Fathers 10, 29, 31-33,
 35-36, 40-44, 132, 165, 193-
 196, 198, 211-212, 265, 271,
 272 n. 31, 280, 283, 308, 341,
 346, 350, 353, 356, 359, 362-
 363, 376-377, 383-384, 392,
 403, 454, 458, 543, 584
 Cicero 28, 42, 126, 129, 132, 140,
 146, 157, 421, 461-464, 466-
 468, 470-471, 478, 480, 487-
 494, 503, 507, 539, 544
 Cipriano de Valera 219, 245, 247
 civility 265
 Clario, Daniele 542
 Clava, Antonius 431
 Clement VII, pope 441
 Clement, John 454 n. 5, 455, 561-
 584
 Clement, Margaret 33, 561, 573,
 576
 Clenardus, Nicolaus 17, 421
 Cochlaeus, Johannes 311-312
 Coclico, Adrianus 266 n. 17
 codices 343-346, 349, 361, 363,
 455
 Coecke, Bartel 416
 Coecke van Aelst, Pieter 416 n. 6
 Colet, John 21-22, 263, 274, 398
 n. 82
 Cologne, Germany 288 n. 86, 311,
 318, 338, 341, 351
 Columbus, Christopher 418

- comedy 29, 506, 538, 545, 559
 commentaries, biblical 35, 82-83,
 99, 101, 135, 141-142, 145,
 196-197, 200-203, 206, 208-
 209, 226, 268 n. 16, 269 n. 21,
 282 n. 65, 286, 296, 306, 308,
 314, 316-317, 323-324, 333,
 337 n. 13, 356-357, 371-406,
 457-460, 493, 546
 Complutensian Polyglot 169 n. 38,
 171, 173, 219, 225, 240, 336 n. 6,
 339 n. 23, 344 n. 33
 Constance, Council of 75, 76 n. 2
 Constantinople 178 n. 68
 Cop, Guillaume 431
 Corroy, Simone du 100 n. 71
 Corsendonk, priory of, Low Coun-
 tries 344-345
 Corte, Peter de 445
 Coster, Johannes 575
 Courtrai (Kortrijk), Low Countries
 98
 Coverdale Bible 287-288
 Cranevelt, Frans 25 n. 22, 445,
 566
 Cranmer, Thomas, archbishop of
 Canterbury 274-276, 294-295,
 574, 584
 Crépy, Peace of 311 n. 20
 Crescentiis, Petrus 417
 Croke, Richard 569
 crusade 502
 Cuno, John 177, 178 n. 68
 curiosity 515-533, 535
 Curius Dentatus, Manius 489 n. 43
 Cybele 271, 272 n. 31
 Cyprian 40-41, 376, 570
 Cyril of Alexandria 197, 341

daimones 462
 Dante Alighieri 496, 498-499
Decretum Gratiani 494
 Delft, Low Countries 350
 Demosthenes 356
 Denys Rykiel (Denys the Carthu-
 sian or Dionysius Carthusiensis)
 417
 Desmarez, Jean (Paludanus) 428-
 430, 432
 Despauterius, Joannes 17
 dialectic 35-37, 41, 125, 133, 141,
 199 n. 23, 209 n. 62
 dialogues (literary form) 12, 27,
 29-30, 32, 86, 88, 90-94, 137,
 462-463, 470, 472, 538, 545, 556
 Didymus the Blind 283
 Diodorus Siculus 547
 Diogenes Laertius 11 n. 5, 549
 Dionysios of Halikarnassos 490
 n. 45
 Dionysius the Areopagite *see* Pseudo-
 Dionysius the Areopagite
 Dionysus (god) 269, 271-272
 Dioscorides 539, 540 n. 5, 541 n. 8,
 542 n. 8, 555 n. 41
 Dominicans 177, 290 n. 92, 337-
 338, 457, 459
 Dorp, Martin 17, 25, 34-37, 39-
 41, 44, 261, 337, 427, 432-433,
 439-444, 543
 Driedo, Joannes 18, 337, 434
 Duns Scotus, John 132
 Dupin, Louis Ellies 76-77, 84 n. 24,
 85 n. 26
 Dupuyherbaults, Gabriel 100 n. 71
 Durer, Albrecht 548

 Edward VI, king of England 275
 n. 42, 313, 318 n. 46, 329, 575-
 576
 Egyptians 515, 519
 Elizabeth I, queen of England 272,
 277, 290, 295, 577, 584
 Elsevier (publisher) 181
 Elyot, Thomas 275
 Engelbert of Admont 496-500,
 501 n. 89, 507
 Enzinas, Francisco de 220-221, 260
 Epictetus 571
 Erasmus, Desiderius
 Augustinianism, rejection of 14,
 200-202, 205, 212
 England, stay in 24, 44 n. 104,
 268 n. 19

- music, theology of 261-304
 ordering of Scripture 159-192
 works
Annotationes in Epistolam ad Romanos 193-218
Annotationes in Lucam 103, 106 n. 83
Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum 99, 102, 126, 143, 145, 160, 162, 176, 179, 190, 220-221, 227, 231, 233, 238-239, 248-249, 254-255, 260, 316, 335-336, 347, 366, 375, 377, 378 n. 14, 380 n. 25, 381 n. 25, 384-385, 392, 394, 404
Apologia ad Jacobum Fabrum Stapulensem 439
Apologia aduersus libros Rufini 139-141, 149, 162, 166, 170-172, 183, 191
Apologia aduersus Rhapsodias Alberti Pii 278
Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae 264 n. 11, 268-269, 272, 291
Ecclesiastes siue de ratione concionandi 138, 145, 383, 385
Enchiridion militis Christiani 378, 382-383, 420, 433
Enkomion Moriae 24, 34-35, 41, 420, 427
Gratulatorius Panegyricus ad Philippum Archiducem Austriae (Panegyricus) 432-433, 438
Hyperaspites 210
Lucubratiunculae aliquot 420
Ratio seu methodus compendio perueniendi ad ueram theologiam (Methodus) 82, 166-170, 172, 183, 191
Nouum instrumentum 9-19, 21, 24-25, 34, 44-45, 71, 78, 102, 104, 107, 143, 145, 148, 156-157, 159-184, 191, 219, 262 n. 5, 263, 282, 286, 304-305, 316, 335, 348, 371, 377, 392, 554
Nouum Testamentum 23, 25, 37-39, 45, 71, 78, 102-103, 107-108, 195 n. 8, 198, 219-256, 260, 336, 343, 400
Paraclesis 10, 166-168, 170, 191
Paraphrase on Matthew 108, 210
Ratio seu methodus uerae theologiae (Methodus) 197, 262
 Estienne, Henri 575
 Estienne, Robert 161, 346, 463
 Euripides 23 n. 10, 539, 540 n. 5, 541 n. 8, 546, 548 n. 22, 549, 554
 Eusebian Canon 162, 171 n. 47, 172 n. 47, 175-176, 179, 183-184, 456
 Eusebius of Caesarea 86 n. 33, 175-176, 179, 191, 570
 Eustachius of Zichem 337
 Euthymius 341
 Everardus, Nicolaus 17
 exegesis, biblical 41, 99, 125, 128, 141, 143, 166, 169, 196, 283, 306-307, 313-314, 350, 371, 385-387, 400, 456, 513
 Faber Stapulensis, Jacobus 165, 230, 231 n. 64, 277 n. 52, 338-339, 339 n. 19, 341, 353, 439 *see also* Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques
 Fabricius, Gaius 489
 Falkenburg, Gerard 571
 Ferdinand, brother of Charles V 348 n. 43
Fetiales 490, 492
 Ficino, Marsilio 194 n. 3
 Filelfo, Francesco 420-421
 Firmus 455, 457
 Fisher, Christopher 335

- Fisher, John, bishop of Rochester 263, 434, 568, 573
 Fisher, Robert 22
 Flanders 36, 416, 431
 Florence, Council of 182 n. 80, 194
 fonts, *see* typography
 force, use of *see* just war theory
 Francis I, king of France 305, 311
 Franciscans 182 n. 80, 337-341, 343, 346, 349-351, 362-363, 369, 567
 Frankfurt, Germany 222, 224, 243 n. 146, 576
 Frederick III, emperor 418, 496
 free will 14, 129 n. 13, 199, 210, 324, 328-329, 520
 Froben, Johann 10, 160-161, 164, 167-171, 172 n. 47, 174-175, 180 n. 76, 335, 415-416, 431, 433-437, 459, 515 n. 1, 563
 Frowyk, Francis 567
 Fuchs, Leonhart 572
- Gaffurius 274
 Gagny, Jean de 341
 Galen 542, 549, 561, 565, 567-570, 572-573, 580
 Gardiner, Stephen, bishop of Winchester 305-333
 Garetius, John 402
 Gaspard van Halmale 443
 Gaza, Theodore 540 n. 5, 548-550, 553
 Geldenhouwer, Gerard 289, 345, 415, 428-430, 439-440, 442-443, 445
 Gelenius, Sigismund 573
 Gembloux, abbey of, Low Countries 345
 Geneva, Switzerland 181, 222-223, 239, 576
 Geneva Bible 239
 Gerbell, Nicholas 169 n. 40
 Gerson, Jean 75-78, 80-86, 88 n. 41, 90, 91 n. 49, 92 n. 51, 93, 96, 97 n. 62, 100, 108-109, 111
 Ghent, Low Countries 18 n. 12, 77, 79 n. 7, 95, 98, 108, 121, 337, 416
 Giggs, Margaret 455, 562-563, 573-574, 578-579, 584
 Gilles de Gourmont 431
 Giles, Peter 12, 423-427, 429-430, 436, 438-439, 441-443, 445, 471, 516, 518-522, 563-564
 Goclenius, Conrad 437, 440
 Goes, Matthias Van der 418
 Gonell, William 32, 564 n. 9
 Gouillet, Robert 100 n. 71
 Grafton, Richard 294
 grammar 36, 41, 46, 124-125, 127-128, 132-133, 135-136, 140-141, 143, 149, 151, 157, 196-197, 262, 266 n. 17, 274, 276 n. 48, 277, 404, 463, 466, 538, 540 n. 5, 544, 546 n. 18, 547, 549-550, 553-557
 Grapheus, Cornelius 430
 Grave, Henri van (Gravius) 346, 362
 Gravius, Bartholomaeus 98
 Gregory I, pope 279-280, 291, 341
 Gregory XIII, pope 574
 Gregory Nazianzen 10, 353, 362
 Grocyn, William 23 n. 10, 263, 453, 458, 462, 565
 Groenendaal, Low Countries 88, 93, 95
 Grynaeus, Simon 571-573
 Gutenberg Bible 172, 416
- Hagiography 574, 577-579
 Haimo of Auxerre 341
 Harding, Thomas 290
 harmatology 201
 harmonies of the Gospel 75-112
 Harpsfield, Nicholas 31, 454-455, 580
 Hebrew 17, 98-99, 133, 141-142, 288, 338-339, 354-355, 358, 363, 380, 386, 421-423, 440, 446, 555, 575, 577
 Henry VII, emperor 496
 Henry VIII, king of England 12,

- 21, 23, 45, 109-110, 294, 306,
308, 310, 312-313, 318, 332,
424, 460, 496, 562, 567, 573-
574, 580
- Hentenius, Johannes (Henten) 18,
182, 347, 361
- Herent, Low Countries 87 n. 37,
88
- heresy 40, 86, 393 n. 66, 394, 396,
397 n. 79, 405, 566, 576
- hermeneutics 145, 148, 157, 168-
169, 307, 382-383, 385
- Hermetic Corpus* 462
- Herodian 539, 540 n. 5, 542 n. 8,
547
- Herodotus 27, 539, 540 n. 5, 541
n. 8, 547
- Hesychius Alexandrinus 539, 540
n. 5, 541 n. 8, 547
- Hesiod 460
- Hessels, Jan 98
- heuristics 126-128, 130, 139, 142,
157
- Hieronymus de Paganinis Brixien-
sis 170
- Hilary of Poitiers (Hilarius) 197,
208 n. 58, 341, 396 n. 76
- Hillen, Michiel 419 n. 24, 443
- Hispanus, Petrus 417
- historiography 31
- Hobbes, Thomas 383
- Holbein, Ambrosius 563
- Holgate, Robert, archbishop of York
295
- Holt, John 453
- Homer 276 n. 49, 281 n. 62, 340,
460, 539, 540 n. 5, 541 n. 8, 546
- homo grammaticus* 125-139, 141,
143, 149-150, 156-157
- Hooker, Richard 295 n. 113
- Hornchurch, England 575
- humanism 9, 11-12, 15, 17-18,
23-26, 30, 33, 36 n. 70, 44,
46 n. 108, 71, 77-80, 82, 99,
102-103, 108-109, 123-124,
126-129, 131, 134, 138, 145,
149-150, 163 n. 18, 165, 169,
194, 209, 211-212, 262-265,
266 n. 17, 273 n. 36, 274,
276, 277 n. 52, 296, 318, 336,
338-341, 383, 385, 387, 394,
416-418, 420-421, 423, 428,
437-439, 442, 444, 446, 452,
457, 459, 461, 472, 478, 488,
505, 519, 541-542, 548, 552-
553, 556, 559, 561, 564-565,
568
- English 22, 45, 275, 415, 426,
562, 570, 573
- Hus, Jan 9
- Hutten, Ulrich von 425, 427, 454
- Hythlodæus, Raphael (character in
Utopia) 12-13, 424, 429, 445,
471-472, 484, 487-489, 504-
505, 507, 516-523, 526-528,
537-557, 563-564
- Ignatius of Loyola 378-379
- imago Dei* 199, 209
- imperialism 480, 495-496, 501, 507
- incantations 284
- Index librorum prohibitorum* 223
- indulgences 418
- Inquisition, Spanish 223
- Insuper* (papal decree) 345
- Irenaeus of Lyon 199 n. 23
- irenicism *see* peace
- Jacob van Meteren 288 n. 86
- Jacobi, Henry 420
- Jacques de Pamèle 571, 573
- Jansenius, Cornelius, bishop of Ghent
18 n. 12, 77-78, 79 n. 7, 95, 98-
102, 108, 121, 337
- Jerome 24, 33, 36, 38, 40, 42-
44, 76 n. 3, 125-126, 135-136,
139-147, 157, 160, 164 n. 19,
170-172, 174 n. 56, 197 n. 18,
198 n. 20, 202, 207 n. 55, 212,
265, 268 n. 19, 286, 287 n. 83,
293, 296, 341, 350, 353-354,
356-358, 362, 380-381, 384-
385, 395 n. 73, 433, 444, 543,
548

- Jeronimites 223
 Jespersen, Jakob 440-441
 Jesuits 371-373, 375, 377-379, 386-387, 395, 398, 400, 403-404, 579
 Jewel, John, bishop of Salisbury 282, 290, 292 n. 113, 575
 Jews 280-281, 389-390
 Johannes de Luxembourg 437-438, 440-442
 Johannes de Westphalia 417
 John Chrysostom 10, 195, 197-198, 203, 341, 348 n. 46, 349 n. 48, 352-354, 355 n. 71, 356-357, 359, 360 n. 90, 361-362, 391 n. 60, 395 n. 73
 Josel, Adrian 339
 Jud, Leo 288 n. 86, 380
 Julian, emperor 396
 Julius III, pope 341
 Julius Caesar 548 n. 22
 jurisprudence 21
 just war theory 479-508
 justification, doctrine of 311 n. 19, 312
 Justinian, emperor 317, 441, 500

 Kant, Immanuel 46
 Kesler, Nicolaus 168
 Keymolen, Jacobus (Jacobus Alostensis) 440-441, 445
 Keyser, Martin de 288 n. 86
 Kilwardby, Robert 457
 King James Bible 287
 Koberger, Anthonius 167, 169, 171

 Lactantius 492-493
 language, nature of 129-138, 151
 Lapide, Cornelius a (Cornelis Cornelissen van den Steen) 318 n. 44, 371-406, 411
 Lascaris, Constantine 540 n. 5, 541 n. 8, 547, 549, 553-555
 Latomus, Bartholomaeus 318, 337
 Latomus, Jacobus (Jacques Masson) 17
 Lauwerijns, Mark 345 n. 36

 law, divine 126, 326-328
 Lee, Edward 25, 37, 337, 351, 353, 392 n. 63, 393, 434, 566
 Leeu, Gheraert 418
 Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques 165, 230, 231 n. 64, 277 n. 52, 338-339, 339 n. 19, 341, 353, 439 *see also* Faber Stapulensis, Jacobus
 Leiden, Low Countries 181
 Leipzig, Germany 569
 Leland, John 573
 Leo X, pope 39, 502, 547
 Leuven/Louvain, Low Countries 9-10, 12, 15, 17-18, 34, 36 n. 70, 77, 90, 97, 99, 102, 123, 221, 261, 311, 313, 337-339, 346, 347 n. 41, 352 n. 61, 372, 374, 379, 411, 415, 417-418, 421-422, 432-433, 440-441, 445-446, 452, 455, 459, 541, 561, 564-567, 575-577, 584
 collegiate church of St Peter 86
 Collegium Trilingue 340
 Franciscan house 336, 340, 350, 369
 Jesuit house 87 n. 35, 375
 St Martin's Valley 88, 344
 St Monica's Priory 573, 579
 University of 15-16, 85, 98, 100, 108, 416, 418 n. 19, 429, 434, 436, 438
 libraries 26, 76 n. 2, 123, 348 n. 43, 463, 540, 546-548, 551-552, 562, 570-573, 575, 577
 Liège, Low Countries 88, 419, 423
 Lily, William 442, 563
 Linacre, Thomas 263, 562, 565, 567-570, 580
 Lindanus, Wilhelmus 571, 577
 liturgy 78, 88, 90, 93-94, 98, 263-264, 266-267, 270, 274, 277-278, 282, 290, 294-296, 304, 418-419, 430 n. 77
 Livy 110, 221, 457, 486 n. 29, 489-491, 492 n. 53, 494
 logic 27, 28 n. 37, 35-37, 129, 146, 417, 462, 543

- London, England 224, 420, 425,
 453-454, 562-563, 571, 576
 Charterhouse 32 n. 53, 453
 diocese of 296
 St Lawrence Jewry 453, 463
 St Paul's Cathedral 274, 453
 London, Treaty of (1518) 502-
 503
 Louvain Vulgate (1547) 182, 240
 n. 126, 241
 'Lovaniensia' project 15-18
 Lucas (Brugensis), Francis 18,
 347 n. 41, 352 n. 61
 Lucian of Samosata (Lucien) 22-
 23, 25, 27, 29 n. 41, 44 n. 104,
 70, 221, 421, 422 n. 43, 460,
 470, 472, 478, 538-539, 540 n. 5,
 541 n. 8, 544, 549, 554
 Lupset, Thomas 32 n. 53, 565, 568
 Luther, Martin 28, 147 n. 62, 181,
 182 n. 83, 210, 221, 231 n. 64,
 244, 245 n. 162, 255, 317-318,
 329, 333, 336, 351, 374 n. 6,
 376-377, 392, 434, 453
 Lutheranism (luthéranisme) 18,
 273, 286, 341, 350
 Lyon, France 76 n. 2, 84, 165 n. 21,
 167-171, 174 n. 57

 Madrid, Spain 38, 345
 Mainz, Germany 172
 Malmesbury, England 573
 Mantuanus, Battista 417
 manuscripts, Biblical *see* codices
 Manuzio, Aldo 416, 421
 Marburg, Germany 288 n. 86
 Marcion 352
 Mareschal, Jacobus 167
 marriage, clerical 305-334
 Martens, Dirk (Thierry) 12, 415-
 446, 452, 541
 Mary I, queen of England 277,
 313, 568, 576-577
 Masius, Andreas 571
 Mechelen (Mechlin or Malines), Low
 Countries 85, 345, 348 n. 43,
 427, 445

 medicine 86, 110-111, 523, 531,
 542, 544, 562, 567-570, 572
 Melanchthon, Philip 273 n. 34
 memory 85-87, 89 n. 43, 93 n. 54,
 94, 172, 193-194, 211, 216
 Menardus Monachus 175 n. 58
 Mentelin, Johannes 457
 Merbecke, John 275 n. 42, 276 n. 49,
 277, 294, 295 n. 108
 Mercury (god) 149
 metonymy 389-390, 393-394
 Mileve, Council of 208
 Milton, John 532
 mnemonics *see* memory
 Modena, Italy 541
 Modern Devotion (*deuotio mo-*
 derna) 79, 83, 88, 95, 108, 111
Modi intelligendi sacram Scripturam
 168-169, 183
 monarchy 13, 466, 469, 472, 492
 n. 53, 496, 498-500
 Mons, Low Countries 342
 monsters 521
 Mont, Christopher 310
 Montano, Arias 571, 577
 More, Thomas 9-74, 415-584
 Dialogue Concerning Heresies
 30
 Dialogue of Comfort 30
 Epigrammata 24-25
 execution 15, 454-455
 family 33, 561, 575
 History of Richard III 25, 30-
 31, 553 n. 34
 legacy 561-584
 Letter to a Monk 25, 39, 43, 45,
 71
 translations 22-23, 25, 27, 460,
 470, 538, 554
 Utopia 9, 12-14, 21, 24-25, 27,
 30, 36 n. 70, 564, 567
 books portrayed in 537-560
 knowledge portrayed in 515-
 536
 printing of 415-454
 warfare portrayed in 479-
 514

- Morton, John, cardinal 556
 Mudaeus, Gabriel 17
 Münster, Sebastian 341
 Musculus, Wolfgang 356-357
 music 261-296, 304
 Anglican 263-266, 282-283,
 290, 295-296, 304
 'Dionysian' 268-269, 271-272
 'Apollonian' 271-272, 277, 281,
 292
 polyphonic 278-279
 Musurus, Marcus 548

 Nannius, Petrus 575
 Naples, Italy 23
 Nepos, Jacobus 444
 Nesen, Guilielmus 17
 Nestle, Eberhard 182
 Nestorianism 575
 New World (Indies) 418, 482 n. 9,
 537, 539, 541, 546, 559
 Nicholas V, pope 195
 Nicholas of Damascus 550
 Nicholas of Lyra 124, 325, 341
 Nietzsche, Friedrich 272 n. 31
 Nispen, Nicolas van 339
 Nonius Marcellus 466
 North Dakota, USA 373
 Novatian 573
 numismatics 25
 Nuremberg, Germany 175 n. 58

 Observant Reform 79, 111, 567 *see*
 also Franciscans
 Ochino, Bernardino 222
 Ockeghem, Johannes 271-272
 Oecumenius 321, 323, 341, 353-
 354, 356-357, 362
 Olivetan, Pierre Robert 230-232,
 254-255
 organ 264, 266-270, 275 n. 42,
 276, 290
 Origen 139, 170, 197-201, 203,
 206-207, 209, 211-212, 217, 341,
 350, 354, 355 n. 71, 359, 362,
 385, 395 n. 73
 Original Sin 11, 14, 193-213, 217,
 312, 351, 377, 393, 395

 Orpheus 281
 Osiander, Andreas 98, 100 n. 71
 Ovid 28
 Oxford 457, 543-544
 Corpus Christi College 460,
 564-565, 567-568, 571, 575
 Oriel College 568
 'Trojan War' at 544, 565

 Pace, Richard 23
 Padua, Italy 86, 568-569
 Paganinus de Paganinis 170
 paganism (Roman religion) 12, 14,
 33-34, 79, 280-281, 293 n. 99,
 457, 460-461, 463, 472
 Pagnini, Sante 240-241
Palatine Anthology 570
 Paquot, Jean-Noel 342
 paratexts 14, 76 n. 2, 77, 83,
 84 n. 24, 87, 92-94, 162, 167,
 171-172, 470, 471 n. 67, 559
 Parc, abbey of, Low Countries 123,
 174, 335
 Paris, France 103, 123, 174, 222,
 374, 387 n. 47, 415, 431-432,
 436, 457, 459, 556, 565
 University of 77, 100, 221, 261,
 269 n. 21, 284, 335, 337 n. 13,
 338, 340
 Parker, Matthew, archbishop of
 Canterbury 283
 Passavanti, Jacopo 459
 Patristics *see* Church Fathers
 Paul III, pope 311
 Paul V, pope 372
 Paul of Middelburg 86, 89-90
 peace 470, 492, 494, 498-499, 500
 n. 85, 501-504, 517
 Pelagianism 202-203, 205, 207
 n. 55, 321 n. 59, 392-393, 395-
 396, 397 n. 79, 459 n. 25
 Pelagius (Pseudo-Jerome) 324
 Pellikan, Conrad 400-402
 Pérez de Pineda, Juan 220, 222,
 232-235, 242, 246-248, 260
 Perrenot, Antoine (Cardinal Gran-
 velle) 571
 Péronne, Joseph-Maxence 374-375

- Perotti, Niccolo 341
 Perugia, Italy 547
 Peter Auriol 83 n. 22
 Peter Lombard 194
 Petrarch 194
 Petri, Johannes 167, 169, 171, 175 n. 59
 Petrus de Rivo 75, 77-78, 85-91, 92 n. 50, 93-100, 107-108, 111, 121
 Petrus de Rosenheim 94
 Philip of Burgundy, admiral of Flanders 432, 440
 Philip the Handsome 420
 Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse 308, 310
 Philo of Alexandria 549-550
 philology 10, 17, 21-46, 71, 78-79, 99, 102-104, 123, 126-131, 133, 136, 139-143, 145, 147-148, 151, 157, 160, 196, 212, 217, 219, 224-225, 252, 255, 262-263, 347, 351, 371-372, 376-377, 379, 382-391, 400, 411, 584
 Philoponus, Johannes 549
Philosophia Christi 10-11, 160 n. 4, 166, 169, 210, 262, 302, 383, 390, 404-405, 566
 philosophy 26, 37, 40, 46, 80, 209 n. 62, 271, 340 n. 25, 455-456, 458, 461, 464, 471, 489, 523, 539 n. 4, 542 n. 9, 543-544, 556, 570, 572
 moral 13, 262, 275, 459
 pagan 10-11, 13 n. 7, 194 n. 3, 211
 political 468-469
 Philostratus 549
 Photius 321, 323
 Physicians, College of (London) 562, 567-569
 Pico della Mirandola 209 n. 62, 420
 Piccolomini, Enea Silvio (Pope Pius II) 417, 496, 499
 Pighius, Stephanus Winandus 571
 Pio da Carpi, Alberto 277-279, 547 *see also* Albertus Pius
 Pio da Carpi, Caterina 541
 pilgrimages 10
 Pirckheimer, Willibald 335
 Pivard, Johannes 171
 Plantin, Christopher 577
 Plato 271, 292, 293 n. 99, 356, 389 n. 55, 460, 471, 478, 543, 547, 555
 Laus 464
 Republic 12, 13 n. 7, 22, 27, 29 n. 41, 32, 464-466, 468, 470, 487, 538-539
 Timaeus 462
 Platonism 80 n. 12, 81 n. 16, 457-459, 461-463, 472
 Plautus 28, 29 n. 58
 Pliny the Younger 442
 Plutarch 27, 44 n. 106, 221, 224 n. 17, 276 n. 49, 539, 540 n. 5, 545, 547
 poetics 29, 429
 Pole, Geoffrey 574
 Pole, Reginald, cardinal 568
 political theory *see* philosophy, political
 polyphony *see* music, polyphonic
 Porphyry 461-462, 549
 Possevino, Antonio 378
 Prebendaries' Plot 574-584
 Prez, Josquin des 266 n. 17
 Primasius of Utica 324, 341
 printers 123, 178, 294, 335, 394, 415-446, 452, 459, 545, 549, 553-554, 557, 568, 576-577
 Proclus 571-572
 Proost, Jan 416
 prophecy 284
 protology 201
 psalmody 280, 283, 290 n. 93
 Pseudo-Augustine 417
 Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite 453, 458, 462
 Pseudo-Jerome 324
 Ptolemy Philadelphus 548
 Puritanism 265 n. 14, 296

- Quintilian 29, 126, 129-131, 133,
136 n. 28, 139-141, 146, 157
- Rastell, William 576
- Ratdolt, Erhard 418, 420
- Real Presence 401-402
- Regensburg, Germany 306, 308,
310, 318
- Regensburg, Colloquy of (1541)
311 n. 19, 312, 323
- religious life 79, 88, 94, 453
- Rescius, Rutger 17, 440-441, 443,
446
- Reuchlin, Johannes 177
- Rhenanus, Beatus 103, 435-436
- rhetoric 11, 29, 31, 33, 36, 43, 90,
97, 126, 136-138, 144-145, 149,
197, 202, 261-264, 296, 377,
404, 456, 460-461, 506, 546, 564
- Ribadeneira, Pedro 378-379
- Robles, Juan de 219-227, 230, 232
n. 72, 235, 240-242, 244 n. 151,
246-255, 260
- Rome, Italy
Roman Empire 469, 472, 480,
485, 487, 489, 491, 495, 497-
501, 503, 515, 547
Roman Republic 480, 489-
490, 507, 513
- Roper, William 453-455, 579
- Roper, Margaret 574-575
- Rose, William 568
- Roselli, Antonio 496
- Rosemond, Godeschalch 18
- Rufinus 144, 176
- Rufus, Mutianus 145, 197 n. 18,
209 n. 60
- Rupert of Deutz 341
- Sacon, Jacobus 167-169, 171
- Saint-Maur, abbey of, France 397
n. 77
- saints, veneration of 10, 397
- Salamanca, Spain 223
- Sallust 30, 31 n. 48, 33, 462, 467,
489
- Sánchez de Arévalo, Rodrigo 496
- Sandys, Edwin, bishop of London
296
- sarcasm 391, 398-400, 404
- Sartori, Paolo 337, 369
- Sarum, Use of 419
- Sasbout, Adam 335-363, 369
- Sassenus, Servatius I 416
- Sauvage, Jean Le 428, 440
- Savonarola, Girolamo 9
- Scholasticism 10, 35, 83 n. 22, 129,
131, 160 n. 4, 194-195, 261-264,
268-270, 272, 279, 284-286,
291, 336, 340, 377, 387 *see also*
Aristotelianism
- science 23, 25, 34, 70, 78-80, 90,
101, 134, 141, 148, 150, 193, 212,
446, 457, 516, 518, 524, 530, 533,
535, 541-542, 550-551, 573
- Scipio Africanus 467
- Septuagint 42, 157
- Seventy, The (translators of the Sep-
tuagint) 170
- Seville, Spain 222-223
- Seymour, Edward, duke of Somers-
et 276
- Shirley, Elizabeth 573-574, 579
- Siena, Italy 496
- Silber, Eucharius 438
- Simplicius 571
- singers 266, 268, 272, 274, 276-
277, 286, 287 n. 83, 296, 304
- Sirleto, Guglielmo, cardinal 570
n. 25
- Six Articles, Act of 305-307, 309,
313, 332
- Sixtus IV, pope 550
- Sixtus V, pope 346
- Socrates 11 n. 5, 471
- Socratic dialogue 309
- Sophocles 539, 540 n. 5, 541 n. 8,
546
- soteriology, pedagogical 209-210
- Soto, Domingo de 223
- Speyer, Diet of 310 n. 19
- Stapleton, Thomas 454-455, 458,
565, 577-579, 584
- Stoicism 27, 273 n. 34, 456

- Stojković, John, cardinal (John of Ragusa) 177, 178 n. 68
 Strasbourg, France 221, 306-307, 313, 332
 Streeters, Arnold 99-100
 Stubbes, Phillip 265 n. 14
 Sucket, Antony 339
 Suetonius 30, 31 n. 48
Summarium Bibliae 174-175, 184, 191
 Superstition 388, 461, 521-522
 Supremacy, Oath of 307, 573
 Suso, Henricus 418
 Sweertius, Franciscus 379
 Switzerland 571
 Symmachus 170, 391
 Synthen, Johann 420-421

 Tacitus 30-31, 553
 Tapperus, Ruardus 18
 Tatian 75, 78
 teleology 507
 Terence 28, 29 n. 38, 461
 Terpander 276 n. 49
 textual criticism 83, 128, 143-144, 149, 160, 262, 335, 346, 350, 363, 385
 theatres 265, 267, 271-272, 273 n. 33
 Theodore of Mopsuestia 540 n. 5
 Theodoret 395-396, 575
 Theoderici, Vincentius 337
 Theodotion 170
 Theophylact 106, 203, 341, 355 n. 72, 356, 357 n. 77, 362, 385 n. 41, 395 n. 73
 theology 10, 17-18, 27, 34, 46, 76, 82-83, 85-86, 88, 91, 95, 98, 125, 129, 131-132, 145, 160 n. 4, 195-198, 202, 206, 209 n. 62, 211-212, 338, 340 n. 25, 377, 390-392, 398, 401, 403-404, 432, 434, 454, 570
 of music 261-304
 natural 461
 pastoral 90
 Theophrastus 539, 543, 549-553
 Thibault, Jean 422
 Thomas Aquinas 83 n. 22, 132, 194, 325, 341, 377, 404, 480, 494-495, 521
 Thucydides 110, 539, 540 n. 5, 541 n. 8, 547
 Tinctoris, Johannes 292 n. 97
 Titelmans, Frans (Franciscus Titelmannus) 18, 336-340, 346, 350-351, 363, 369, 393
 Titus, emperor 26
 toleration, religious 14
 Tongerlo, abbey of, Low Countries 98
 Torquemada, Juan de 496, 499, 501
 tradition, classical 21-46, 70-71
 translation, process of 23 n. 8, 40-42, 44-45, 78, 95-103, 106, 108, 124, 135, 140-143, 148, 151, 157, 159-160, 162-166, 190-191, 196, 260, 287-290, 304, 307, 315, 323, 356-360, 393, 395, 550, 552, 554, 568
 Traversari, Ambrogio 194
 Trent, Council of 18, 98, 101, 182, 312-313, 318 n. 44, 340, 343, 387, 402
 Tresham, William 575
 Trevet, Nicholas 457-459
 tropological interpretation 168-169, 205, 383, 386
 Tunstall, Cuthbert 45, 428, 563
 Turner, William 308 n. 8
 Tye, Christopher 277
 Tyndale, William 44, 231-232, 237, 254-255, 287, 336
 typography 219, 417-418, 420-423, 427, 431, 434, 438, 441, 446
 black letter 421
 typology 203, 206, 353
 tyranny 482-483, 485, 506

 Ulm, Germany 175 n. 58

 Vaisson, bishop of 182 n. 80
 Valdés, Juan de 222
 Valla, Lorenzo 123-151, 157, 160, 165, 174, 179, 183, 191, 194,

- 195 n. 8, 248, 262, 335, 338,
 341, 348, 350, 382, 384
 Valladolid, Spain 223
 Varenacker, Johannes 86, 100
 Varro 456, 461, 490
 Vatable, François (Vatablus) 380-
 382
 Venice 165 n. 21, 167-171, 417-
 418, 420, 437, 446 n. 139, 540-
 541, 569, 573
 Vermigli, Peter Martyr 290 n. 94,
 575
 Vespucci, Amerigo 541
 Vessem, Bartholomew van 339
 Vienna, Austria 344
 Virgil 28, 284, 454, 461, 466, 538,
 547, 549
 virtue 11, 14, 26, 32-33, 265, 275-
 276, 464, 469, 501, 576
 Vitelleschi, Mutio 372 n. 3
 Vitoria, Francisco de 482 n. 9
 Vivès, Ludovicus (Luis) 374
 Vulgate 10, 18, 40-41, 45, 95, 99-
 102, 104, 123-124, 126, 129,
 131, 139, 141-143, 146-147,
 157, 159-160, 162, 163 n. 18,
 164-168, 170-175, 180, 181 n. 78,
 182-184, 190-191, 195 n. 8,
 203-204, 207, 219, 221, 225,
 227, 229-232, 238, 240-245,
 247-248, 252, 255, 282-283,
 306, 315-316, 336, 338, 340,
 345-347, 355, 358, 361-363,
 385 n. 41, 386, 394
 prefaces to 167-168, 170-172,
 183, 191
 Sixto-Clementine 380
 Wales, Thomas 457-459
 warfare *see* just war theory
 Warham, William, archbishop of
 Canterbury 23 n. 10, 37, 564
 Wied, Hermann von 311, 480,
 505
 William of Malmesbury 463
 Winchester, England 295
 Windesheim, Congregation of *see*
under Augustinians
 Windsor, St George's Chapel at
 276 n. 48, 277 n. 51
 Wittenberg, Germany 221, 273
 n. 34
 Wolsey, Thomas, cardinal 37, 345
 n. 36, 502, 564-566, 568
 worship 82, 263, 264 n. 11, 269-
 270, 281-282, 284, 289 n. 90,
 382, 402, 455, 462, 467, 469-
 470, 477, 523-525
 Wotton, Edward 568
 Wyclif, John 9, 287 n. 84
 Wycliffites 286
 Wylde, Ottwell 545, 570
 Xenophon 542 n. 8, 547, 549
 Ximenes de Cisneros, Francisco, car-
 dinal 336
 York, England 295
 Zacharias of Besançon 100, 229
 Zamora, Spain 223
 Zarlino, Gioseffo 266, 270
 Zegers, Nicholas Tacitus 335-363,
 369
 Zeno 37 n. 74
 Zonienwoud (Soignes), Low Coun-
 tries 88
 Zúñiga, Diego López de 341
 Zwingli, Ulrich 288 n. 86, 296
 n. 116, 392-394, 400-401, 403